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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

APRIL, 1826.

ART. I.—*A Digest of the Evidence taken before Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament, appointed to inquire into the State of Ireland; with Notes, historical and explanatory.* By the Rev. Wm. Phelan, B.D. and the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, A.M. Cadell, 1826.

THE last session of parliament has been, not inaptly, called the Irish session, from the great degree of attention bestowed upon the affairs of Ireland. When a country like this is engaged in foreign war, it is, perhaps, an inevitable consequence that the local concerns of the sister kingdom must be, more or less, neglected. And, when the world returns to a state of peace they become, on that very account, entitled to a degree of attention, that might, under ordinary circumstances, be thought disproportionate; but which will not be found more than sufficient for the purpose of exploring and remedying the evils which may have arisen from long-continued neglect or misrule, or pernicious and improvident legislation. It was, therefore, with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction that we witnessed the zeal and the ability with which the inquiry into the state of Ireland was prosecuted, by the committees upon whom that important duty devolved. And we have to express our cordial acknowledgments to the able editors of the work before us, for being enabled to present to our readers, (with a facility and a fulness that would, without their assistance, have been impossible,) the digested results of that inquiry. A vast quantity of the most authentic and valuable information has now been produced and put upon record; by which the whole state of the country to which it refers has been laid bare to public inspection; and we consider the value of the information thus obtained to consist, not more in the ascertainment of the real and sub-

stantive evils under which the people labour, than in the detection and exposure of those groundless assumptions which have so long furnished a theme for the demagogue and the incendiary, by enlarging on which they have not only misdirected public opinion, but inflamed the discontents, disturbed the peace, and paralysed the prosperity of Ireland.

In the work before us the information obtained by the committee has been digested and arranged under several heads ; as " the condition of the peasantry," " the population," " the nature of the disturbances," &c. &c. ; by which means the reader has brought before him, at one view, every thing material which has been disclosed on the various topics which were the subjects of inquiry ; and which he would otherwise have had to search for through the voluminous report of the evidence. The editors have, in fact, reduced a chaos into order. They have rendered the labours of the committee practically available to a much greater extent than they could have been, without such a systematic classification. But they have done more. Our readers, we venture to say, will be of opinion, before they have concluded the perusal of even the brief abstract contained in this article, that, by the commentary which is subjoined to the evidence, obscurities have been illustrated, difficulties have been explained, erroneous views have been controverted, erroneous statements have been corrected, and sophistical positions have been detected and exposed, with a degree of candour, temper, learning, and ability, which well entitle the possessors of them to the praise of having performed a most important and difficult task in such a manner as to deserve the approbation and thanks of every friend of social order.

The first chapter relates to the condition of the peasantry. The witnesses are almost unanimous in describing their wretchedness as extreme. It is clear that population has gained upon the means of subsistence to a degree that renders a very distressing scarcity of food a matter of almost annual occurrence. " The pressure of this starving population," the Rev. Dr. Doyle observes, " is continued by the prevalence of early and improvident marriages ; owing partly to the extreme poverty of the people, which renders them hopeless of improving their condition ; and partly to their mode of life, in which there is not a sufficient restraint upon the intercourse between the sexes." Mr. M'Culloch observes, that to increase their wages from fourpence (which, it is said, would be the rate of wages if distributed amongst the labouring classes) to a shilling a day, an additional capital of twenty millions would be required. Mendicancy prevails to a prodigious extent. Mr. De La Cour " is of opinion, that, considering the population of Ireland to be seven millions, one million will be found to obtain a

liveliness by mendicancy and plunder ; and, supposing each of these persons to obtain but one penny per day, there would be subtracted from the industrious or wealthy portion of the population, for the support of the unemployed, not less annually than one million five hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and twenty pounds."

This is, obviously, a lamentable state of things : and those demagogues must have hearts of stone, who, overlooking the real and positive ills under which the people labour, ascribe, or affect to ascribe, all their calamities to the want of what is called " Catholic emancipation." That the melancholy state necessity which called for the enactment of the penal laws has had no effect in blighting the energies of the Irish people, we are far from asserting. We acknowledge and lament that treason could not be repressed, and a formidable faction subdued and disarmed, without suspending the operation of those wholesome laws and deranging that social order, which, in times of ordinary quiet, are the necessary conditions of public prosperity. But the heaviest of these afflictive visitations has long since passed away. The laws have long been repealed which prevented the acquisition of property, or even the attainment of political importance. And, strange to say, precisely in proportion as the upper classes have been enabled to arrive at wealth and power, has the misery and wretchedness of the lower orders gone on increasing, until it has at length reached a limit, which neither the wisdom nor the humanity of the legislature can suffer it to pass without endangering the safety of the empire. Whatever be the temporary expedients by which this formidable evil may be palliated, the only radical remedy will be found in the improvement of the habits of the people. As far as this *primary* object may be effected by the judicious employment of capital, so far, and no farther, can we regard the increase of capital with satisfaction. We are not so solicitous to secure it as the nucleus of national wealth, as to use it as a mean of civil and social regeneration. " To increase," Mr. M'Culloch tells us, " the proportion of capital to population, is the grand difficulty to be overcome ; and until the ratio of capital be adequately increased, it is impossible that the condition of the Irish peasantry can be improved." We cannot help differing very decidedly from this gentleman ; and can very easily conceive that, if the capital of the country were this moment increased in the proportion he requires, while the habits of the people remained the same, it could operate no effectual improvement. Premature and improvident marriages would speedily cause such an increase of population, as would involve a future generation in precisely the same difficulties as those from which the present would have experienced a temporary

relief. A season of scarcity would again arrive. Population would again press against the limits of subsistence. Disorder and insurrection would again be the consequences of want and desperation; and a temporary quiet would be dearly purchased at the expense of the certain and no very distant recurrence of all those evils in a more aggravated form, for the sake, alone, of remedying which, the introduction of capital was deemed desirable. We are, therefore, compelled to dissent altogether from the conclusion of the ingenious witness, that the evils of Ireland are to be remedied by adjusting the proportion between capital and population. Any other than that self-adjustment to which prudence, decency, a sense of domestic comfort, a prudent regard for the welfare of their families, gives rise, appears to us to be both preposterous and undesirable. Nor is it wise to say that an influx of wealth will necessarily give rise to habits of industry. The converse of the proposition is much more likely to be true. Habits of industry and sobriety will almost necessarily create wealth. And when wealth is not an acquisition but a behest, there is always reason, nationally speaking, to be suspicious of its utility. Spain dates her decline from the period of the discovery of the Indies. Therefore, our anxiety is that measures for the social and moral improvement of the people should be the basis of any system which is intended to be more than empirical, and which contemplates their permanent amelioration. Let them, in the first instance, be protected against the consequences of their own turbulence. Let all illegal combinations be put down. Let the laws be purely and steadily administered. Let a gradual and judicious encouragement be given to that desire to better their own condition, which is the salient well-spring of all improvement. Let some regulation take place respecting land letting, which may give the tenant an interest in being industrious, and some security that his little acquisitions shall be his own; and we venture to predict the most desirable results. But, indeed, such a prediction is already, in some measure, divested of the character of prophecy, and we cannot forbear stating at length, in the words of a very intelligent witness, an instance in which it has been almost completely realized. Mr. Leslie Foster observes:—

“ In the year 1811 I acquired property in the county of Kerry, in the centre of the middle landlord system; it was at that time held by one middleman, who was to pay me a certain rent, and the land was held under him by 53 families, who were subdivided into parties, and each party, consisting of eight or ten families, occupied a certain portion of land. They were all dairy farmers; each company had their cattle in common; no individual on the estate had any separate property, either in the land, or in any thing else, except in the hovel in

which he lived, and all the companies held at the mere will and pleasure of the middleman. I was very much struck on visiting the country, at the barbarism, pauperism, and misery, and, I may add, the insubordination, of all persons connected with that part of the country ; and I beg to add, that the description I am giving of that particular estate, applied more or less to several others in its immediate vicinity, on the whole of which the effects appeared to me to be the same. The middle landlord, however, held the whole for a term certain, and it was impossible I could interfere with him so long as he continued to pay the rent.

“ Did any change take place in the management of that property ?

“ So long as the war prices continued, the middleman paid his rent with great punctuality ; but in the years 1815 and 1816 he withheld it, and obliged me to have recourse to an ejectment, which ultimately brought the property into my own possession ; and in the year 1817, I determined to try the experiment of setting to those families, dividing the property among them, and giving each a lease of twenty years. I had a survey made, and explained to the people my objects and intentions, which they were very slow to believe ; they could scarcely comprehend them, and would hardly believe I intended to behave so liberally to them. They had no confidence in me, and supposed I could have none in them. The neighbouring gentry saw what was going forward with great dissatisfaction ; they were unanimous in predicting the failure of the experiment. I, however, proceeded, and set to the occupying tenantry at rents rather greater than the middlemen ought to have paid me, but fully one-third less than those which they were bound to pay him. When they saw that I was in earnest, they entered very fully indeed into the plan. One of the greatest difficulties that had been anticipated by my neighbours was, that the people could not consent to the separation of the companies ; there was, however, no practical difficulty of that kind experienced ; the land was divided ; they even threw down, in many instances, the little clusters of hovels in which they had lived, and built good houses for themselves, with very little assistance from me. For six half years after my dividing the property, they paid their rent with the utmost punctuality ; there was no default whatever ; and I am persuaded they would have continued to do so, but for the circumstances that attended the autumn of 1821 in that part of Ireland, when Captain Rock interfered with that property as well as others. However, they have renewed their payments, and within the last twelve months I have got a full year's rent from them, and I have no doubt they will go on paying it. This experiment has convinced me of the practicability and facility of introducing the English system of tenure into any part of Ireland, even where appearances are most unfavourable.

“ Have you had any opportunity of observing the state and condition of this property since your system has prevailed, so as to ascertain whether the comforts of the tenantry are materially increased ?

“ I have been twice there since, and so lately as the last summer, and the results have exceeded all my expectations. I think the greater part of the year's rent, which I conceive the insurrectionary spirit of

the south has operated to deprive me of, was employed in bettering their condition. Their houses, furniture, food, clothes, and stocks of cattle and pigs, are quite superior to any thing in their neighbourhood. There is not a pauper on the property.”—p. 9-11.

This is, truly, a gratifying picture ; and shows, in a very lively manner, how much depends on the exertions of a judicious and benevolent landlord. Indeed, without a reformation in the character of the Irish gentry, we shrewdly suspect that the best legislative measures for the improvement of the country can be but of very limited utility. Facts have been disclosed in evidence which abundantly prove that the vicious structure of society in Ireland is owing, mainly, to the want of that cordial and reciprocal consideration and confidence, which is so pleasingly exemplified in Mr. Foster’s statement. If the gentry but do their duty, they are almost independent of legislative assistance. If they resolve to persevere in the old system of considering their tenantry in no other light than as the serfs of the ground, or a species of biped beasts of burden, the wretched instruments for converting soil into produce, the legislature can oppose no effectual check to the headlong career of national ruin which must be the consequence ; and nothing but the actual misery resulting from their short-sighted and pernicious plans, can awaken them to the necessity of proceeding, in their dealings with their fellow-creatures, upon wiser and more benevolent principles.

The population comes next to be considered ; and here we have almost as great a variety of opinions as witnesses. Mr. O’Connell is of opinion that the entire population should be rated at eight millions ; and of these he conceives that the Protestants are much less than one million. He admits that he cannot speak with any certainty or precision upon the subject, and that his knowledge, such as it is, is derived altogether “ from communications made by the Roman Catholic clergy, and from reading the statistical surveys of Mr. Shaw Mason.” He grounds an opinion, that the census taken in 1821 is too low, upon an argument to which much weight cannot be attached, if the evidence of one of the Roman Catholic prelates is to be relied on. “ The number of persons relieved,” Mr. O’Connell tells us, “ in the year 1822, in the county of Mayo, exceeded the number returned by the census as the entire population, by 11,000.” Dr. Kelly, titular Archbishop of Tuam, states his belief that the number said to have been relieved “ *exceeded the truth.*” And the editor, from his own observation, bears a similar testimony.

“ A notion had gone abroad that, in proportion to the number of persons in each family, the distribution of food was to be regulated, In consequence, wherever the visitors were unac-

quainted with the people to whose houses they came, frequent attempts were made to impose upon them exaggerated statements of the numbers who needed relief. The editor, in some instances, detected attempts of this kind, by obtaining contradictory reports from different members of the same family, and found, on inquiry, that endeavours to misrepresent were so general, as to justify fully the impression on the mind of Dr. Kelly, and to show that Mr. O'Connell's opinion has no proper foundation to rest upon." Mr. Blake, a Roman Catholic gentleman, "does not conceive his opinion entitled to any authority, but imagines the Protestants may be to the Roman Catholics in the proportion of one to five." Mr. Shaw Mason rates them as one to three and a sixth; Mr. M'Culloch, as one to four and a third. The accuracy of this conclusion he makes to depend on the truth of the following postulates: "1st, that the population has continued to increase since 1821, in the same ratio as in the eleven preceding years. 2dly, that the number of children educated, and reported by the commissioners of education, will be to the entire population in the church of England as one to ten; in the Presbyterian congregation as one to twelve; among the Roman Catholics as one to sixteen." Such are Mr. M'Culloch's postulates. It would not be easy to find a more perfect exemplification of the errors into which a mere theorist is likely to fall, when applying general principles to the consideration of a subject with which he is practically unacquainted. His first postulate is opposed by the evidence of some of the most intelligent and unexceptionable witnesses. From their testimony it appears, that the excess of population in Ireland has already begun to work its own cure. The Roman Catholic clergy state, "that the system of early marriages has been checked, and that the number of marriages has of late diminished." And landlords and agents have borne witness, "that violent means have been adopted to remove, from various properties, the population by which they were encumbered;" "so that it is conjectured, in consequence, that the population is not increasing." "The reader, therefore," observes the editor, "can judge between the arguments and conclusions of witnesses, personally acquainted with the people of whom they speak, and the opinions of a witness who reasons merely from abstract principles, and who confesses himself unacquainted with the circumstances which may now be in operation to limit the application of any general laws." The second postulate is, in all its parts, even more decisively shown to be unfounded. In the first place, the degree in which the practice of sending their children to *English* schools, and of domestic education, prevails amongst the Protestants, renders it impossible that the number of

Protestant children, reported by the commissioners to have been found in the *Irish* schools, should be any foundation for the axiom that has been built upon it. In the second place, there is no reason whatever for supposing "the number of Presbyterians in education less than those belonging to the church of England, in proportion to the number of persons in Ireland professing either form of religion." And in the third place, the editor suggests several considerations, which appear to us abundantly sufficient to prove that the Roman Catholics *ostensibly* in education, are vastly more than in the proportion of one to sixteen. The pecuniary difficulties by which the Irish gentry were embarrassed, and which, in many instances, compelled them to withdraw their children from public schools, had no effect in circumscribing the facilities afforded for the education of the lower orders, whose circumstances were, in that respect, in decided contrast with those of the gentry; "insomuch, that while schools for the gentry were disappearing and declining over the face of the country, in every little village there started up some establishment deriving aid from the Kildare-street fund, or the Association fund, or the Hibernian Sunday-school society." "In consequence of some observations made in the house of commons, in a debate on the state of Ireland, by which the clergy of the church of Rome felt themselves aggrieved, they, in compliance with a requisition from the 'Catholic Association,' furnished accounts to that body of the number of children educated in their respective parishes; and from these accounts, compared with the state of the population, it would appear that Mr. M'Culloch's principle is exceedingly erroneous; and that so far from finding the Roman Catholic children in education the sixteenth part of one religious persuasion, they would be found to be a twelfth in many cases of the people of all religious denominations." The opinions of Mr. Leslie Foster are founded upon sounder principles, and are far more satisfactory and important.

"A panic has been felt respecting the increase of population, and those interested in the land have applied so violent correctives, that the number ascertained by the census of 1821 (which was very accurate) has not materially increased since. Is of opinion, that the Presbyterian population are as generally instructed as the members of the church of England, and therefore, that the number of Protestants can be ascertained without exciting jealousy, by obtaining from the Presbyterian clergy (what they can easily furnish) an accurate census of their respective congregations, and then assuming a fourth proportional to the number of Presbyterian children at school, the number of Protestant children, and the ascertained Presbyterian population. Mr. F. has constructed tables from the Education Report, from which

the relative population may be ascertained with considerable accuracy. According to the accounts furnished by the Protestant clergy, the number of children attending schools was as follows:—

Belonging to the church of England.	91,026
Presbyterians	43,236
Of other denominations.	3,308
Roman Catholics	357,249
Children whose religion has not been stated . . .	3,822

“According to this report, the Protestant children attending the schools would be to the Roman Catholics as 1 to $2\frac{3}{8}$; and supposing the census of 1821 to be correct, and applicable to the present time, the amount of the Protestant population would be 1,963,487; that of those whose religious profession is not ascertained, 59,847; and the Roman Catholics, 4,778,493.

“The return by the Roman Catholic clergy represents the children of the Established church attending schools at	83,179
Presbyterians	33,707
Of other denominations.	3,794
Roman Catholics	397,177
Religious denominations not stated in returns	4,121

And the proportion would be as 1 to $2\frac{4}{5}$; the entire population being, Roman Catholic, 4,980,209; Protestant, 1,769,902; unknown, 51,716. Mr. F. thinks his conclusions a very close approximation to the truth, the returns having been given in on oath, and the inferences drawn on just principles; he reasons on the supposition that the numbers of Protestant and Roman Catholic children attending schools will be proportionable to the general population of each class; is convinced that the number of Roman Catholic children is not less, and is probably greater in proportion to the number of the entire body than that of Protestants; has been convinced of this by his observation, and by finding that the children attending schools bear a higher ratio to the entire population in the Roman Catholic than in the Protestant province, the proportion being as follows; the proportion of children in education to the entire population—

In Ulster	1 to $15\frac{7}{10}$
In Munster.	1 to $11\frac{1}{2}$
In Leinster, which is more Protestant than Munster, but less so than Ulster.	1 to $12\frac{1}{2}$

“From this it is reasonable to infer, that the Roman Catholic children attend the schools more generally than the Protestants in the three provinces named, and the returns from Connaught are too inaccurate to afford a proper basis for reasoning. Upon the whole, Mr. F. concludes, that the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland is something between 1 : $2\frac{3}{8}$, as it would be according to the returns made by the Protestant clergy, and 1 : $2\frac{4}{5}$, as would be the result of the Roman Catholic returns; a proportion which, he observes, is very little different from that which is given by Sir William Petty.”

The editor, in conclusion, thus observes:—

“It is remarkable that, in the preceding summary of evidence, in proportion to the opportunities of knowledge which the witnesses respectively had, so does the Protestant population appear to increase. Mr. O’Connell, who is, as he states, totally ignorant of the north of Ireland, considers the Protestants considerably less than a seventh of the Roman Catholics. Mr. Blake who, from the nature of his employment, must necessarily be more generally acquainted with the state of Ireland, but who, yet, attaches little weight to his opinion, concludes them one-fifth. Mr. M’Culloch, who has studied the subject of population, but who has no information respecting Ireland except what he has derived from books, considers them more than a fifth, but less than a fourth. Mr. Shaw Mason, whose opportunities of information were extensive, but who has yet only partially exerted himself to estimate the relative population, whose returns were, principally, from country parishes, and who does not attach much importance to his conclusions, regards them as more than a fourth—less than a third. And Mr. Leslie Foster, who, as he states, has a personal knowledge of every part of Ireland, and who can check the result of his calculations by observations of their agreement with the actual state of things, compares the Protestant population to the Roman Catholic as one to little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$.”—p. 26-28.

Thus, we have good grounds for entertaining the gratifying persuasion that the Protestant population has been steadily progressive in Ireland. It now bears very nearly the same proportion to the Roman Catholic which it did in the reign of James I. When it is considered that all those prudential restraints, which limit or restrict the increase of population, have been very nearly effectual in relation to the Protestants, and almost entirely ineffectual in relation to the Roman Catholics, it will be readily seen that the only mode of accounting for their relative proportions remaining very nearly the same is by supposing, that what the Protestants lost in births they have gained in conversions. That spirit of reckless improvidence which leads the former to form early marriages, does not prevail amongst the latter. They act with more deliberation and foresight. And, accordingly, we were prepared to hear, that the principle of population having been let loose in the one case, and suffered to run riot until it actually became wild, and in the other case, having been subjected to all those wholesome restraints which are imposed by a sense of prudence and decency, a corresponding change had taken place in the relative numbers of those professing the respective forms of faith; and that the Roman Catholics now as much exceeded the Protestants, as the rate at which they were stimulated to increase exceeded that more moderate and regulated progression to which better habits and juster principles restricted those of the other

communion. If a statement to this effect had been substantiated by evidence, we should have had from thence no reason to conclude that Protestantism was on the decline in Ireland. It is, precisely, what might have been expected, considering the degree in which the one sect must be allowed to be barbarous, and the degree in which the other may be asserted to be civilized. *But the contrary has been established.* It has been established, that the Protestant population has more than maintained its ground—that it has actually kept pace with the Roman Catholic population, while yet their respective rates of increase must have been so widely different. This surely proves that the principle of Protestantism is alive, and in active operation: that, in proportion as its physical energy has been restricted, its moral energy has been exerted: that it has not only been transmitted from father to son, but spread from mind to mind, to a degree that affords the most encouraging assurance that it will finally triumph over every difficulty, and that nothing but the conscientious and well-directed exertions of its ministers, and the fostering care of the legislature, is wanting to enable the Established church to be, at no very distant time, not only the church of the state, but the church of the people. We were therefore perfectly prepared for the following very interesting statement of the Archbishop of Dublin:—

“Numerous applications have been made to the Board of First Fruits to grant sums for the building of new churches, and have, from want of means to meet the demand, been rejected; wherever new churches are erected, and efficient clergy provided, congregations are found or created, although previously there had been an opinion that there were no Protestants in the place. His grace has actual personal knowledge of the north of Ireland, the diocese of Dublin, and, in the south, Cork, and has not heard of any place in which an active and efficient clergyman has been appointed, and accommodation provided for a congregation, where a good one has not been drawn together. In Dublin the congregations appear rapidly increasing, and the demand for church room appears to be advancing in the same proportion with the efforts which are made to meet it. Many new churches have been built, and even in neighbourhoods where at first some doubt was expressed as to the probability of obtaining a congregation; yet the result has been, that these new churches are some of them crowded to excess, while the churches in their neighbourhood have experienced no diminution whatever in the numbers which attend them. In Ireland it is the practice to make collections for the poor in the churches; and these contributions have been of late considerably increased, which, as the same individual generally gives the same sum, must be owing to the increased numbers who contribute. Another instance of the increased number of Protestants might be furnished from the number of communicants at any of the great festivals. His grace has found

on calculation, that the number who receive the sacrament at any given festival in Ireland are, to the entire number of Protestants, as 1 to 10. The reasons why the proportion is so low, are, (independently of the obstacles from age and infirmity, and from the too general indisposition to spiritual things in all men,) as they respect Ireland, partly these:—1. Many persons who have received the sacrament but a short time (a fortnight) preceding the festival, cannot perhaps, from bodily infirmity, attend on a day when they are apprehensive that great numbers may communicate; 2. many who have attended at Christmas, do not think it necessary to communicate at Easter; 3. and the poorer Protestants, who entertain a very strong sense of decency, however mistaken it may be, will not, if their clothing be very bad, attend the sacrament on a day when the number of communicants is so considerable. These considerations satisfy the archbishop that his calculation is correct, and that not more than one Protestant in ten receives the sacrament in a church on any given festival; and, having obtained a return of the numbers who communicated in the Dublin churches at last Easter festival, and which amounted to nine thousand, his grace concludes that the Protestants belonging to the church of England, in the city of Dublin alone, are not less than ninety thousand.

“The observations here made are intended to apply principally to the upper and middle ranks. The churches in Ireland have been constructed on a bad plan; too much space allowed for private pews, and not sufficient for the accommodation of the poor. But the Protestant poor too are found to be numerous; and, upon a search lately made, the number of Protestants discovered among the poorer classes surprised the inquirers. There was and is in Ireland much of what might be called “latent Protestantism,” and this is now beginning to become ostensible in proportion as the clergy exert themselves, and as the gentry give encouragement, which latterly they have in many places thought it expedient and becoming to give. Beside the increase of ostensible Protestants, from the discoveries made among the poorer classes, and the zeal for religion excited by a more active clergy, the Protestant congregations are increased also by converts from the church of Rome. A spirit is abroad very favourable to the diffusion of scriptural knowledge. Protestant ministers have entered into the work of controversial preaching; and, on occasion of such sermons, their churches have been crowded, and in a great measure by Roman Catholics. The late biblical discussions too, have awakened a strong interest with regard to the scriptures, which has been evidenced by the increased sale of Bibles within the last year, and by the conduct of many Roman Catholics, who insisted on their right to read the bible, and who, in Carlow, attended lectures delivered by Mr. Pope, (one of the Protestant clergy engaged in the discussion,) to the number of from two to four hundred. The conversions to the church of England are not made matter of public notoriety, because of the feeling with which converts are regarded by the Roman Catholic people; but many take place, and the archbishop concludes that there is a strong spirit favourable to the church of England abroad, both from the greatly-

increased circulation of Bibles and religious tracts, and also from the class of persons who have shown themselves desirous to renounce the errors of the church of Rome, *many of its priests having expressed this desire to his grace*, and some having become sincere converts, although they were instructed that no equivalent, of a temporal nature, could be promised them in return for the pecuniary sacrifice they were about to make, and although the act of parliament, which secured an annuity of £40 to a conformed priest, has not for many years been in operation,"—p. 29-32.

The next chapters treat of the disturbances which of late years agitated the south of Ireland. The witnesses seem all agreed that they arose out of the wretchedness of the people. "The fall of prices," says Mr. Frankland Lewis, "distressed the middlemen, who, in consequence, pressed on the under tenantry so heavily, as to occasion, or to exasperate very much the state of feeling out of which the disturbances arose." The outrages were, at first, of a driftless and desultory character; but they soon assumed a more formidable aspect, and ultimately settled into a conspiracy against the public peace more extensive and systematic than any of those which, at former periods, convulsed or disturbed unfortunate Ireland. The law was at a stand. A system of terrorism was established. The bare suspicion of giving any information, by which the designs of the insurgents might be defeated, was sure to provoke speedy and terrible vengeance. A committee was formed, who regularly deliberated on the various projects of murder, rapine, and conflagration, which were, from time to time, carried into effect by agents whose domicile was removed as far as possible from the scene of their atrocious achievements. Nor was it possible, amid the general disorder, that the fury of religious discord should continue to slumber. The hateful spirit of Popery appeared mingling in the councils and imparting additional malignity to the cannibal barbarities of the sanguinary banditti who were giving law to the southern and western counties. The prophecies of Pastorini, which were widely circulated amongst the peasantry, gave something like a definite object to the disturbers of the public peace, who were encouraged to expect, in the general extermination of heresy, the speedy subversion of the Established church, and the triumphant reestablishment of Popery in Ireland.

And here we think it necessary to observe, that it is far from our intention to inculcate the Roman Catholic clergy in the guilt of having originally contrived the system of ruthless violence and wickedness, which so long continued to afflict the country, and to affront the government by the enormous audacity of its crimes. We will not even venture to say that they lent it

any direct countenance during the period of its unrebuked transgressions. But we are entirely without any evidence which would justify us in believing that they opposed themselves to the designs of the disturbers with any effect, or laboured with a christian solicitude for the restoration of peace and order. We have, indeed, heard assertions to that effect, but have searched, in vain, for the proofs by which they might be established. The statements of witnesses are as various as might be expected from their local interests or their political prejudices. But, after fairly weighing every thing which has been said either for or against the active loyalty of the Roman Catholic clergy, we are impressed with a decided conviction that they were disposed to remain very quiet lookers on, until the rigorous measures of government began to produce the desired effect: and that then, and not until then, when the machinations of the disturbers began to give way before the operation of the Insurrection act, they seconded the efforts made for the restoration of tranquillity, by their public exhortations.

The Roman Catholic clergy are a very numerous body, and contain, we are willing to admit, many worthy and estimable individuals, who are fully under the influence of kindly and christian feelings both towards the government and their Protestant fellow-subjects. But we are much deceived if the evidence before the committee have not exploded for ever the idea of relying, with a supine or unlimited confidence, upon their influence or exertions to keep the people amenable to the laws, or to exorcise them, in times of turbulence, of the spirit of frantic and sanguinary insubordination. For either they could, on the late occasion, have done so, or they could not. If they could, what becomes of their loyalty? If they could not, in what consists their power? We, for our parts, firmly believe that they were, essentially, during the height of the disturbances, without the power of doing any thing but mischief. When the flame had reached its utmost height, we believe that it would rather have been aggravated than subdued by ecclesiastical maledictions. But, even were it otherwise, we see no ground for believing that in any case, where the contest was of doubtful issue between the laws and the disturbers, they would have exerted themselves for the public benefit, that is, for the security and preservation of a Protestant government and a Protestant church. Their education, their profession, their principles, their prejudices, utterly forbid the notion that they could, cordially, or at any personal risk, lend a helping hand to the support of that which they are conscientiously of opinion, it is both a merit and a duty "to root out and to destroy." Popery is essentially at variance with Pro-

testantism. The conscientious clergy of the church of Rome must ever be conscientious adversaries of the church of England: and if we possessed no better security for the loyalty of the Irish Roman Catholics than is to be found in the friendly offices of the vassals of the bishop of Rome, precarious indeed would be their allegiance. But we have a better security; thanks to the spirit of Protestantism, and the light that is now beginning to spread beyond the limits of the reformed communion. Indeed, so far are we from supposing that the people have been led to respect the government by the exertions or the principles of their priesthood, that we are disposed to think the priesthood have been compelled to modify and to mitigate some of the most offensive and objectionable of their tenets, by the growing intelligence and liberality of the people. Most certainly not the least curious and extraordinary portion of the evidence before the parliamentary committee consists in an attempt, on the part of the Popish prelates, to explain and defend the doctrines of their church, an attempt in which their adroitness is quite as remarkable as their candour. We must refer the reader to the work before us for as masterly and luminous an exposure of ignorance, and as ingenious and acute a detection of sophistry, as we have met with in any of our best controversial writers. Our space does not permit us to make the copious extracts that would be necessary to convey an adequate idea of the complete and triumphant manner in which the learned editors have performed this part of their duty. But, without some notice of it, we should have very imperfectly performed ours. Indeed, we cannot but entertain the belief that, if the Roman Catholic laity were fully aware of the extent to which their bishops have pledged themselves to a power that is liable, at all times, to be a party to measures of hostility against this country, they would recognise the reasonableness of that distrust and caution with which any further enlargement of their political privileges must be regarded by every lover of our Protestant institutions. In the work before us, there is a great deal of curious information upon this part of the subject. The editors seem influenced by a feeling of most benevolent regret that the laity should have so identified their cause with that of the clergy as to render it impossible to make any practical distinction between them. The laity, it is intimated, know little and care less for the peculiar dogmas of their spiritual guides, and are as unsuspicious of the dangerous tendency of those principles which bind them to the court of Rome, and pledge them to maintain the *regalia* of St. Peter, as many of those simple, or ignorant, or unprincipled assertors of religious freedom, who are flattered by the appellation of "liberal Protestants." They are entirely

ignorant of the nature of that “*esprit du corps*” which monastic habits and professional engagements have a tendency to engender and to cherish; and can form no conception of the degree in which, at a critical emergency, it may interfere with cordial and single-minded allegiance. The oath taken by the Roman Catholic bishop, at his consecration, is as follows:—

“J. N., Elect of the church of N., from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter the Apostle, and to the *Holy Roman church*, and to our lord, the lord N. pope N., and to his successors canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, or do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands any wise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, AND THE ROYALTIES OF SAINT PETER, saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic see, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, of our lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will, by myself in person, visit the threshold of the apostles every TEN years; and give an account to our lord and his aforesaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things any wise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly, to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will, in like manner, humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy, (of the diocese,) by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs, to be transmitted by the aforesaid messenger, to the cardinal proponent of the holy Roman church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wise alienate, no not even

with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman pontiff. All and every of these things I will observe the more inviolably, as being certain that nothing is contained in them which can interfere with the fidelity I owe to the most serene King of Great Britain and Ireland, and his successors to the throne. So help me God, &c.”—p. 5-7.

Upon this the Archbishop of Dublin observes :—

“The individual who takes this oath appears to me to be bound to communicate to the Pope every secret of his sovereign that it may be necessary for the Pope’s safety to know; and to be in like manner bound to conceal every design communicated to him on the part of the Pope, which it might be injurious to the Pope that his sovereign should know, and which, by his oath of allegiance, considered in itself, he would be bound to make known to his sovereign. It seems also to go to this; that if the sovereign of this country were engaged in a war with any state on which the papal rights or the privileges of the Roman Catholic see mainly depended, he would be bound to act in like manner, and to make and to withhold the same communications as in the case in which the Pope was the party immediately concerned. Thus, then, the bishop seems bound by an oath which interferes directly with his oath of allegiance to his sovereign, when the interests of the Pope and those of the sovereign come into collision, and when the giving the support of a loyal subject to his prince, would be vitally injurious to the Pope. If this disturbing influence exerted on the bishop, be carried down through the priest, either from the nature of his oath, or any other way, it must be unnecessary to say, from the close and influential contact into which every officiating priest is brought with the Roman Catholic population of the country, what the effect must be as to the general loyalty.”—p. 13.

His grace is then asked whether, according to his interpretation of it, this oath does not essentially clash with allegiance to any temporal sovereign whatsoever? The answer is, “Undoubtedly.” “And,” the editor subjoins,

“Accordingly, in times and countries the most devoted to the Roman Catholic religion, the civil power has compelled the bishops to make a distinct reservation of the rights of the crown. So early as the year 1246, the English bishops swore to the Pope,* “*Salvo jure domini regis* :” and we learn from the speech of the solicitor-general upon the third reading of the late relief bill, that the following clause is even now used in Spain; “*Salvis regalibus et usitatis consuetudinibus, et totâ subjectione domini Ferdinandi*.”—p. 14.

The observations of his grace on the concluding part of the oath are very important. He is asked whether he is aware of

* Father Walsh’s answer to the Bishop of Lincoln.

the clause "Hæc omnia et singula, &c. &c." His answer is as follows :—

"I think this appears an ambiguous form of expression, where a very obvious one presents itself, which would express what seems intended in a manner sufficiently decisive. And if the intention were to govern the oath of allegiance to the Pope effectively by that to the crown, I can hardly think that such a form of expression would not, to persons sincerely desirous to effect this purpose, naturally offer itself. If I were the party concerned, and were desirous to afford such satisfaction on the subject of the oath, as should clear away all suspicion as to its interference with the oath of allegiance to the sovereign, it would occur to me to add some such clause as this :—‘I hereby declare most solemnly, that if in any case whatsoever, the obligations I have placed myself under by this oath, in regard to the Pope, should clash with the oath of allegiance to my sovereign, as it is clearly understood and explained by Protestants, I shall not hold myself bound by this oath, but solely by the said oath of allegiance to my sovereign.’ The present clause begins with the words, ‘I will observe this the more inviolably.’ Now this seems not a natural or obvious form of phrase; it involves, when strictly considered, a distinction in degree with respect to inviolability, which does not seem natural; an oath cannot well be kept more inviolably or less inviolably; the use of the comparative would seem to imply a proportion to the degree of assurance which the party using these words entertained, that the oath did not interfere with his allegiance to his king, which leads, even, as I conceive, to an incorrect use of language. The whole form of phrase seems not natural; and if suspicions do exist respecting the intentions of those who take the oath, every form of expression that may be supposed to give an opening for the exercise of casuistry, should be scrupulously avoided, and the most direct, and obvious, and unqualified language alone made use of. Again, as it appears to me, it would tend to give more security, certainly more clearness, if to the oath of allegiance were added a clause reciting whatever was the reservation attached to the pontifical oath, and of a detailed nature, specifying the important matters touching allegiance, which the pontifical oath was not to affect.”—pp. 14,15.

Such are the obligations of this oath of feudal vassalage by which the Roman Catholic bishops have bound themselves to the Pope. Was his grace of Dublin wrong in considering them inconsistent with those arising out of their oath of civil allegiance? They cannot be consenting parties to any act injurious to the Pope, or by which *his royalties* may be abridged or impaired. All communications from him must be concealed; a precept which may directly militate against their duty as good subjects. When Dr. Doyle, as a subject of the King, swears that he *will* disclose to the government any treasonable conspiracy with which he may become

acquainted ; and when he swears, as a subject of the Pope, that he will *not* disclose any thing which he is commanded, by his holiness, to keep secret, can it be denied that he puts himself under contradictory obligations ? Can it be denied that cases may occur in which his civil may be opposed to his spiritual allegiance ? Does not his oath as a bishop disable him, to a certain extent, from performing his duty as a subject ? It is, we acknowledge, very natural that lay Roman Catholics should feel sore when doubts are entertained of the sincerity of their clergy. But we beg to ask them, and we do so with most affectionate earnestness, would they themselves, while their minds are as yet undebauched by casuistry, deliberately put themselves under such contradictory obligations ? And if not, (for our respect for them renders the other supposition impossible,) is it not reasonable to expect that they should remonstrate against an oath which is so well calculated to give rise to a just suspicion of their loyalty, before they proceed to demand the abandonment of those measures of precaution, which a Protestant government has found it necessary to adopt, against the overweening arrogance of Papal pretensions.

When a Roman Catholic priest hears, in the confessional box, that a foul conspiracy has been formed against “ his Majesty’s peace, his crown and dignity,” his professional duty renders it absolutely necessary that he should be guilty of misprision of treason. Is it a small privilege which a legislature, perhaps too forbearing, has conceded to him, that, in such a case, he may, with impunity, practise, what, in any other subject, would amount to a capital crime ? We venture to say that, if, at the present day, a *new* sect arose, one of the peculiar doctrines of which bound its members to conceal from government treasonable communications, no man, either within or without the walls of parliament, would be frantic enough to require for it toleration. Yet that is, precisely, the condition in which the Roman Catholic clergy are placed, according to the testimony of their bishops. Again and again, then, we entreat the lay members of that body to give a calm and a candid consideration to these things. It is not enough that they have, themselves, unlimited confidence in their spiritual guides. That very circumstance may be the cause of increased distrust in others. They should endeavour so to divest themselves of prejudice as to be able to view the question as it must be viewed by conscientious Protestants. And we have no hesitation in saying, that, if there be not a perfect readiness on their part to remove all reasonable fears, their ablest advocates will pronounce them undeserving of emancipation.

If the Roman Catholic laity continue to exhibit the same profound and deferential attachment to their bishops, which they are

known to have entertained before the parliamentary investigation, it will afford a proof of the extent of the influence of those right reverend personages which scarcely any other fact could render conceivable. Perhaps, we should rather have said, that such a submission would argue the spirit abject and the understanding prostrate, of those by whom it might be paid, to a degree that would disqualify them for the enjoyment of enlightened freedom. We will here confine ourselves to a single specimen of the evasion and casuistry by which their evidence is distinguished. Nothing can be more complete or masterly than the exposition of the editors.

“REV. W. PHELAN.

“Do you consider, that a Roman Catholic considers himself at liberty to disobey the orders of the Pope, or to exercise a discretion with respect to the orders of the Pope?—If the orders of the Pope are enforced by excommunication, he is no longer at liberty; his first duty, in that case, is to become reconciled to the church. I can explain the matter to the committee, by mentioning, that the bull *Unigenitus*, a very celebrated bull, is still in force in Ireland, and that one of the propositions condemned in that bull is of the nature inquired after. This proposition I will read to the committee: ‘The fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to deter us from doing our duty; to suffer excommunication or anathema rather than to betray the truth, is to imitate St. Paul.’ This is one of the 101 propositions of Quesnell, which are condemned by the bull *Unigenitus*; and that bull is now in force in Ireland.

“MOST REV. DR. MURRAY.

“Is the bull *Unigenitus* received in Ireland?—It is.

“Is not the following proposition condemned by that bull, namely, (*as above*,) and does it not therefore follow, that a Roman Catholic bishop has not the power to resist even an unjust excommunication, if issued by the Pope?—That proposition is condemned in the bull alluded to; but the condemnation of it is not to be understood as implying, that an unjust excommunication should deter us from doing a real duty. The proposition was condemned in the precise meaning of the individual out of whose book it was extracted. That proposition is taken from the book of Quesnell; and the meaning of the author was, that he was not to be deterred from supporting the condemned errors of Jansenius and Vavius by the dread of an excommunication; for that an unjust excommunication should not deter a man from doing his duty, that is, from doing that particular duty, a thing which really was not a duty, but a crime. The condemnation of such a proposition, understood in the sense of Quesnell, is perfectly correct. I will put a parallel case: In the beginning of the French revolution, the jacobins said, that the first duty of a citizen was insurrection. Now, if they had added, that a man was not to be deterred by the dread of an unjust excommunication from doing that duty, that is, from rising in insurrection, one

would condemn the proposition. Taken generally, it is true; yet, applied in the sense of the person using it, it is false and censurable. (*h*) The same is to be said with regard to Quesnell; his proposition, when taken generally, is true, but it is false and pernicious when understood in the sense of the writer; that is, that in his support of the errors of Jansenius and Vavius, he was not to be deterred from the path of duty he had traced out for himself by the dread of an excommunication, which he thought proper to call unjust. This proposition was, it appears, objected to by the parliament of Paris, nor would they register the bull containing it, until it was so explained; but after this explanation was given, limiting its meaning to this particular sense, the bull was registered, and became a part of the law of the land.”—p. 161-3.

“The particular proposition to be here considered appears extremely simple—‘The fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to deter us from doing our duty.’ This proposition is condemned by a bull which Dr. Murray declares to be in force in Ireland, and the condemnation, he adds, is in conformity with the doctrines of his church. The reader has already observed, that the important words in the condemned proposition are the words ‘duty’ and ‘unjust.’ Quesnell did not say that a man should not be deterred from a criminal or even from an indifferent act; he supposes the act to be one to which a man is bound by the obligation which truth imposes on him, and by a constraining sense of his duty. From such an act, the proposition goes on to state, that a man is not to be deterred by—not ‘an excommunication,’ but by an ‘unjust excommunication.’ If the excommunication be just, if the forbidden act be not a duty, the proposition, in the ordinary acceptance of the terms, is not applicable; the case which it supposes is one in which the excommunication is unjust, and the forbidden act one which conscience commands; it pronounces, that a man, in such circumstances, should not be deterred from doing his duty. Dr. Murray’s explanation is as follows: that the proposition of Quesnell, ‘considered generally, is true, but taken in the sense of the person using it, is false and censurable;’ or, as may be said, explaining the words according to the principles of language, the proposition is correct, but explaining them in the sense of the church of Rome, it is to be condemned; for, the sense in which the church regards the proposition is altogether different from that in which an ordinary reader might regard it. Quesnell declares, ‘that the dread of an unjust excommunication ought not to deter us from a duty;’ and the church of Rome interprets the expression thus, ‘the dread of a just’ excommunication ought not to deter us from a ‘crime;’ so that, in order to reconcile the opinions of Dr. Murray with the decisions of his church, we must admit, that by the word ‘unjust,’ he and his church mean ‘just,’ and by the word ‘duty’ is to be understood ‘crime.’”—p. 164.

“(h) The obvious mode of proceeding would therefore be, to condemn the particular sense, and not the general proposition. To make

this clearer, if that were possible, we have only to put the jacobin argument into the shape of a syllogism ; thus—

- ‘ The fear of an unjust excommunication should not deter us from our duty ;
- ‘ Our duty is insurrection ;
- ‘ Therefore the fear of an unjust excommunication should not deter us from insurrection.’

The error of the jacobin’s reasoning (always supposing that he would take the trouble of reasoning about excommunications) is evidently not in his first and general proposition, but in his second, which falsely asserts insurrection to be a duty. But this course could not be pursued with respect to Quesnell. The point at issue was no particular case, as the imaginary one of the jacobin, but the general proposition itself ; the Pope, who condemned it, claimed a power, *as general as the proposition*, of deciding what acts were or were not duties, what excommunications were or were not unjust. The chief error of the Jansenists, that in which, as the controversy proceeded, all the others merged, was the denial of the Pope’s universal infallibility : they admitted him to be infallible in all matters of *faith*, but held that in matters of fact he was not exempt from error. For instance, they admitted that the five propositions, which the Pope had condemned as Jansen’s, were heretical, because he had pronounced that they were so ; but they denied that Jansen understood them in the condemned sense. To overthrow this distinction, a fresh bull was issued, declaring that the sense attached by the Pope to the five propositions, *was the sense intended by the author* ; and some time after, there appeared a third bull, enjoining, under pain of excommunication, a positive assent to the Pope’s decisions, on matters of fact as well as of faith. It was in this stage of the question, that Quesnell’s book came to be examined at Rome. He was a leading Jansenist, the head of the party after the death of Arnould ; and, speaking his own sentiments and those of his whole school, he asserted that not even the threatened excommunication ought to deter a man from denying the Pope’s unlimited infallibility. It was in this sense that Quesnell understood the proposition in the text ; it was in this sense it was condemned by the Pope. *Quære*, then, was not the witness somewhat precipitate, in saying that the sense, so condemned and understood, was *false and pernicious*, and the maintenance of it *a crime* ?

“ As to the acceptance of this bull by the parliament of Paris, the brief statement of the witness requires the following commentary. When the four *Gallican propositions* were adopted in 1682, the Pope protested against them ; but Lewis XIV. was too much flattered by their assertion of his independence in temporal matters, to allow them to be rescinded. Rome, disappointed for a season, watched her opportunity, and, thirty years after, found one in the Jansenist dispute ; Lewis, now in his dotage, was prevailed on to sanction the bull *Unigenitus* ; and the inexorable bigotry of the *grand monarque* forced it on the parliament. The Jansenist clergy were deprived of their livings,

and either banished or put into prison; and the laymen of their school were refused the sacraments. Thus far the witness might have learned from Bower; the remainder of the story shall be told in the words of Dr. O'Connor. 'The bull *Unigenitus*,' says that most learned Roman Catholic, 'was condemned by the Sorbonne immediately after the death of Lewis; and the Jesuit Le Tellier, the monarch's confessor, was banished to *La Fleche*, loaded with the public execration. The condemnation of the 91st proposition, by its enforcing obedience to unjust censures, was felt to be repugnant to moral obligations. The refusal of the sacraments to those who would not subscribe the bull, disturbed the tranquillity of private life, and caused an insurrection of the magistracy, so that those who persisted in their refusal were banished the kingdom. Benedict XIV., fearful of the storm which thickened every day, issued a brief declaring that, since he could not condemn the bulls of his predecessors, the bull should be registered; but that those who rejected it, ought to have the sacraments *at their own risk*. This political middle course was called *the law of silence*, and caused the greatest scandal of all. The parliaments, disgusted rather than edified by this political middle course in matters of religion, protested against it, *and utterly suppressed the bull, as repugnant to the liberties of the Gallican church.*" *Columbanus*, 6. xx.—p. 168-70.

There is no better mode of enabling the reader to appreciate the degree of authority to which Dr. Doyle is entitled, than by setting before him the contradictory opinions which that reverend gentleman has, at different times, expressed upon the same subject.

Dr. Doyle's Evidence.

"Is insurrection one of the offences for which a bishop might excommunicate?—He might do so with great propriety; we conceive any revolt against the state, as one of the most grave of offences."

"I think, if the present tithe composition bill were universally adopted, or a compulsory clause inserted in it, and the tithe levied by an acreable tax, that would excite infinitely less discontent than exists in Ireland."

Dr. Doyle's Letter to Mr. Robinson.

"If a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would be fulminated by a catholic prelate, or, if fulminated, it would fall, as Grattan once said of British supremacy, like a spent thunderbolt; some gazed at it, the people were fond to touch it."

"I have read some where, nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur, and I am reminded of it, and of the truth contained in it, by turning my thoughts to that measure, which is the most, if not the only important one, for which Ireland is indebted to her present

rulers. I mean the tithe composition bill, which, like a bill of discovery, exhibits to the world the enormous wealth possessed in tithes by the church, whilst it repays the patience of the country by aggravating her burdens in proportion to the apathy of the people."—*Letters on the State of Ireland*, p. 32.

"When you use the words, *salvo meo ordine*, what are the distinctive privileges of the Irish church which you reserve?—By the canons of the church, I, being once inducted into a bishopric, cannot be removed from that bishopric unless I commit a canonical fault, am tried for it, and sentence passed upon me. There is a case where the canons secure to me a right which every other man has not; for instance, the vicar apostolic, who lives in this town, though he was to do nothing at all that was faulty, could, by a mere rescript from the Pope, be suspended from his office, or deprived entirely of it. I have a right from which I cannot be removed more than the Pope from his see, unless I transgress the law of God, and am tried and convicted for the offence."

"The Catholic prelates recognise in the Pope *a right and a power*, not only to suppress and establish chapters, but even to suppress, alter, modify, and change bishoprics; to reduce metropolitans to the rank of suffragans, and vice versâ, whenever the interest of the church or necessity requires it; but what may be still more shocking to this layman, *they even believe that the Pope is the judge of the necessity that would warrant such a proceeding.*"—*Letter of J.K.L. in the Dublin Evening Post of March 21st, 1822.*

These samples are we think sufficient to determine the value of Dr. Doyle's opinions. His authority cannot be greater than his consistency. And if his admirers can reconcile, by any achievement of ingenuity, his statements as an author with his declarations as a witness, we will consent to become believers in transubstantiation.

But we find that our extracts, although far from sufficient to do justice to the work before us, have already exceeded the limits within which, in a publication like this, they should be circumscribed. We are, we confess it, very anxious that the Roman Catholic laity should be enabled to form a correct estimate of the candour and intelligence of those for whose sakes, or in consequence of whose intrigues, they are suffering under what-

ever remains of the penal restrictions. The information conveyed in the work before us exhibits them in a new light. Hitherto we had considered them as malignant agitators, possessed by a spirit of deadly and rancorous hatred towards the church establishment, and of rooted hostility to the British name. We will not undertake to say that this impression has been altogether removed; but it has been tempered by an emotion of pity, from seeing the extent to which they must be regarded as the dupes of priestly artifice and the victims of priestly domination. After perusing the evidence of their prelates we would ask them, is it too much to expect of divines, who can so readily gloze over the most revolting tenets, and so conveniently explain away the obvious import of the plainest language, to give their own laity the benefit of their casuistry, by performing the still easier task of explaining away all the essential differences between the churches of Rome and England, and thus enabling them at the same time to be orthodox, and to escape the inconveniences of the law? This would be a most effectual and compendary mode of completing their emancipation at one blow: and if they neglect to have recourse to it, we most devoutly hope that the laity may be induced to have recourse to it for themselves.

We are the more earnest in pressing these considerations upon the minds of educated and intelligent Roman Catholic laymen, because we are persuaded they have overlooked the very serious ground of objection to their claims arising out of the obligations of their priesthood, and the principles to which they must themselves be considered as pledged as long as they acquiesce in the propriety of these obligations. We fear that the question, as it regards the peculiarities of their religion, has seldom, seriously, engaged their attention. The political struggle in which they have been engaged has engendered feelings which are adverse to a candid, scrutinizing, and dispassionate inquiry into the dogmas of their creed. Indeed we have heard it stated, as one of the strongest arguments in favour of their claims, that the concession of them would almost certainly lead to their conversion, and that their political would be but a prelude to their moral and spiritual emancipation: that, in fact, they are at present kept in connection with Popery more by the spirit of party than religious scruples or prejudices. If this be true there must be amongst them many who are chargeable with continuing the penal enactments against themselves. If an individual continues nominally a Roman Catholic only because the laws are adverse to that body, he is guilty of a degree of contumacy which disentitles him to any sympathy for the disabilities with which he may be visited. No man has a right to

say, "I choose to adhere to such or such opinions, merely because they are discountenanced by the government of my country." Government may or may not be right in proscribing them; but he, clearly, cannot be right in entertaining them upon such grounds. His first duty is to see how far he can, conscientiously, conform to the authorized standard of orthodoxy. And it is only when, after diligent examination, he has ascertained that his duty to God renders it necessary for him to dissent from the creed of the Established church, that such dissent can be viewed in any other light than as a most contemptuous rejection of established authority. The man who, without any constraining persuasion of the truth of the Roman Catholic religion, voluntarily subjects himself to the disabilities under which its professors labour, must evidently, with a very bad grace, complain of persecution. What he lays claim to is, not indulgence to a tender conscience, but a liberty of capriciously condemning the authority of the state upon the subject of religion. The conscientious dissenter may and ought to be indulged to the full extent to which the well being of the state permits indulgence to be extended. But the factious dissenter, he whose mode of faith is determined by his political prejudices, who chooses to say that he believes what he has never examined, merely that he may be set in opposition to the law, to profess absurdity merely that he may be able to boast of persecution, for him we cannot have the same consideration. Him we advise to see how far his opinions may be accommodated to the laws, before he seeks to have the laws accommodated to his opinions. Mahomet was wise when, instead of expecting the mountain to come to him, he went to the mountain. And if there be many amongst the Roman Catholics who come under the description of merely nominal professors of that religion, not only are they liable to the imputation of culpable folly in thus suffering their passions to blind their judgment upon the most important of all subjects which can engage the attention of a thinking human being, but, in thus causelessly and wantonly setting themselves in opposition to the law, they furnish the most substantial ground for disbelieving the representations which are made of the very aggravated severity of the remaining penal enactments.

If we considered Mr. O'Connel and the association orators the fair representatives of the Irish Roman Catholic gentry, it would be our bounden duty to use a stronger tone of reprehension. We should, in that case, consider them utterly undeserving of any kindly regard, and leave them to be dealt with as might seem fit to the law authorities of the country whose character they tarnish, and whose peace they so wantonly disturb. But we have

reason to believe that there is a large and an increasing number of educated Roman Catholic gentlemen who groan in spirit over the disgrace which is brought upon the body at large by the folly and vehemence of the unprincipled brawlers who contrive to keep the lead amongst them; and for these we cannot help feeling a greater degree of solicitude than they seem to have for themselves. We really believe that they have never seriously asked themselves, why it is that they continue to expose themselves to the operation of the penal enactments. Their connection with the church of Rome is notoriously nominal. They do not disguise their deep disgust at the characters and aversion from the conduct of the leaders. They suffer under the stigma of Popery without faith, and incur the disgrace of partisanship without political attachment. The clergy suspect them; the leaders despise them. They have themselves a perfect conviction of the absurdities professed by the one, and the indecent violence exhibited by the other. What motive, then, has been sufficiently constraining to induce them thus to persevere in enduring the accumulated evils of contempt and obloquy and persecution? Simply a principle of false shame, by which they are prevented from avowing and acting upon a conviction, which, if legitimately followed up, would at once completely secure both their moral and political emancipation. It would rescue them from a profession which they believe to be erroneous, and from a connection which they feel to be disgraceful. It would put an end to the tyranny of priests and demagogues, and enfranchise them with all the privileges of the constitution. In fact, they have only to assert their moral, in order to secure their political, liberty. If *they* complain of being in a state of slavery, it is slavery to one of the falsest and most ridiculous principles that ever influenced the human mind. We confidently pronounce that the time is fast approaching when this class of persons will see their error. Such folly is too egregious—it cannot last. They must speedily be sensible of the absurd criminality of thus giving even a negative countenance to a system of fraud and violence and imposture; and a better persuasion will take possession of their minds which will leave them only to regret that they were so tardy in doing themselves justice.

This they must feel to be the more necessary now that the question of Roman Catholic emancipation has been made to turn upon the truth or falsehood of the imputations alleged against the church of Rome. The doctrine of a deposing power, and the principle that faith is not to be kept with heretics, were made prominent topics of examination. The Popish bishops were bold and confident in their denial that such offensive tenets

could be fairly imputed to their church. But facts are stubborn things; and the history of the times during which these doctrines were both avowed and acted upon is too authentic to be invalidated by the most dogmatical asseverations. Here we will briefly advert to a species of sophism to which some of the honourable members upon the committees had recourse for the purpose of unduly magnifying, as we must think, the authority of those witnesses whose evidence was thought most favourable to "Catholic emancipation." It was asked, whether it was not reasonable to consider the Roman Catholic prelates the best commentators upon the doctrines of their own church? And, when this question was answered in the affirmative, it was inferred, that their statements, upon all those points connected with their religious system, must be considered of paramount authority; and consequently that they must nullify contradictory Protestant representations. To this the opposing witnesses might have answered, that *their* opinions upon these subjects were formed not upon the statements of Protestant, but of Roman Catholic divines; that the decrees of Popes and the decisions of councils were matters of authentic history; and that in choosing to abide by the representations of writers who enjoyed the full confidence of the court of Rome, and wrote without any temptation to disguise or to palliate their doctrines, in preference to those of witnesses who have a particular object in view, and who are, perhaps, themselves unaware of the degree in which they may have been influenced by the desire of attaining that object; that in thus choosing they were not conscious of departing from that rule which common sense as well as common law recognises, viz. that a man is not the very best witness in his own case, and that, consequently, a wise and prudent person will seek some stronger reasons for parting with his prejudices against Popery than the unsupported statements of those who are only prevented by such prejudices from attaining political power. In the present case the Roman Catholic prelates must not be considered as unbiassed judges, but as interested parties; and no authority can be claimed for their evidence other than that which belongs to it from its substantial agreement with the most authentic statements respecting the doctrine and discipline of their church. When, therefore, opinions are expressed by Protestants which reflect discredit upon the Roman Catholic church, it is not enough to say, in refutation of them, that Drs. Murray and Doyle think otherwise. These are but fallible, unauthorized individuals, and can speak only their own sentiments. And as we fully subscribe to the justice of the position, that it is unfair to seek for ground of imputation against any church in the

opinions or misconduct of its individual members ; so, we feel justified in asserting, that it is no less unfair to ground a vindication or denial of authorized acts and established principles upon no better foundation.

When, therefore, divines come forward asserting what is plainly contradicted by matter of fact, they are only impugning their own veracity. We have heard much of the unfairness of fastening upon them doctrines which they deny, and arguing against them upon the supposition of absurdities which they repudiate. But the real question is, are these doctrines matters of authentic record, so as to be fairly imputable to their church? And are these absurdities matter of legitimate inference, so as to be fairly deducible from admitted premises? When in the council of Lateran it is declared, that oaths which militate against the interest of the church are not to be called oaths, but perjuries, how can Dr. Doyle or Murray, without denying that words are intended to convey ideas, deny that good faith is thus made contingent upon ecclesiastical expediency? Even allowing that these individuals are as good authority as the above-named council, we have no better evidence of their testimony than of its words. It is not more true that these gentlemen made the declarations attributed to them before the committees of lords and commons, than it is that the church of Rome, in council assembled, sanctioned the revolting declaration, that the observance of an oath, when the interest of the church might be served by its violation, was equivalent to a perjury. If their evidence purported that the church of Rome has now grown wiser and better than she was, that she no longer sanctions the horrid doctrine which was then promulgated and acted upon, the proposition, although disputable, would be intelligible; if we did not agree with them, at least we could understand them. But when, upon their ipse dixit, and in direct contradiction to the most authentic records of history, they call upon us to believe that such a doctrine *never* was maintained, this is just as modest as to expect that, in compliment to them, we should abjure the evidence of sense and the guidance of reason ; that very evidence and that very guidance by which alone we could be enabled to put a sane construction upon their own testimony. For if we are unable to judge rightly concerning the import of the passage in the council of Lateran, (than which nothing can be plainer,) as well may we distrust our judgments in putting any intelligible construction upon the words in which these distinguished prelates have given their evidence. The position, in fact, amounts to this, that words are not to be understood in their obvious and ordinary signification. So that the very same commentary which

relieves the canon of its atrocity, deprives their evidence of its authority. Words are not to be understood in their obvious and ordinary meaning. *Therefore* the canon in the council of Lateran is not to be understood as justifying a violated faith. *But, therefore, also*, we are unable to place any reliance upon the evidence of Drs. Doyle and Murray. So that in resorting to such an explanation of this revolting dogma as confounds the ordinary meaning of language, the Popish prelates resemble the Irishman, who is represented in one of Hogarth's pictures, sitting on the extreme end of a beam, at a considerable distance from the ground, and very composedly occupied in sawing through the part between him and the wall from which it projects, apparently unconscious that his position is insecure precisely in proportion as his industry is successful.

But if the evidence of these gentlemen be upon their own principles good for any thing, there is one part of it which may not be without its use. They have stated broadly, a distinction between what is properly matter of faith, and what is matter of ecclesiastical regulation merely; between, in fact, what must be unalterable and what may be changed. And they have thus evinced that the state may claim a control over several matters, heretofore supposed beyond its cognizance, without encroaching on the rights of conscience. It is clear, therefore, that government possesses a power by which many of the evils of the present system may be corrected; and it is not conceivable but that the better educated Roman Catholic laymen must be anxious for such a reformation in the discipline of their church as may render it more conformable to the spirit of the age, and less offensive to Protestant institutions. Government may, upon the showing of these prelates, now take the matter to a very considerable extent into its own hands, and insist upon such modifications and arrangements as would very materially allay the apprehensions of those who cannot at present but regard with jealousy the influence of the court of Rome. In the first place, no subject of the British government should be suffered to take the oath which is taken by the Roman Catholic bishops. It directly militates against the oath of allegiance. It is only by a species of casuistry, which might just as well be employed to justify a disregard of any religious obligation, that they can, by possibility, be reconciled. When Dr. Doyle was asked how he could reconcile the concealment which became him as a confessor, in case of the disclosure of treasonable practices, with his oath of allegiance, he answered, unhesitatingly, that in taking the oath of allegiance, government being aware of his obligation as a priest, he thought it fair to understand it only in such a sense as

admitted the unimpaired validity of that obligation. This plainly proves that when the duty of the churchman is opposed to that of the citizen and the subject, the latter must give way to the former. It proves that the oath of the priest effectually governs the oath of allegiance. That this should continue to be so, no good subject, either Protestant or Roman Catholic, could desire for one moment. Our Protestant government has surely a right to the same protection against the overweening spirit of Papal encroachment, as that without which the government of France deemed itself insecure. And therefore we are persuaded that the more respectable members of the church of Rome can have no objection that their clergy should be compelled to an assertion of something like the Gallican liberties.

Indeed it is a curious instance of the ignorance which prevails upon this part of the subject amongst the advocates of the Roman Catholic claims, that they seem to have been under the persuasion that the Gallican liberties have been claimed by the Roman Catholic church in Ireland. The fact is directly otherwise; although the Roman Catholic prelates did not think it necessary or expedient to undeceive parliament upon the subject. When Dr. Murray was asked whether "the Irish Catholic bishops adopted or rejected what are called the Gallican liberties?" he answered, "Those liberties have not come under their consideration as a body." And Dr. Doyle, when asked a similar question, answered to the same effect. The opinion of Dr. Milner upon this subject is somewhat different. His words are these:—

"The *ex-curé* (Blanchard) insists in the strongest terms, on revolutionizing our English theology no less than our church government, by obliging us to adopt the four French articles, though there is not a single prelate in England or Ireland, who is not firmly resolved to the contrary. We are very far from finding fault with the partisans of those articles; still we think we see in them the germ of all the present mischief; and to be brief, we are determined neither to have Blanchard for our theologian, nor to subscribe to the articles."—p. 106.

In reference to the evidence of Drs. Doyle and Murray, the editor thus observes:—

"The witnesses are much mistaken. The Gallican liberties were proposed by the Irish government to the titular hierarchy, upon two memorable occasions, when the hopes and interests of their generous followers were deeply involved in their decision; and they were rejected. It is well known, that Charles II. was well disposed towards the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland; and that he designed, if not to make it the established religion, at least to give it full pro-

tection and a respectable endowment. Accordingly, in June 1666, a national synod of the Roman Catholic clergy was held in Dublin, by licence of the lord lieutenant, (Ormond,) who desired that they would deliberate upon *the Gallican liberties*. There were then six propositions known by that title; but they corresponded in substance to the four more comprehensive articles which were substituted for them in 1682. Of these six, the synod adopted one half, with some changes of expression, which, to an eye unaccustomed to scrutinize these matters, might appear unimportant; but the other half they rejected peremptorily. The following were the three rejected:

“‘That we do not approve any propositions, contrary to the authority of the king or the true liberties of the Gallican church, or the canons received in that kingdom.

“‘That it is not our doctrine, that the Pope is above a general council.

“‘That it is not our doctrine, that the Pope is infallible, without the consent of the church.’

“The reason assigned by the synod for rejecting these, is the same with that attributed by Dr. Murray to his brethren of the present day. They said, that the consideration of them was unnecessary for the purposes of civil allegiance; that the other articles contained the leading doctrines, and that they were ready to adopt these doctrines upon oath. The witnesses would have found the proceedings of this synod very amply given by father Walsh, in his history of the Irish Remonstrance, or more briefly in Mr. Butler’s history.

“In 1778, the government again sounded the titular hierarchy upon this intricate question. The transaction is thus described by Mr. England, in his life of Father O’Leary:—‘The framers of the bill of 1778 sought to enslave the clergy, in proportion as they restored the right of subjects and the privileges of civil liberty to the Catholic laity. The proposed measures included the right of nominating Catholic bishops, or a power equivalent, by negating all future appointments to the prelacy; and they, moreover, required that every clergyman should sign and adopt the celebrated *Gallican propositions*. The reply of the bishops who were applied to on this subject, was prompt and unequivocal; the former, they stated, it was totally beyond their competency to concede, without incurring schism; and *the substance of the latter text was embodied already in their oath of allegiance*,’ (p. 269.) Here again, there is a strong resemblance between the language of the witness and that of his departed brethren. This language suggests a very considerable difficulty. *The substance* of the liberties, say the bishops of 1778, is embodied in our oath of allegiance; the *leading doctrines* of the liberties, say the bishops of 1825, are contained in our oath of allegiance; *the liberties*, says Dr. Milner, in 1809, speaking in the name of all the bishops, contain the germ of all the evils which afflict or threaten us, and we cannot adopt them without revolutionizing our church. The oath is taken ‘without equivocation;’ of course, these *leading* and *substantial articles* are adopted cordially and unreservedly, so that the mischief, if any,

in the remaining articles, must be subordinate, unsubstantial, in fine, rather nominal than real. Yet the whole, taken together, would *revolutionize* their church, would bring in heresy instead of faith, schism instead of Catholic communion. There seems a strange incongruity here.

“In fact, however, there is *no* incongruity. These liberties have never been adopted in Ireland, either in substance or in terms, in part or in the whole; and, whoever may be responsible for the insolence, a trick has been played upon the legislature. The two great articles are, that the Pope has no power over temporal affairs, and that he is not infallible; the second of these is necessary for the security of the first, for, otherwise, as it was well and pithily urged by the English Roman Catholic committee, ‘If the Pope assume to pronounce a temporal concern to be a spiritual concern, is not the Catholic bound to submit his judgment to that of the Pope?’ Now, how have the titular hierarchy adopted these two?

“As to the first, they say in the oath of allegiance, that the Pope has *no temporal power* within this realm; but the reader has already seen, that the authority which the Pope claims, as vicar of Christ, is not called temporal, though it extend to temporal things; even Boniface does not wrest the civil sword from the hand of the civil magistrate, though he says it must be used at the nod of the priesthood. Accordingly, the Gallican divines drew up their first article in a manner free of all ambiguity; they declared that the Pope, as vicar of Jesus Christ, has power over spiritual things, but not over temporal things. They give no epithet to the power, but they limit the class of objects; the oath does not limit the objects, but defines the power to be spiritual. The general reader will find, in the course of this review, a very easy proof of the reality of the distinction here made. The questions which bear the name of Mr. Pitt, and which would disgrace the sagacity of that great man, if it were not known that no statesman of these days will take the trouble of examining school divinity, received the same answers from all the universities, those of Spain and the Netherlands, as well as that of Paris. Now, Paris maintained the Gallican articles; the others, particularly the Spanish schools, not only never adopted these articles, but had been, for some ages, condemning them and whatever was grounded on them. An instance of this has been stated in evidence. Bossuet and the Sorbonne approved the English oath of allegiance; and upon their authority, the duke of York, afterwards James II., set his future subjects an example by taking it. Yet the oath was condemned in Spain; and Bossuet’s own books narrowly escaped a similar sentence. When, therefore, the Spanish schools declared that the Pope, as vicar of Jesus Christ, had *no temporal power*, they by no means intended to affirm the Gallican proposition, which says, that the Pope has *no power in temporals*. Had the question been proposed in that shape, Catholic unity would have been found to be a name; Spain would have answered one way; and France another. Something similar transpires from the answer of Dr. Doyle, with respect to the Portuguese schools.

Coimbra would have readily said, that the Pope had no temporal power; it would be less prompt, were the question worded with the professional accuracy of the Sorbonne. As for the sympathy, which Dr. Doyle supposes, between the Gallican tenets and those of Maynooth, it is quite amazing how any man, who, as he says of himself, has taught theology for many years, could have fallen into so great an error. The mistake will be palpable to the most unprepared reader, if he will but turn to the triple contrast in the preceding note. Professor De La Hogue changed his doctrines with his domicile: no change is necessary for those who come from Italy, Spain, or Portugal."—p. 108-111.

What will the apologists for Popery in Ireland say to this? How will the admirers of the Popish prelates reconcile the solemn statements of these gentlemen with the candour or intelligence for which they gave them credit? The Gallican liberties not only have never been received, but have been more than once deliberately rejected by the Roman Catholic church in Ireland. Is it then unfair to say, that much caution should be used in admitting the authority of witnesses, who could, upon such a subject, have been betrayed into such a gross mistake, or have had recourse to such a deliberate misrepresentation. The Roman Catholic prelates were either uninformed upon the subject themselves, or they wished to misinform others. If the former, they were blind guides, and to be pitied. If the latter, they were false guides, and to be condemned. And in either case are we not justified in refusing their guidance through one of the most important and intricate inquiries that ever engaged the attention of parliament? Indeed it is for their own laity, who are the only sufferers by it, to say how much longer *they* will continue to endure that equivocal dealing, on the part of their prelates, which arises from the contrast between their professions and their principles. The editor observes:—

"There is not the smallest reason to suspect, that the great mass of the Roman Catholic laity are at all aware of the artifices which have been employed upon this painful subject of the Gallican liberties. Their cause is distinct from that of the priesthood, if they would but have the discretion to let it remain so. But for the clerical body, especially its more intelligent members, (including, of course, the bishops,) it is impossible to acquit them of wilfully trifling with the sanctity of oaths, and practising on the generosity of a too easy legislature. This is a grave charge; it has not been hazarded lightly. The best refutation which the titular prelacy can give of it, will be a solemn and unequivocal adoption of the liberties; however promptly they may now act, they will not, at all events, be censured for precipitancy."—pp. 111, 112.

The concession to the Crown of a veto upon all episcopal

appointments in the church of Rome, has been much spoken of as a measure likely to afford an effectual security against any evils to be apprehended from an abuse of prelatical authority. It has, however, always heretofore been most absurdly suspended upon the consent of parties who are very little likely to appreciate the reasonableness of the fears which have suggested its necessity. In the work before us we find a more constitutional language, and the subject is put in the only light in which we hope it will, for the future, be regarded by parliament.

“Wishing to speak with the most profound deference of every thing which passes in either house of parliament, the editor is yet unable to suppress his surprise that, not only in the present question, but in grave projects and formal debates, the measure of a *veto* is always suspended upon the grant and acceptance of temporalities. There is an answer of a learned witness, formerly an eminent Irish judge, which expresses very fully his opinion on this subject. ‘I do not know,’ he says, ‘that we are to ask those gentlemen what it is they would or not consent to; we must legislate for the advantage of the country at large, and not look to the right or left for consents and opinions, *as if we were capitulating with an independent state*. It is not for their benefit alone that this is intended to be done, but for the benefit of the empire through them; and I should see what would be the best course for the whole.’ If it be true, that the titular hierarchy possess great political influence, and that, in a well-ordered state, there should be no political power independent of the sovereign, the necessity and right of control are obvious; and if a *veto* would secure that control, the state might take a *veto* without descending to negotiation. The only other point for government to consider, would be, whether the assumption of such a power was an invasion of the rights of conscience; and this point is settled by the following evidence.”—pp. 212, 213.

We are glad to perceive that most of the measures adopted by the present Irish government have been, to a considerable degree, successful. By the Insurrection act an extensive and formidable conspiracy against law and property has been defeated. By the Tithe Composition act the outcry against the clergy has been quieted, and a very considerable relief has been afforded to the poorer cultivators of the soil. And the Constabulary act, together with the practice, now pretty general in the south and west of Ireland, of holding petty sessions, has cheapened and facilitated and purified the administration of justice. But we still continue firmly persuaded that a strong coercive influence is necessary to overawe and intimidate insurrectionary audacity, and maintain the authority of law. The coaxing system will never do for Ireland. The efficacy of the wisest and most benevolent measures would be completely coun-

teracted by a suspicion that they proceeded from weakness or timidity. The people of that country must feel that we are strong, before they can believe that we are kind or well intentioned towards them. Indeed we are of opinion that the very argument of intimidation, which the Popish orators use with so much confidence for the purpose of compelling the admission of their claims, should alone, if there were no other grounds of opposition, be sufficient to cause the rejection of them. The most sanguine advocates of "Catholic emancipation" do not contemplate greater benefits from the accomplishment of that measure, than we should evils from the admission of a principle which would speedily be pushed to a more dangerous extent, and might ultimately lead to a dismemberment of the empire. Whatever, therefore, the measures may be by which Ireland is to be benefited, it is absolutely necessary to their efficacy that they appear to flow from the spontaneous good-will and unbiassed discretion of parliament. It is in the next place requisite that, in the event of any obstruction arising from fraud or force, some power should ever be in readiness to carry them into complete effect. What security does the landlord derive from the power of ejectment if more danger results to himself from its exercise, than inconvenience to his refractory tenantry from its operation? In this country the advantages of law are so well understood, that the community are in arms against those who violate it. In Ireland, the peasantry have been so long suffered to enjoy the advantages of lawlessness, that they have an instinctive preference for what is irregular and disorderly. Without, therefore, some strong controlling power to correct this propensity to insubordination, the very best enactments will work no better than a ploughshare in a rocky soil; they will be perpetually put aside from their course, and we can never be secure of a steady uniformity in their operation.

One most important result of the whole inquiry unquestionably is, that the real grievances under which the people labour are but in a very small degree, and very remotely, referable to the penal disabilities: and that there is no sufficient reason for thinking that they would be materially mitigated if these disabilities were removed. The outcry against tithes and the church establishment has been proved, even upon the showing of the agitators themselves, to have been utterly unfounded. And the evils of the landlord system, an exhausted soil and a beggarly and unprincipled population, have been so fully exposed, that if the prudent foresight of the Irish gentry do not lead to a speedy correction of them, legislative interference will be inevitable. The people themselves are, we would fain believe, beginning to

see how very little their condition would be improved by the measures for which the demagogues are so clamorous. It may, we admit, be a cause of personal annoyance, but can surely be no national concern, that some half dozen barristers cannot wear silk gowns. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Shiel may fret and vapour on that account, but, in a country where so many more pressing and immediate evils exist; it is folly to look upon it as an efficient cause of rational discontent or disturbance. The man who is not certain of being able to procure daily bread for himself and his family, will not give himself much concern because a rich relative has been disabled, by act of parliament, from dining on roast beef and plum pudding. He must be out of the reach of immediate want, before he can have any disposable sympathy. Indeed, we may truly say, that we should be pleased to see the people of that country take an earnest interest in the grievances of their orators, inasmuch as it would argue the absence of the more crying grievances which are, at present, their own.

The demagogues tell us, that while the penal laws exist, the people will be discontented; and they leave nothing undone to keep the people discontented in order that the penal laws may be repealed. But government should pause before they adopt a remedy suggested by those whose misconduct has caused the disease. Popular disturbance is an evil for the removal of which the very last persons to be consulted are the popular disturbers. Indeed, the heartless levity with which, in the present instance, they overlook or undervalue the real ills under which the people labour, is just as remarkable as the unblushing audacity with which they descant on the imaginary evil. We heartily rejoice at those disclosures in the course of the inquiry, which must for the future serve as an antidote to the mischief which might otherwise arise from factious and exaggerated representations. Mr. Shiel has well earned the title of "the rhetorical artificer," and may, for the future, indulge his now innocuous propensity to revile his betters, secure of exciting no other feelings, in the bosoms of the objects of his slander, than those of pity or contempt. It is necessary, even at the present day, that a man should possess some semblance of moral principle in order to be able to do much mischief.

But if, notwithstanding all that has been done to open the eyes of the people of Ireland, such characters as Mr. Shiel and Mr. O'Connell should still possess a power of keeping up the fever of popular discontent in that country, parliament, which has, as yet, done little more than signify its wishes upon the subject, will, no doubt, see the wisdom of adopting some effective

mode of curbing their interested and wicked violence. Measures of coercion towards the demagogue would, in effect, prove to be measures of a salutary and beneficent liberality towards the people. At all events, it is absolutely necessary that the peace of Ireland should not be dependant upon the foul breath of those who, in justice to that country, we would fain believe to be amongst the very vilest of its inhabitants. The supremacy of British law must be asserted not only over violence but over faction. And the agitator must be made to feel that there is as little impunity for his seditious eloquence, as for the crimes to which it seduces his credulous dupes and victims.

ART. II.—*Testamenta Vetusta; being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c. as well as of the Descents and Possessions of many distinguished Families. From the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth.* By Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

“LAST Wills and testaments,” says that eminent Civilian John Godolphin, in his *Orphan’s Legacy*, first published in 1674, “were known in the world long before Time had any one grey hair;” and he has given a good reason, in his Preface to the same work, for this their primæval adoption; because “the duel of *Meum* and *Tuum* is specially entailed on the families of such as set not their house in order.” So great, however, have been the improvements in the science of Law, during the long lapse of ages since the days of Abraham, (who, on the authority of the 2d and 3d verses of the 15th chapter of Genesis, is held, by the above-named excellent Doctor, to be the first person on record who entertained a just notion of hereditaments,) that it has almost become problematical which families are least likely to be involved in the meshes of posthumous litigation; those among whom property has been partitioned in due technical form, or those who are left to partition it among themselves by their own natural sense of justice. Certain it is, that an evil-minded legatee, stung by penury and disappointment, and unrestrained by principle or affection, may profit by the endless subtilties and refinements, which are the necessary product of a code resting upon decisions frequently conflicting, and daily accumulating; and he who has just sufficient smattering of Law to convert its bad points into weapons of offence, may gratify his rapacity or

his malignity, by raising vexatious obstacles against the obvious rights of other claimants, and the manifest intentions of a testator.

Be this as it may, the advice to Hezekiah is beneficial as a general rule, and Wills should not be laid aside because, like all other good things, they are liable to occasional abuse. Mr. Nicolas, in the volumes before us, has not extended his researches quite so far back as the times of the Father of the Faithful, or the pious King of Judah ; but he has dipped his pen deep into antiquity, and has presented us with a valuable commentary upon English domestic history from the decease of Henry II. He has included in his collection the substance of Nichols's *Royal Wills*, and has gleaned besides, from Dugdale's *Baronage*, Collins's *Peerage*, and numerous County Histories and Family Memoirs. But his chief supplies have been drawn from manuscripts in the British Museum, or in the possession of private individuals. With a laudable attention to accuracy, (that first principle of antiquarian being,) he was anxious to consult such original documents as might be found deposited in the great national registry at Doctors' Commons. From this search, however, he was speedily deterred, not only by the heavy expenses attendant upon it, but still more (the charge is so disgraceful to the body against which it is brought, that we cordially wish it could be rebutted) by the want of urbanity, the rude manner, and the insolent tone of those with whom it was necessary to come in collision for this purpose.

The *formulae* with which Wills, for the most part, commence, appear subject to considerable variation. Henry II., John, Henry III., and many other of our Kings, content themselves by enumerating their several styles and titles. Edward I. has the grace to bequeath his soul to God, to our Lady, and all the Saints. Henry IV., with a strange mixture of pride and humility, begins, "I, Henry, sinful wretch, by the grace of God King," &c. His son, who made his Will when he had an intention to invade France, appeals to "the worship of the blessed Trinity, of our Lady St. Mary, and of all the blessed company of Heaven." Edmund Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt, son and heir of Edmund Langley Duke of York, calls himself "of all sinners the most wicked ;" and he was not much mistaken in so doing, if we may credit contemporary history.

Sir Thomas Latimer, of Braybroke, who had distinguished himself among the Lollards in the time of Richard II., appears to have been repentant on his death-bed, and couches his Will in the following terms of self-reproach :—

"Thomas Latimer, of Braybroke, 13th September, 1401, a false knight to God, thanking God of his mercy, having such mind as he

vouchsafeth; desiring that God's will be fulfilled in me, and in 'godys,' that he hath taken me to keep; and to that make my testament in this manner. First, I acknowledge I am unworthy to bequeath to him any thing of my power, and therefore I pray to him meekly of his grace, that he will take so poor a present, as my wretched soul is, into his mercy, through the beseeching of his blessed mother and his holy saints, and my wretched body to be buried wherever I die in the next church-yard, God vouchsafe, and not in the church, but in the utterest corner, as he is that is unworthy to lye therein, save the mercy of God: and that there be no manner of cost done about my burying, neither in meat, neither in drink, nor in no other thing, but it be to any such one that needeth it, after the law of God, save tway tapers of wax, and anon as I be dead, put me in the earth."—pp. 158, 159.

The penitence of Sir Lewes Clifford, who had attached himself to the same sect, is still more forcibly expressive:—

"I, Lewis Clifford, false and traitor to my Lord God, and to all the blessed company of Heaven, and unworthy to be called a christian man, make and ordaine my testament and my last will the 17th of September, 1404. At the beginning I, most unworthy and God's traitor, recommend my wretched and sinful soul wholly to the grace and to the mercy of the blessed Trinity, and my wretched carrion to be buried in the furthest corner of the church-yard in which parish my wretched soul departeth from my body. And I pray and charge my executors, as they will answer before God, and as all my whole trust in this matter is in them, that on my stinking carrion be neither laid cloth of gold nor of silk, but a black cloth, and a taper at my head, and another at my feet; no stone, nor other thing whereby any man may know where my stinking carrion lieth."—p. 164.

Sir Richard Edgecumbe, Knight, of Penryn, in 1489, resolving not to run any hazard of being forgotten, in the other world, has recourse to a series of flappers. "I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, beseeching the blessedful Virgin Mary, his mother, to be a mean unto his most benign grace to shew his most pitiful grace and mercy to my soul; and mine in especial good master Saint Thomas of Canterbury, to be a rememberer unto her for the same." Sir Thomas Bryan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in the reign of Henry VII., is very brief in his description of himself. "Thomas Bryan, Knight, though unworthy Chief Justice," and he concludes with a singular adjuration, "*Thoma, Thoma, fili mi Thoma, rogo et requiro te ut filiali dilectione diligas animam meam, et tu mihi predilecta Margareta uxor ejus rogo tu illum adjuva. Valet.*"

There are few more solemn or more rationally devout preambles than the following, to be found in this collection:—

“In Dei nomine Amen. The twenty-second day of November, in the year of our Lord 1503, and in the nyneteenth year of the reigne of King Henry the VIIth, I, Katherine Lady Hastings, widow, late the wife of William late Lord Hastings, having perfect memory and hole mind, considering that nothing is more certain than death, and therefore at all times willing to be ready unto death, and to look for the time of the coming of the same, in such wise that death steal not upon me unprepared; whereunto is required not onely disposition ghostly, but also of such goods as God of his immeasurable goodness hath lent me the use and exercise of; intending, through his special grace, so to passe by these temporalls and momentary goods, that I shall not lose eternal; make, ordaine, and declare, this my testament and last will, in manner and form following.”—pp, 450, 451.

Elizabeth, the relict of Edward IV., a Queen whose tears and beauty won her way to the royal bed, speaks of herself with becoming reverence for her departed lord, “late wife to the most victorious Prince of blessed memory.” But little, however, did this memory avail her. Henry VII., though her son-in-law, treated her with great harshness. His jealousy of the House of York, which, in spite of his conquest of the Crown, still retained the hearts of the people, made him a severe and churlish husband; and his indisposition towards the Queen dowager was increased by a suspicion (perhaps not altogether unjust) that she had been provoked by his discountenance to become an abettor of the imposture of Lawrence Simnel. Not venturing, however, to accuse so near a connection of aiding a conspiracy against him, he revived an obsolete and venial charge; namely, that during the reign of Richard III. she had delivered her daughter to that tyrant, although at the very time she was pledged in marriage to himself. The Queen dowager’s possessions were confiscated, and her person was condemned to strict confinement in the nunnery of Bermondsey, where she continued till her death, which occurred soon after. It is from this prison that the unhappy woman dates the following touching words;—

“Item, I bequeath my body to be buried with the body of my Lord at Windsor, according to the will of my said Lord and mine, without ‘pompes entreing or costlie expensis done thereabout.’ Item, whereas I have no worldly goods to do the Queene’s Grace, my dearest daughter, a pleasure with, neither to reward any of my children according to my heart and mind, I beseech Almighty God to bless her Grace, with all her noble issue; and, with as good heart and mind as is to me possible, I give her Grace my blessing, and all the aforesaid my children. Item, I will that such small stuff and goods that I have be disposed truly in the contentation of my debts, and for the health of my soul, as far as they will extend. Item, that if any of my blood

will any of my said stuff or goods to me pertaining, I will that they have the preferment before any other.”—p. 25.

Henry VII. left special directions for his own interment, which was to be performed to the laud and praising of God, the health of his soul, and “somewhat to our dignity royal, avoiding always damnable pomp and outrageous superfluities.” His body was to be deposited in the chapel which he had begun to build at Westminster, within a tomb of stone called *Touche*, sufficiently large for his late dearest wife the Queen (the very woman whom he had sullenly neglected, and whose mother he had imprisoned) and himself. To this tomb and to the church at Westminster, he makes liberal bequests.

“Also to the finishing the new Church of the Monastery of St. Peter of Westminster, wherein we received our holy coronation and inunction, &c. marks. Also we give and bequeath to the altar within the grate of our tomb our great piece of the Holy Cross, which, by the high provision of our Lord God, was conveyed, brought, and delivered to us from the Isle of Cy, in Greece, set in gold and garnished with pearls and precious stones; and also the precious relie of one of the legs of St. George set in silver, parcel gilt, which came to the hands of our brother and cousin Lewis of France the time that he won and recovered the city of Milan, and given and sent to us by our cousin the Cardinal of Amboys, Legate in France.” “Also to the same altar, if it be not done by ourselves in our life, one Mass-book, hand written, &c. Also we will that our executors cause to be made an image of a king representing our own person, the same to be of timber, covered and wrought with plate of fine gold, in manner of an armed man, and upon the same armour a coat-armour of our arms of England and France enamelled, with a sword and spurs accordingly; and the said image to kneel upon a table of silver and gilt, and holding betwixt his hands the crown which it pleased God to give us with the victory of our enemy at our first field: the which image and crown we bequeath to Almighty God, our blessed Lady, &c. to be placed upon and in the midst of the crest of the shrine of St. Edward King, in such place as our executors shall think most convenient and honorable. And we will that our said image be above the knee of the height of three foot ten, that the head and half the breast may clearly appear above and over the said crown; and that upon both sides of the said table be a convenient broad border, and in the same be graven and written with large letters black enamelled these words, REX HENRICUS SEPTIMUS. Also, we bequeath to God and St. Peter, and to the Abbot, Prior, and Convent of our Monastery of Westminster, for a perpetual memory there to remain while the world shall endure, the whole suit of vestments and coopies of cloth of gold tissue, wrought with our badges of red roses and portcullises, the which we of late caused to be made at our proper costs and charges, bought and provided at Florence in Italy.”—p. 31-33.

A sense of his tyrannical exactions appears to have pressed heavily upon this monarch's remembrance at the time wherein he framed his Will, three weeks before his death. All persons, of what degree soever, who should complain of any wrong done by him or his means, of the withholding of any goods or lands, &c., are to have these complaints, speedily, tenderly, effectually, duly, and indifferently examined by Commissioners whom he appoints : and open proclamations to this effect are to be made in every shire-town, and three or four other of the best borough and market towns in every County. As if, however, to correct with the left hand that error of retribution which he had unwittingly allowed his right to perpetrate, the names of Empson and Dudley are inserted in the Commission, and the chief agents in the abuses are set apart for their amendment. This struggle between conscience and the ruling passion, so strong even in death, reminds us of certain old drawings, in which we have seen a good and an evil spirit, on opposite sides of the bed of some wretch in the last agonies, each pulling a different way at a baby issuing from his mouth ; by which ingenious type the painter intended to represent the soul at the moment of its departure.

Katharine of Arragon, a Queen yet more sinned against than Elizabeth Woodville, solicits him, whom after her iniquitous repudiation she still addressed, not long before she expired, in that pathetic letter which Herbert has preserved to us, as her " most dear Lord, King, and husband," him for whom she made " this vow that mine eyes desire you above all things," in terms almost equally moving with those which we have already cited :—

" In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I, Katherine, &c. supplicate and desire King Henry the VIII. my good Lord, that it please him of his grace, and in alms, and for the service of God, to let me have the goods which I do hold, as well in gold and silver as other things, and also the same that is due to me in money for the time passed, to the intent that I may pay my debts and recompence my servants for the good service they have done unto me, and the same I desire as effectuously as I may, for the necessity wherein I am ready to die and to yield my soul unto God."—p. 36.

The Church, as might be expected, in early days shared largely, in various ways, in the testamentary disposition of property. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we find many bequests for service in the Holy Land. After the fury for the Crusades had passed away, jewels, chalices, and plate for the decoration of the altar ; stuffs, of silk or velvet, as furniture for the same purpose ; cloth of gold or fine linen, for the officiating vestures of the priests ; illuminated books, and richly chased or casketed relics, are

profusely lavished on religious establishments. Masses varied in price : sometimes they were dog-cheap ; and, whatever might be the veneration of the departing testators for those who celebrated them, and their belief in their absolving influence from the pains of purgatory, it must be confessed that, in all cases, they seem to be driving a hard bargain, and endeavouring to get as much out of the priests as they can, in as short a space of time, for as little money as possible. Thus Joan Lady Cobham, in 1369, wills that 7000 masses be said for her soul by the Canons of Tunbrugge and Tanfugge, and the four Orders of Friars in London, Preachers, Minors, Augustines, and Carmelites, who, for so doing, are to have no more than £29. 3s. 4d., or not quite a penny per mass. Alice West, in 1395, enjoins that 4400 masses be sung and said for the soul of Sir Thomas West, her lord and husband, for her own soul, and for all christian souls, *in the most haste that may be*, within fourteen nights next after her decease : and the Canons of Christ Church are endowed with no more than forty pounds, to read and sing masses for her own soul and that of her lord, *so long as the world shall last*. William Lord Bergavenny, in 1408, desires that 10,000 masses be said for his soul, *in all possible haste* after his death, by the most honest priest that can be found. In like manner seven of the most honest priests that can be found receive five pounds each for singing a whole year for the soul of Elizabeth Lady Despenser, in 1409. Thomas Duke of Exeter, in 1426, gives fourpence a mass for 1000 masses, to be said immediately after his death, *on the following day if possible, or the second or third at farthest*. But then these high priced services embraced a large list of souls, his own, those of his father and mother, of all his benefactors, and all the faithful deceased. Moreover the priest might not sing *ad libitum*, but was tied down to certain particular forms ; and in 800 of these masses, 200 were to be of the Holy Ghost, 200 of the Blessed Virgin, 200 of All Saints, 100 of the Angels, and 100 of *Requiem æternam*. Joan Lady Bergavenny, in 1434, ordains, that anon after her burying, there be done for her soul 5000 masses, *in all the haste that they may be goodly*. Cardinal Beaufort, who has been made, by our great dramatic bard, to proffer “ England’s treasure ” as a bribe against the inroads of death, and who, probably, could have made good this tender, is lavish for the ease of his soul. He appoints three masses to be celebrated every day in the chapel of his sepulchre at Winchester by three monks, and the name of Henry Cardinal to be pronounced each time. 10,000 more are to be said as soon as possible after his decease, namely, 3000 of *requiem*, 3000 of *orate cæli desuper*, 3000 of the Holy Ghost, and 1000 of the Trinity. To the abbey and convent of St.

Augustine he is large in his bounty, remitting a debt of £366. 13s. 4d. in consideration of their inserting his name in three masses daily. And still more, £1000 is remitted in like manner to the convent of Christ's Church, Canterbury, on a similar condition, that they provide three of their monks to celebrate three masses for his soul *daily for ever*, in his church of Winchester, and that they solemnly observe his obit every year. Sir John Nevill, in 1449, desires his executors to "ordayne an honest and a kunning priest" to sing for his soul a twelvemonth, whose salary is to be 10 marks. Ann Duchess of Buckingham orders 20d. to be given to every priest in Sion, and in the Charter Houses of London and Shene, for five masses, &c., and as many *diriges*. Also 6s. 8d. to the "Anker (Anchorite) in the wall beside Bishopsgate" for twenty similar performances. Sir Thomas Lyttleton, the celebrated Judge, is unusually liberal and devout. Three good priests are to be found to sing three trentals, so that every priest by himself say one trental; and they are to have right sufficiently for their labour; moreover, another good priest is to sing five masses and a rowe; and the Prior of the monastery of our blessed Lady at Worcester is to receive one hundred shillings yearly, for singing daily, at seven in the morning, at the altar of St. George and St. Christopher. Every monk of the said convent who says a mass of *Requiem* every Friday, is to have 2d. for his trouble paid him by the hands of the sexton: and whenever the convent sings the annual *Placebo*, and *Dirige*, and *Requiem*, they are to have 6s. 8d. *for their disport and recreation*, and £100 in fee, for performing this divine service.

One of the most singular Wills by which the Church obtains property, (and it does not appear that the testator made any other disposal of his possessions,) is engraven on an altar tomb in the north chapel of the church of Rothley, in Leicestershire. (pp. 387, 388.)

"This ys the wyll of Bartholmey Kyngsto', Esquyer,
to have an obet keypd onys ev' y pere for me and Ely
my wyff, my fad', and my mod'r, on y^e Monday next
after Symo'd day and Jude; y^e whych obet to be kept
wth y^e p'feth off y^e lande and medo y^t I boght of Wyllm
Adcoke, wth ii acars off medo in Quer'd'n medo; y^e first
I wyll y^e becar have for derige iiij^d. and to be offerd
at masse be y^e handys of the fellers xviij^d. and to the sayde
becar for y^e beydroll viij^d.; and to viij clarkis for recy'g
of viij lessons xviij^d. and a po'nd of wax to be brent at
hie derge and messe, and afty' y^t to be sett afore y^e sepulker,
in time of pace, and afty' yt tone sete to bren afor
y^e crucifix, and y^e todyr afore y^e image of our Lady, and for y^e
wast of iiij torches xviij^d.; and to iiij pore me' to hold the torchys
iiij^d.; and y^e resedew of y^e p'fettes off y^e sayd land and medo to be dis=

posyd in meytte and drinke among pore men.
 Of pere of our Lorde a thousand CCCCXXXIIIJ."

Even as late as the sixteenth century we find large provision for the soul's welfare. The Will of Sir Thomas Wyndham of Felbrigge is very full to the purpose :—

"First, for the recommendacion of my soule into the moost mercifull hands of him that redemed me and made it, I make and say this my accustomed prayer. *Domine Ihu Creste, qui me ex Nichelle Creasti, Fecisti, Redimisti, et Prædestinasti ad hoc quod sum, Tu scis, quod de me facere vis. Face de me secundum Voluntatem tuam cum Misericordia.* Therfor do of me thy wyll, with grace, petie, and mercy, humbly and intirely I besече the ; and into thy moost mercifull hands my soule I commytte. And howe be it, as synfull creature, in synns conceyved, and in synne have lyved ; knowinge perfectly that of my merits I cannot atteyn to the lyfe everlastyng, but only by the merits of thy blissid passid, and passion, and of thyne infinite mercy and grace. Nevertheless my mercifull Redemer, Maker, and Savyour, I trust that by the speciall grace and mercy of thy blessyd mother, ever virgyn, our Lady Mary, in whom, after the in this mortall lyfe, hath ben my moost singular trust and confidence, to whom in all my necessities I have made my contynuall refuge, and by whom I have hitherto ever had my speciall comfort and releef ; will in my moost extreme nede, of her infinite pitye, take my soule into her hands, and hit present unto her moost dere sonne ; whereof, swete Lady of mercy, very mother and virgyn, well of petie, and surest refuge of all nedefull, moost humbly, most intirely, and most hartely I besече the, and for my comfort in this behalfe I trust. Also to the singular mediacions, and prayers of all the holy company of hevyn, aungells, archaungells, patriarches, prophets, apostells, evangelists, martyres, confessoures, and virgyne ; and specially to myn accustomed advourrys, I call and crye, Saint John Evangelist, Saint George, Saint Thomas of Canterbury, Saint Margaret, Saint Kateryn, and Saint Barbara, humbly besече you, that not onlye at the houre of deth, soo too ayde, socour, and defend me ; that the auneynt and goostly enemy, nor noon other yll or dampnabell spirite, have power to invade me, nor with his tereableness to anoye me ; but also with your holy prayers to be intercessorice, and mediatrice, unto my Maker and Redemer, for the remyssion of my synnes, and salvacion of my soule ; and for as moche as I intende and purpose, to the honor of God, and our blessed Lady Saint Mary the Virgyn, to adowne and vawghte a chapell, called our Lady Chapell, set and buylded at the estende of the quere, within sight of the monastery of the Holy Trinitie, at the citie of Norwiche ; and also to have in the same monastery, for the comforte of my soule, and remission of my synnes, a yerely memorial of my obyte, in perpetuum, I will and bequethe that whensoever it shall please my Savyer J'hu Crist, to call me owyte of this transitoyre lyfe, my body be buried in the mydst of the same Chapell of our blisshed Lady, after my poor

estate and substaunce that God hath gevyen me, without dampnable pomp, or superfluities. Where, uppon my body I woll have a tombe, as shall be thought convenient to myn executors, sufficiently large for me and my two wyfs, yf my wife Elizabeth woll be there buried. And as touching the funerall interment of my body, and charges of my sepulture, I remitt it to the discrecion of my executors, desyring theym that it may be convenient after my littell substance. And in any wyse, I woll have a sermon made by a doctor of divinitie, at the mass of requiem. Also I will have immediatelie after my decesse, as shortly as may be possible, a M masses to be said within the cite of Norwich, and other places, within the shire of Norfolk; whereof I will have, in the honor of the blissed Trinitie, one hundreth; in honor of the five wounds of our Savyour J'hu Crist, one hundreth; in honour of the five joys of our blissed Lady, one hundreth; in the honor of the nine orders of Aungells, one hundreth; in the honor of the Patriarchs, one hundreth; in the honor of the twelve Apostells, one hundreth; in the honor of all Saints, one hundreth; of Requiem, one hundreth; in the honor of St. John the Evangelist, thirty; in the honor of St. George, forty; in the honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury, thirty; in the honor of St. Margaret, forty; in the honor of St. Kateryn, thirty; and of St. Barbara thirty, which maketh the whole nombr of M masses."—p. 580-582.

William Mylsent, of Great Lynton, in Cambridgeshire, who wrote his Will in 1523, appears to have been somewhat unduly biassed by family partiality in his ecclesiastical legacies. To his son William, "to pray for me, my wife, and my friends, and all christian souls," he gives £5. 6s. 8d.; to Sir William Long, for to do likewise, no more than 26s. 7d., and meat and drink for half a year; and Master Prior, of Barham, for the same service, is to have only 3s. 4d.

It was not entirely however from affection to the Church that these and similar testamentary dispositions were so frequently made. A death-bed no doubt often sharpened the stings of conscience, and a superstition which taught that Heaven could be bribed into forgiveness by a sufficient application of pious largesses to its ministers, might depend upon adequate supplies from the timid or the penitent. But the Romish hierarchy was not content with the uncertain stream of voluntary bounty, and by threats of posthumous vengeance these legacies were rendered compulsory. Saintjoix, in his *Essais Historiques sur Paris*, (50) has informed us, that so late as the sixteenth century, the French Bishops claimed a right to refuse burial to persons dying intestate, or what to them produced the same effect, who had omitted the Church in their Wills; and the prohibition continued until the relatives paid the purchase of interment.

A few specimens of chivalrous spirit occur among these Wills. William Heron Lord Say, in 1404, inserts a clause:—

"Whereas I have been a soldier, and taken wages from King Richard and the Realm, as well by land as by water, and peradventure received more than my desert, I will that my executors pay six score marks to the most needful man unto whom King Richard was debtor, in discharge of his soul. Also having been a soldier with the Earl of Arundel, and peradventure received more than I was worthy of, I desire my executors to pay x pounds to the executors of that Earl, or to the poorest men to whom they may know of any debt being owing by the said Earl. And having likewise been a soldier with the Earl of Northumberland, and received more than I deserved, I will that my executors pay to the said Earl xx l."—p. 163.

Robert, the second Lord Willoughby de Broke, in 1521, leaves his son Henry all his bows, arrows, and all other his weapons defensive, to the intent that he shall be therewith ready to serve his Prince. Charles Lord Montjoy, a soldier of King Henry VIII., being in the wars of France. (p. 721.)

"I will that a stone be laid over my grave, in case I shall happen to be slain, with the following epitaph thereon, for a monument to my children, to continue and keep themselves worthy of so much honour as to be called hereafter to die for their Master and country.

"Epitaphium.

"Willingly have I sought,
And willing have I found
The fatal end that wrought
Me hither, as duty bound.

"Discharg'd I am of that I ought
To my country by honest wounde
My soul departed, Christ hath bought:
The end of Man is ground."

No one will dispute that a dying man has a plain right to furnish his own epitaph, even if it be made of no better stuff than the above of Lord Montjoy, or the following of honest Fabyan the Chronicler:—

"Also I will that if I decesse within the Citie of London, that within three yeres folowing myn executors doo make in the walle, nere unto my grave, a litell tumbel of freestone, upon the which I will be spent LIIIS. iyd. att the moost, and in the face of this tumbel I will be made in too plates of laten ii figurys of a man and a woman, with x men children and vi women children, and over or above the said figurys I will be made a figure of the Fader of Heven inclosed in a sonne; and from the man figure I will be made a rolle toward the said figure of the Fader, and in hit to be graven *Q pater in celis*; and from the figure of the woman another lyke rolle whereyn to be graven *Pos tecum pascere velis*: and at the feete of the said figurys I will be graven thes ix verses following:

“*Preterit ista dies, oritur origo secundi,
An labor, an requies; sic transit gloria mundi.*

Like as the day his cours doeth consume,
And the new morrow springith agayn as fast,
So man and woman by naturys custume
This life doo passe, and last in erth ar cast
In ioye and sorrowe whiche here their tyme dide wast.
Neber in oon state, but in co's transitory,
Soo full of chaunge is of this worlde the glorp.

“And before upon the said tumbys border I will be written these words following :

“*Tumulus Roberti Fabyan, dudum pannarius ac Aldermannus London, qui obiit Febr*

“And if I be buried in the Church of Theydon Garnon forsaid, than I will that within a yere folowing myn executors doo purvey a stoon of marbill to laye upon my grave, aboute the borders whereof I will be fastyned a plate of laton, and within that plate graven thies words folowing :

“*Hic jacet Robertus Fabyan, dudum ciuis et pannarius London, ac Vicecomes et Aldermannus, qui obiit, die,*

&c. And in the upper part of that grave stone I will be sett a plate, and thereyn graven a figur of our Lady with her child sitting in a sterr, and under that ii figurys with the children before specified; and either of the said ii figures holding a rolle, wheryn, upon the mannys part, I will be graven *Stella Maria maris*. And upon the womannys rolle *Succurre pijsissima nobis*. And in iv convenient places of the said grave stone I will be sett iv platts graven with iv skochens of Drapers armes, and at the fett myn own armes, and my merchaunt marke.”—pp. 510, 511.

If a man chooses to write bad verses on himself it is his own concern, and nobody else can be blamed; but it is hard indeed, if, after his body is under ground, he is not safe from the dog-Latin of a surviving relative. It was no small grievance upon Philip Beaumont, that his brother Thomas, out of gratitude for the entail of his estate, should in his Will ordain that the following distich be sculptured on his tomb :

“*Testis tu Christe quod non jacet hic lapis este
Corpus ut ornatur sed ut spiritus ne memoretur.*”

Again it may become a question how far John Teryngham, in the year 1500, was justified in annoying his whole neighbourhood for twelve hours, by willing that the great bell should ring on the day of his funeral, from six in the morning till six at night.

Some parting injunctions to wives, also, appear not a little unreasonable. William Earl of Pembroke, who was taken

prisoner at the battle of Danes Moor, and beheaded soon afterwards by order of George Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, in anticipation of his fate, wrote a letter to his wife, which appears to have been considered as his Will. It contains the following clause: "And wyfe, that ye remember your promise to me, to take the ordre of wydowhood, as ye may be the better mayster of your owne, to performe my wyll, and to helpe my children, as I love and trust you.—Wyfe pray for me, and take the said ordre that ye promised me as ye had in my lyfe, my hert and love." The tenderness with which this request is delivered may in some measure excuse it, but what shall we say to the following thundering declaration of Walter Frampton, a Mayor of Bristol, dated 1388?

"Item volo, quod quam cito dicta Isabella se maritaverit, (vel quod absit,) scortata fuerit, et hoc probari poterit, quod ex tunc executores mei si vivant, intrent et penes se retineant, omnia prædicta, tementa, &c. prædictæ Isabellæ, superius legatæ, et eam totaliter inde expellant in perpetuo' factâ prius trinâ proclamatione, cum tubâ, ad altam crucem."—pp. 762, 763.

Richard Byrchett, of Pesemershe, in 1516, seems not to have been possessed by this posthumous uxoriousness.

"It', I wyll yt P'nell Byrchet, my wyfe, shall have iv keyn of ye best, & Robert Byrchet, my son, shall kepe ii of them, and pay to ye sayd P'nell yerely viiis. ijd. and John Byrchet, my son, shall pay to ye sayd P'nell my wyfe vs.; and Thomas Byrchet, my son, shall pay to ye sayd P'nell viiis. viii d.; and the sayd P'nell, my wyfe, shall have ye chamber yt she lyes in, and lyberte at ye fyer in ye house, and ye dysposy'on of all my howsehold; all yese thynges shall she have so long she ys wedo, and yt yf ye foresayd P'nell, my wyfe, do mary, yen shall have iv keyn, a bed to ye ap'p'tena's, halfe a seyme of wete, halfe a seyme of otts, and a yonge hoge, & no more."—p. 785.

Of the crying abuses of the custom which made minors, when tenants to the Crown, wards to the King, frequent instances will be found in the bribes offered in many of their wills to the Sovereign, in order that he might be induced to see the bequests executed.

Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton, in 1420, wills, "that if my Lord the King (Henry V.) be good to my executors, in favour of this my will, that he be forgiven half the gold which he oweth me for my wages upon pawn."

Sir William Compton, the founder of the present noble family of that name, thus moves Henry VIII.:—

"To my Lord the King, from whom I acknowledge I have received all my preferment, a little chest of ivory, whereof one lock is gilt, with a chess board under the same, and a pair of tables upon it, and all

such jewels and treasure as are inclosed therein, now remaining in the keeping of my wife, most humbly desiring his highness to accept thereof, as a remembrance of me; also I bequeath to my Lord the King certain specialities to the sum of m marks, being for money lent to Sir Thomas Boleyn, Knight, to the intent that his highness would be so gracious to my lady and children as to permit my said will to be performed as is expressed.”—p. 593.

The time elapsing between decease and interment appears to have varied much. Henry Duke of Lancaster, great grandson of Henry III., desires that he may not be buried for six weeks. John of Gaunt requests to remain aboveground forty days, during which it is his especial charge that there be no ceremony nor embalming. Elizabeth Lady Despenser, on the contrary, is in great haste, and wills that she be buried within three days.

Mr. Nicolas, it must be confessed, has betrayed a slight hankering of curiosity after the “little sinnings” of his great grandmother, and the obsolete scandal of the ruff and fardingale. To gratify this propensity he ascends even higher than the time of Queen Elizabeth. Thomas Trethurffe, Esq. on the 20th day of September, in the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., bequeaths the chief part of his property to Alice, the wife of William Christopher. “It would be difficult,” remarks the commentator with most decorous gravity, “to explain his motive in a manner creditable either to his memory or her virtue.” Again, upon a bequest of William Lord Stourton, *anno* 1548, he observes, “It is almost certain from the manner in which Lord Stourton speaks of Mrs. Ann Rhese, that she was not his *wife* at the date of his will—the inference to be drawn from the testator’s bequest and description of her, tend to raise a suspicion by no means favourable to her memory.” Alas! for those reputations upon which a jury of twelve antiquaries is to be impanelled. What living frailty can hope to escape, if the dust, which has mouldered for more than three centuries in the tomb, is to be raked up again into judgment? In justice to the departed also, it should be remembered, that language has undergone a change with the times, —*verborum vetus interit ætas*,—that when Sir William Arundel bequeathed his lands to his “*carnal* brother,” he by no means intends to accuse him of libertinism by this epithet; and still less does Mrs. Margaret Mylles of Wingham, gentlewoman, in providing for her “*natural* son Ralphe Mylles,” “Nicholas Mylles,” her “*natural* son,” “Margaret Thornhill,” her “*natural* daughter in London,” and “Ann Warham,” her “*natural* daughter,” desire to make an unblushing avowal that the aforesaid four children were not born within the pale of lawful wedlock.

We wish we could stock our shelves with some of the books

which St. Richard of Chichester disposed of by will in the year 1253. There are among them a Psalter, certain MSS. of the Evangelists, of Hosea, of Isaiah, of Job, of the Acts, of the Canonical Epistles, and of the Revelations, all glossed. There is a "*Summarium*," the "twelve Apostles," (perhaps their biography,) a book of *Decretals*, and "a small book concerning the Vices." William of Wykeham also presents a tempting catalogue, a *Catholicon*, a *Rationale Dierum*, a *Florarium Bartholemei*, a *Thomas*, and a *Pars Oculi*. For the possession of these we would unreluctantly abandon many an article of more precious material; as the dozer of green, powdered with dolphins, with four cousters of the same suit, the dragenall, the six pottengers, the two pitchers, and the two pottels, all of silver, which Ann Lady Maltravers bestowed on her son John: the green bed embroidered with a "compas," the "hopolandes and huykes not furred" of Edward Duke of York. The great "Templys" with the "Baleys" which Isabel Countess of Warwick ordered to be sold to the utmost, and delivered to the monks of Tewkesbury; "so that they grutched not with my burial there:" and provided that they admitted her statue all naked with the hair cast back, with Mary Magdalen laying her hand across, and St. John the Evangelist on the right side, with St. Anthony on the left. We are careless, also, concerning the pane of menyver, the bed of gold of swans, with tapetter of green tapestry, with branches and flowers of divers colours, the two pair of sheets of Raynes, the pair of fustians, the cushions and banncoves that longen to the bed aforesaid, which once graced the chamber of Joane Lady Bergavenny. Not one longing glance would we cast upon the "new great brass pot," which Lady Elizabeth Andrews ordains should remain in the manor of Bailham, "to the intent that when the brethren of the guild of the church of Darmesdon make their dinner, they may occupy the same pot for the time." But the hope is vain; the libraries of those early days have long since become *blattarum et tinearum epulæ*; and this is one among many other reasons, for which we willingly acknowledge a debt of gratitude to those who, like Mr. Nicolas, will devote themselves to antiquarian exercises, with diligence, accuracy, a profound knowledge, and, above all, with an inspiring love of the subject which they take in hand.

- ART. III.—AMERICAN NOVELS.—1. *Wieland, or the Transformation*. By C. B. Brown. 3 vols. 1811.
 2.—*Edgar Huntly ; or, Memoirs of a Sleep Walker*. By C. B. Brown. 3 vols. 1803.
 3.—*Philip Stanley ; or, the Enthusiasm of Love*.—By C. B. Brown. 2 vols. 1807.
 4.—*Jane Talbot*. By C. B. Brown. 2 vols. 1804.
 5.—*Ormond ; or, the Secret Witness*. By C. B. Brown. 3 vols. 1811.
 6.—*Arthur Mervyn*. By C. B. Brown. 3 vols. 1803.
 7.—*Logan, a Family History*. 4 vols. 1823.

WE are not displeased to remark the popularity which the lighter works of American literature have lately attained in this country, both as it is an evidence of an increasing spirit of goodwill between the two nations, and also because the perusal of such works is necessary to complete our acquaintance with “the business and bosoms” of a people among whom, as the author of the “Sketch Book” observes, “one of the greatest political experiments in the history of the world is now performing.” Whatever may have been the original merits of the cause between this country and America, it would be as absurd to let them influence our opinion of the present generation, as to hold the grown man responsible for his freaks when a rebellious urchin. Still more unreasonable would it be, particularly in those whose business it is “to well and truly try, and true deliverance make,” in matters of literature, to make an author the scape-goat for the real or supposed delinquencies of his country. We need not observe that in our own case we have steered pretty clear of political squabbles ; and trust that at all events our withers are unwrung by the following tirade from an author on whom it will be our province to remark, and who, though much addicted to run-a-muck at shadows, and lash the winds with his eloquence, is apt to say home truths :—

“Hearken to your lying witnesses, with hearts of gall, and fronts of brass ! Nay, some of your reviewers, men who affect to handle and govern secretly the machinery of state, are they not drunk and delirious with arrogance and hatred toward us ? And there are your travellers too, a vagabond horde, wandering, like hunted convicts, over the face of our fair and beautiful inheritance, proscribed and interdicted, by their very manners, from all intercourse with whatever is dignified, pure, or excellent ; herding, when they get to America, with the outcasts of all the earth, the offscourings of all that is base and licentious, the rejected and disgorged of dungeons and galleys, bloated and diseased with spleen and envy, and re-absorbing, in their

contact with such detestable natures, all the bile and bitterness that their hearts, sore with repletion, and festering with disappointment and corruption, have discharged; and they—*they* are the men to whom you trust for all that you know of a great and gallant nation! Oh, shame on you! Why, when you are sending whole classes of the learned and magnanimous to all the corners of the earth, why not send some *one* to America, who shall dare to dwell among us, till he knows us, and then dare to tell you the truth.”—pp. 316, 317.

The jealousy here betrayed is at all events a compliment to the influence of English opinion; and we would therefore remind the author that this opinion is not formed to the extent he may choose to imagine, either from the speculations of private individuals writing in their studies, or from the balderdash which has been doled out to us in the form of travels in America, by landjobbers and mechanics; whose first sentence proves them of a caste as unlikely to be received into good society in New York or Philadelphia, as to be countenanced at home. Every day brings over intelligent travellers from the daughter country; and from these living specimens, rather than from the report of others, the opinion of every unprejudiced person must be formed. Their extreme inquisitiveness, while in little matters it may excite a smile on our parts, still meets with a due degree of allowance as natural to the inhabitants of a country where every thing, even to the soil under their feet, is in a state of change and developement; and when excited by those institutions and antiquities which form a common bond of union between the two nations, cannot be otherwise than conciliatory to England.

Of the higher order of these travellers we consider Mr. Irving as a fair specimen, and his manly and enlightened article, entitled “English Writers on America,” as the manifesto of those sentiments which they entertain. The reception (we may almost say adoption) with which this accomplished gentleman has met, has left him no reason to complain; and we trust and believe that his merits are equally appreciated in the country to whose genius he has given a new impulse, by drawing the attention of the English literary world to its productions. Had this attention been awakened some twenty or thirty years ago, poor Brockden Brown, whose works will first come under our notice, would not have pined under the neglect which is said to have been his portion in America. Though we do not feel the unqualified admiration for this writer which some have suddenly conceived, and though his productions betray marks of hasty and irregular composition, they bear the stamp of original genius. His style and notions seem very much formed upon those of Godwin, whose “Caleb Williams” was probably his model, and

whom he frequently resembles in the abrupt and unsatisfactory nature of his conclusions, in the total absence of all humour and playfulness, and in the startling vividness with which he embodies many improbable situations. Unlike an author whose cheerfulness of mind communicates itself to his readers, his writings are evidently "sickened o'er with the pale cast of thought," and bespeaking as they do a spirit sunk by disappointment, and taking refuge in an ideal world of its own, they leave behind them a dissatisfied, and if we may be allowed the expression, a dyspeptic feeling.

Of these novels we believe "*Wieland*" to have been one of the first, "aiming," as his preface informs us, "at the illustration of some important branches of the moral constitution of man." It would perhaps have been more proper to have said, "certain physical idiosyncrasies;" for the power of ventriloquism, which is the subject of "*Wieland*," and the malady of sleep-walking, which forms the interest of "*Edgar Huntly*," are rather to be reduced to this class.

The tale of "*Wieland*" was followed, we believe, by a sequel, or branch production, entitled "*Carwin, or the Biloquist*," to which we have not at present the means of referring, and which we hope explains more satisfactorily the character of the said Carwin, as given in the present work. Considered only with reference to the latter, it certainly is in unison with it as a part with a whole; a riddle among a mass of other riddles, some explained, some not. There is throughout a total disproportion between causes and effects, motives and actions, situations and feelings; and the characters, though in many instances ingeniously wrought up to a sort of metaphysical standard existing in the author's mind, have very little of the sound savour of reality. Carwin himself, for instance, is apostrophized by Clara Wieland, the narrator, as the "most fatal, potent, and unfathomable of mankind," and invested with the most extraordinary mental and bodily attributes, when she knows him by his own confession to be nothing more than a ventriloquist, and grave practical jester, who had seduced her maid, and used her as an instrument to assist his practices on her mistress's credulity. He is now described as a man of low pleasures, eaves-dropping, and making mischief among strangers for some paltry motive suggested at the moment, now sitting among the ruins of Saguntum, alone, mysterious and contemplative, like Marius among the fallen columns of Carthage, or Polidori's vampire watching the moment of his own periodical death. By the exertion of his mischievous accomplishment, he wantonly drives an inoffensive person, whose kindness and hospitality he had experienced, to the

murder of his wife and family ; and an hour afterwards, good easy man ! most humanely laments and is astonished at the misery which he has caused.

It must be confessed that the persons who are to be worked upon by the stratagems of this amateur impostor, are well selected for this purpose. Wieland, his principal victim, is a heavy German, addicted to mysticism and solitary study ; “ a pattern of solemnity,” as his sister informs us ; having lived from the period of his boyish marriage in a limited society where he is king, priest, and prophet, and has no opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the world necessary to abate his temporal and spiritual self-conceit. The gentle Clara herself evidently equals her brother in the latter characteristic, and far exceeds him in irritability of nerves ; in short, is described as a perfect *tête exaltée*. She repeats, with more gravity than wisdom, the prolix compliments of her lover, even when they descend to “ her attitude in plucking a rose,” and “ the arrangements of her toilet.” (See vol. ii. p. 76.) The scene of Carwin’s first appearance, and her emotions thereat, is also exquisite ; and we cannot help suspecting that Brown in this instance indulged himself in a freak of grave Cervantic humour at the lady’s expense. By her own account, she drops her napkin, and is moved to tears at the voice of a stranger, (and such a stranger as she shall herself describe anon,) asking her maid for a draught of buttermilk, which he never gets. An American born would probably have given him what he wanted, and forgot him the next moment, instead of being engrossed by a perpetual curiosity and interest about his person and history.

“ His pace was a careless and lingering one, and had none of that gracefulness and ease which distinguish a person with certain advantages of education from a clown. His gait was rustic and awkward : his form was ungainly and disproportioned ; shoulders broad and square, breast sunken, his head drooping, his body of uniform breadth, supported by long and lank legs, were the ingredients of his frame. His garb was not ill adapted to such a figure. A slouched hat, tarnished by the weather, a coat of thick grey cloth, cut and wrought as it seemed by a country tailor, blue worsted stockings, and shoes fastened by thongs, and deeply discoloured by dust, which brush had never disturbed, constituted his dress.”

A brother and sister of the temper of mind on which we have remarked, are certainly as fertile subjects for imposture as the simple convent of monks to whom St. Gilles, the celebrated craft-brother of the aforesaid Carwin, caused such cruel alarm and inconvenience. Their former history, also, is well contrived as a

preparative, particularly as regards the death of their father, which, however, ought to have been more clearly explained in the end than by a reference to some scarce book of natural philosophy. Whether the worthy old Knipperdoling missionary is burnt alive by some atmospherical phenomenon, or explodes through the fervour of his own temperament, is never distinctly stated; and generally speaking, the author has throughout this romance indulged in a propensity to multiply marvellous or violent means to promote trivial purposes. Poor Miss Wieland's house is burnt down because it is expedient she should change her residence; an incident reminding us of the Irishman's stratagem of setting his castle on fire, to conceal his poverty from an unexpected visitor.

In spite, however, of the defects of "Wieland," and its unfinished and dissatisfying character as a whole, it is an ingenious and high-wrought specimen of the Udolphic school. Its "speciosa miracula" (in English called white bears) are of a nature which impress themselves vividly on the recollection, and are related with a startling earnestness well adapted to transfer the fears of the imaginary narrator to the minds of nervous readers. No purpose more important than this should seem to have been contemplated by the author.

"Edgar Huntly" is a tale of the same stamp, intended to illustrate other organic peculiarities. Professing to be "the memoirs of a sleep-walker," it introduces a couple of persons so affected, one of them a dangerous madman. The other, Edgar Huntly, who is the nominal hero and narrator, plays, in fact, the secondary part in the piece, the interest of which chiefly centres in the long episode of Clithero Edny, and terminates with his death. The following is an outline of his strange tale, as recounted by him to Edgar Huntly, whose suspicions he had excited as the supposed murderer of his friend Waldegrave. Educated and patronised by an Irish lady of family, he has the misfortune to kill in self-defence her twin-brother, a monster of ingratitude and iniquity, whose deserted natural daughter has been educated by her aunt, and destined by her to become the wife of her protégé. Struck with horror at his own involuntary deed, and fearing the effect it may produce upon his benefactress, who indulges the obsolete superstition that the lives of herself and her brother are bound up in each other, Clithero determines to spare her feelings by putting her to death. Baffled in this attempt, he takes refuge in America, believing her to have died of the shock occasioned by his own conduct and her brother's death. Having told his tale to Huntly, he flies to the wilderness, where the latter seeks him from motives of compassion. And here follow a

series of sleep-walking adventures on both sides, the malady appearing to be infectious. They traverse whole tracts of country, jump down caverns, and pilfer manuscripts from each other unaccountably valuable to themselves and to no one else. Edgar, who has gone to bed quietly one night, awakes half starved and nearly bruised to death at the bottom of a deep chasm in the mountains, tomahawks a panther by the light of the beast's own eyes, and after devouring sufficient of the raw flesh to cause himself a severe colic, slays on the strength of this unusual food five hostile Indians in succession. Returning from this achievement, he leaps down a precipice into the rocky bed of a river, and escapes thirty shots fired at him by a party of unerring marksmen, who had mistaken him for an enemy. Having thus outdone three-fingered Jack himself, he discovers poor Clithero desperately wounded by another party of Indians, and after affording him succour, has the mortification to see him escape again. Now comes the crisis. Clithero, sought again by his indefatigable friend, and apprized by him that his benefactress is alive and in America, breaks out into raging madness at once, and sets off to accomplish his destiny by the murder he had left unfinished. He is taken into custody as a lunatic, leaps suddenly into the river and drowns himself. Edgar is left at the conclusion of the story embarrassed how to choose between his correspondent Miss Waldegrave, and the former affiancée of Clithero, whom her aunt, now the wife of his own patron and friend Sarsfield, has brought to tender to his acceptance. Such is the unsatisfactory termination of a story where much forcible writing is employed in recording improbable adventures, and flying in the face of poetical justice. Good-natured readers will naturally ask, "Why heap all the misery, and distraction, and despair, all the starvation, and sleep-walking, and cold, and bruises, and tomahawking, and drowning, on a character so noble and disinterested as Clithero is described to be? Why need he have attempted the life of his benefactress, when it was sufficient for the purposes of the story that he should have run away on the surmise that she had died of the shock of her brother's death? Why (since, in spite of Corneille's precedent, Clarice could not decently have received a ring from the hand which shot her father) make her Wiatte's daughter rather than Lorimer's? Why should the self-provoked death of a monster of villainy cause so much misery to several estimable persons?" The answer of Brown, we apprehend, would have been that he intended to describe the operation of that latent madness "which has method in it," and which, while it is gradually developed by particular exciting causes, has the power of imposing on a

common observer by a sort of instinctive sophistry. In this point of view, the tale cannot well end happily; and much credit is due to the phrenological skill with which the progress from apparent sanity to raging delirium is described, and all the intermediate steps imperceptibly shaded into one another. Here, however, as in "*Wieland*," something is wanting; the catastrophe is hard, naked, and abrupt, and we look in vain for that harmonious moral close which was so well understood by the ancients as a necessary component of a story, and which the mind of the reader as much requires as his ear expects the return to the key-note with which a solemn air has commenced. "*Τοῦτ' ἀπέβη τοδε πρᾶγμα.*" If there be any moral in the story, it is that the hallucinations of such men as the murderer Nicholson may be traced to madness, and that a lunatic may cut a friend's throat and imagine he is doing him a service; all which we were convinced of before. Such things may be, and are; but they are just as fit subjects for a novel (unless softened and kept down with unusual skill) as an anatomical preparation is for a cabinet-painting.

"Philip Stanley," if it be deficient in the striking points of the last story, from which it has borrowed a good deal of its plot, is exempt also from its faults, and written in a less jaundiced spirit. The imitation, however, is very close, and bespeaks either great carelessness or poverty of invention on the part of the author. Both the heroes are indigent young men of merit, adopted and educated by highly-gifted travellers, who disappear suddenly, and return as the husbands of their firstloves, and proffering a newly-acquired daughter or niece to the acceptance of the happy "*Bucolic Juvenal*."

In both instances the former mistress is suddenly enriched by a large sum of money, left in the possession of a deceased and highly-meritorious brother, without a single memorandum from himself or any one else to designate the owner, who, in both cases, appears and succeeds in establishing his claim. In the case of Edgar Huntly, he is left in the way of being "happy with either;" in that of Philip Stanley, the point is settled at last, after mutual disclaimers on the part of the two ladies, who repel the unfortunate lover from one to the other like a shuttlecock, till he fairly threatens to betake himself to the back-woods, and brings Clara, the real object of his choice, to satisfactory terms, confirmed by the following very natural and pretty letter:

"TO PHILIP STANLEY.

"*New-York, May 19.*

"You are coming, my friend. I shall chide you, and thank you in

the same breath, for your haste. I hope you will incur no injury by a journey at night. Knowing that you mean not to lay by, I am unable to go to bed. The air was blustering in the evening, and now, at midnight, it blows a storm. It is not very cold, but a heavy rain is falling. I sit by my chamber fire, occupied in little else than listening to it; and my heart droops, or gains courage, according to the pauses or increases of the wind and rain.

"Would to Heaven thou hadst not this boisterous river to cross. It is said to be somewhat dangerous in a high wind. This is a land of evils; the transitions of the seasons are so quick, and into such extremes. How different from the pictures which our fancy drew in our native land!

"This wind and rain! how will you endure them in your crazy vehicle, thumping over rocks, and sinking into hollows? I wish you had not been in such haste; twenty hours sooner or later would be of no moment; and this river—to cross it at any time, is full of danger—what must it be at night, and in a storm? Your adventurous spirit will never linger on the opposite shore till day dawns, and the wind has died away.

"But well know I the dangers and toils of a midnight journey, in a stage-coach, in America. The roads are knee-deep in mire, winding through crags and pits, while the wheels groan and totter, and the curtains and roof admit the wet at a thousand seams.

"It is three, and the day will soon come. How I long to see thee, my poor friend! Having once met, never, I promise thee, will we part more. This heart, with whose treasures thou art imperfectly acquainted, will pour all its sorrows and joys into thy honest bosom. My maturer age, and more cautious judgment, shall be counsellors and guides to thy inexperienced youth. While I love thee and cherish thee as a wife, I shall assume some of the prerogatives of an elder sister, and put my circumspection and forethought in the balance against thy headlong confidence.

"I revere thy genius and thy knowledge. With the improvements of time, very far wilt thou surpass the humble Clara; but in moral discernment, much art thou still deficient—here I claim to be more than equal; but the difference shall not subsist long. Our modes of judging and our maxims shall be the same; and this resemblance shall be purchased at the cost of all my patience, my skill, and my love.

"Alas! this rain is heavy. The gale whistles more loudly than ever. Would to heaven thou wast safely seated near me, at this quiet fireside!

"CLARA HOWARD."

The elder and more homely lady, to whom Stanley had plighted his faith before he was old enough to know his own mind, consents to accept a more warm and persevering lover, to whom she owes essential obligations, and thus all parties are made happy, after a struggle between love and duty, which is skilfully worked up throughout. The style and matter, however, in no place rises above that ordinary and matter-of-fact level which soon becomes

tedious without humour or incident to enliven it; and the reader recurs to the vagaries of "Wieland" and "Edgar Huntly" with something more of satisfaction than before, remembering that, at least, it was impossible to sleep over them.

"Jane Talbot" is a work written in the same level style, and, like the last, more full of love and argument than of adventure. On the whole, it reminds us of one of those long interludes, directed "to be sung by a man and a woman," "first he, then she," between the acts of some old play, and ingeniously, but tediously, illustrative of some obsolete amatory dogma. It is, however, composed with great ability and knowledge of human nature; and whether the characters be or be not intended to be held up to our admiration, there is a truth and individuality about them which impress their features strongly on the recollection. The fair widow Talbot is not only nominally, but really, the principal personage in the story, as she undertakes most of the argument, and nearly all the love-making. She is beautiful, save towards the end of the story, when hope deferred has brought a few wrinkles; all-accomplished, except in the matter of writing "compte" for comte; and on the whole, a sort of graver wife of Bath, punctilious, exigeante, and declamatory as Pope's Philomede about "the bounds beyond which passion cannot produce rapture," (vol. i. p. 3,) "the strong natural tie between the sexes," (vol. i. p. 2,) and the "impetuosity and fervour," (vol. i. p. 135,) which she looks for in vain from a lover who has had an overdose of it—

"as careful nurses

Coddle their children, till they overlay them."

And with all this, she is what many people would call a warm-hearted, disinterested, and charming woman; one of those Didonic personages, in fact, who would sacrifice the world for the man of her choice, and then worry him to death with her whims and jealousies. (See the fracas which is nearly occasioned in the outset of the work by a bed-ridden old washerwoman, to whom Colden, the lover, had shown some kindness.) The poor man, overpowered by these Leap-year attentions, appears, during the greater part of the work, to be tacitly exclaiming in the words of the song,

"Oh, this love, this love!

Of this love I'm weary!"

That under such circumstances Henry Colden should prove a laggard in love is not to be wondered at. This indolence of character, however, extends itself farther; for when his mistress proposes to marry him at the risk of disinheritorship by their respective friends, he honestly tells her, that he has not the industry to get his living, either by his head or his hands. Yet

such is the perverse skill of the author, that this pet-drone wins upon us in the end as a very interesting and original character.

The *embarras* which constitutes the plot of the story, may be briefly stated. Mrs. Talbot, it appears, had, during the lifetime of her late husband, indulged a platonic affection for the youth in question, and expressed great astonishment that her husband, a worthy man of a certain age, did not take him up as warmly as herself. Miss Jessup, a young lady who has formerly made frequent and fruitless proposals of marriage to Mr. Talbot, (for Leap-year seems the order of the day,) and whose good mother, though she keeps a man-servant, is too much occupied in knitting and selling worsted stockings to attend to her daughter's moral education, is brought on the stage for the purpose of making mischief; and by the help of a little lying and forgery, succeeds in widening the breach which Mrs. Talbot's platonic folly had left open. The character of the latter is blasted in the eyes of Mrs. Fielder, her adopted mother, and of her husband; the latter dies in his error; and the courtship being resumed in a less equivocal shape, Mrs. Fielder naturally issues a veto, stating the reasons which she had hitherto kept a secret from our heroine, and menacing her with the penalty of disinheritance. The suspicions of this excellent woman are artfully contrived, so as to extend themselves to the mind of the reader, whom the final disclosure relieves from his puzzle, while it clears the character, and ensures the happiness of the parties. Henry Colden, after a voyage to Japan, by way of the North Pole, and interspersed with the usual proportion of shipwreck and hardship, arrives like "the noble Moringer" in the ballad, just in time to release the lady from a conditional half-promise which she has made to a very early adorer, and the tale ends to the satisfaction of all parties, excepting poor "Monsieur de Trop," on whom no supplementary fair one takes compassion.

We cannot, on the whole, call this story immoral, and yet it leaves a certain twang on the intellectual palate like the *soupçon de l'ail*, whose local habitation we cannot exactly detect in a dish. Like the rest of Brown's works, it is deficient in humour and variety; and though evincing a deep knowledge of human nature, somewhat reminds us of Fielding's description of "the fine and serious part of the 'Provoked Husband,'" omitting the Wronghead episode, and acted by persons not conspicuous for worth or decency.

In "Ormond," again, we sup full of horrors. The tale is one of those attempts to invest a human being with omniscience and ubiquity, which are now grown rather too common. The character of the hero (if hero he can justly be styled) may, perhaps,

have suggested that of "Melmoth, the Wanderer," who, however, has much less of the pure unmixed devil in his composition. Ormond is described as impervious to any thing like human feeling, for which he substitutes the maxims of some cold-blooded satanic code of his own invention; and endued with powers almost equal to his namesake Black Ormond, the ancestor of the accomplished lady of Llangollen, who, as the Irish legend says, "could stretch one leg, without moving, to the end of a gallery of a hundred feet."

The circumstances which introduce him on the stage are as follows:—Mr. Dudley, a dilettante and elegant idler, following the medical profession in New York, intrusts the management of his affairs to Craig, a specious adventurer, who embezzles all his property, and leaves him a ruined man. On this, he removes to Philadelphia, where he drudges for a scanty subsistence as a copyist. The admirable conduct and exertions of his daughter Constance are feelingly described as if by a young friend, who is made the imaginary narrator of her story; and the petty domestic details so important to the poor, acquire, in the hands of the author, (who, we fear, had cause to understand them too well,) a dignity which it is very difficult to impart. There is much merit and point too in the following description of poor Dudley's duties:—

"He was subject to command, and had his portion of daily drudgery allotted to him, to be performed for a pittance no more than would buy the bread which he daily consumed. The task assigned him was technical and formal. He was perpetually encumbered with the rubbish of law, and waded with laborious steps through its endless tautologies, its impertinent circuities, its lying assertions, and hateful artifices. Nothing occurred to relieve or diversify the scene. It was one tedious round of scrawling and jargon; a tissue made up of the shreds and remnants of barbarous antiquity, polluted with the rust of ages, and patched by the stupidity of modern workmen into new deformity."—pp. 35, 36.

In addition to other evils, he becomes blind from a cataract, and the maintenance of the family entirely devolves upon Constance. The yellow fever, memorable for its frightful ravages, breaks out at this time in Philadelphia, and the distress and alarm of the father and daughter are worked up to the highest pitch towards the conclusion of the first volume, than which nothing can be more powerfully written. The details of this plague, (for it was nothing less,) are given with an appalling fidelity, which bespeaks both an eye-witness and a sufferer from its effects. The cessation of the fever brings no relief to Constance and her father, till the latter, by accident, discovers Craig, the author of their

calamities, resident at the house of Ormond. From hence he flies, after vain attempts to cover his former impostures by fresh ones; and the attention of Ormond is drawn to Constance by her resolute conduct in unmasking his false friend. Now begins the disagreeable part of the work, with a long and elaborate description of Ormond's character. He is, we understand, a modern illuminato connected with reforming societies, a great despiser of the world in general, addicted to romping with his scullions and sweeping his own chimnies, and to crown all, a seducer. To the victim of his arts, he recommends Constance as a seamstress, having first provided for her immediate necessities. Constance, not suspecting the present character of Helena, recognises her as an old friend; and on learning afterwards the truth, employs her influence to persuade Ormond to marry the poor girl. Ormond, in love with his monitress, comes to a rupture with Helena, who puts an end to her life, after despatching him one of those natural and feeling letters in which the author so much excels, and which he has the art of making so characteristically feminine. The brutal callousness of Ormond, under this appeal, convinces the reader that his character and fate must be both black; and an intimation is soon given of the course of crime and daring which he had run while a youthful volunteer in the Russian army.

“A youth of eighteen, a volunteer in a Russian army, encamped in Bessarabia, made prey of a Tartar girl, found in the field of a recent battle: conducting her to his quarters, he met a friend, who, on some pretence, claimed the victim: from angry words they betook themselves to swords. A combat ensued, in which the first claimant ran his antagonist through the body. He then bore his prize unmolested away, and having exercised brutality of one kind upon the helpless victim, stabbed her to the heart, as an offering to the *manes* of Sarsefield, the friend whom he had slain. Next morning, willing more signally to expiate his guilt, he rushed alone upon a troop of Turkish foragers, and brought away five heads, suspended by their gory locks to his horse's mane. These he cast upon the grave of Sarsefield, and conceived himself fully to have expiated yesterday's offence. In reward for his prowess, the general gave him a commission in the Cossack troops. This youth was Ormond; and such is a specimen of his exploits, during a military career of eight years, in a warfare the most savage and implacable, and at the same time the most iniquitous and wanton, which history records. With passions and habits like these, the life of another was a trifling sacrifice to vengeance or impatience.”—pp. 151, 152.

Constance and her father, to whom Helena had bequeathed her house and property presented by Ormond, are tempted to travel in order to avoid the artifices and importunities of the latter, who procures Dudley to be privately murdered, in order to forward his

dishonourable purposes ; kills, with his own hand, his tool Craig, whom he drags into Constance's presence as a sort of expiation, and attempts to justify his conduct to her in the following very novel style of reasoning :—

“ ‘Cause ! replied he, with impetuous accents ; resentment ! None. My motive was benevolent : my deed conferred a benefit. I gave him sight and took away his life, from motives equally wise. Know you not that Ormond was fool enough to set value on the affections of a woman ? These were sought with preposterous anxiety and endless labour. Among other facilitators of his purpose he summoned gratitude to his aid. To snatch you from poverty, to restore his sight to your father, were expected to operate as incentives to love.

“ ‘But here I was the dupe of error. A thousand prejudices stood in my way. These, provided our intercourse was not obstructed, I hoped to subdue. The rage of innovation seized your father ; this, blended with a mortal antipathy to me, made him labour to seduce you from the bosom of your peaceful country ; to make you enter on a boisterous sea ; to visit lands where all is havock and hostility ; to snatch you from the influence of my arguments.

“ ‘This new obstacle I was bound to remove. While revolving the means, chance and his evil destiny threw Craig in my way. I soon convinced him that his reputation and his life were in my hands. His retention of these depended upon my will ; on the performance of conditions which I prescribed.

“ ‘My happiness and yours depended on your concurrence with my wishes. Your father's life was an obstacle to your concurrence. For killing him, therefore, I may claim your gratitude. His death was a due and disinterested offering at the altar of your felicity and mine.

“ ‘My deed was not injurious to him. At his age, death, whose coming at some period is inevitable, could not be distant. To make it unforeseen and brief, and void of pain ; to preclude the torments of a lingering malady, a slow and visible descent to the grave was the dictates of beneficence. But of what value was a continuance of his life ? Either you would have gone with him to Europe, or have staid at home with me. In the first case, his life would have been rapidly consumed by perils and cares. In the second, separation from you, and union with me, a being so detestable, would equally have poisoned his existence.

“ ‘Craig's cowardice and crimes made him a pliant and commodious tool. I pointed out the way. The unsuspected door which led into the closet of your father's chamber was made by my direction during the life of Helena. By this avenue I was wont to post myself, where all your conversations could be overheard. By this avenue an entrance and retreat were afforded to the agent of my newest purpose.

“ ‘Fool that I was ! I solaced myself with the belief that all impediments were now smoothed, when a new enemy appeared : my folly lasted as long as my hope. I saw that to gain your affections, fortified by antiquated scruples, and obsequious to the guidance of this

new monitor, was impossible. It is not my way to toil after that which is beyond my reach. If the greater good be inaccessible I learn to be contented with the less.

“‘I have served you with successless sedulity. I have set an engine in act to obliterate an obstacle to your felicity and lay your father at rest. Under my guidance this engine was productive only of good. Governed by itself or by another it will only work you harm. I have, therefore, hastened to destroy it. Lo! it is now before you motionless and impotent,

“‘For this complexity of benefit I look for no reward. I am not tired of well-doing. Having ceased to labour for an unattainable good, I have come hither to possess myself of all that I now crave, and by the same deed to afford you an illustrious opportunity to signalize your wisdom and your fortitude.’”—p. 187-191.

In trying the experiment he is slain by Constance, who employs her penknife with more wisdom than it was poor Clarissa Harlowe's intention to do; and so ends this strange and unpleasant story, which, possessing many striking points, is yet impregnated with the same twang to which we before alluded. We have already expressed our opinion of the first volume, throughout which the conduct of Constance is in every point unexceptionable and beautiful. We are afterwards to learn that she quietly appropriates the wages of another's prostitution, while exposed to the addresses of the original giver, and that she is destitute of religious feeling.

Both these traits are unnecessarily thrown in, and both we think unnatural and inconsistent with such a character as Constance Dudley is described to be.

There is a heavy episode, quite as unnecessary, containing the self-told history of Ormond's sister, a lady of a party-coloured breed, between Greek and Slavonian, who shall speak for herself:—

“‘If thou wert with me at Paris, I could show thee a fusil of two barrels, which is precious beyond any other relique, merely because it enabled me to kill thirteen officers at Jemappe. Two of these were emigrant nobles, whom I knew and loved before the revolution, but the cause they had since espoused cancelled their claims to mercy.’

“‘What,’ said the startled Constance, ‘have you fought in the ranks?’

“‘Certainly; hundreds of my sex have done the same. Some were impelled by the enthusiasm of love, and some by a mere passion for war; some by the contagion of example, and some, with whom I myself must be ranked, by a generous devotion to liberty, Brunswick and Saxe Cobourg had to contend with whole regiments of women. Regiments they would have formed, if they had been collected into separate bodies.

“ ‘I will tell thee a secret. Thou wouldst never have seen Marti-
nette de Beauvais if Brunswick had deferred one day longer his orders
for retreating into Germany.’

“ ‘How so?’

“ ‘She would have died by her own hand.’

“ ‘What could lead to such an outrage?’

“ ‘The love of liberty.’

“ ‘I cannot comprehend how that love should prompt you to
suicide.’

“ ‘I will tell thee. The plan was formed and could not miscarry.
A woman was to play the part of a banished royalist; was to repair
to the Prussian camp, and to gain admission to the general. This
would have easily been granted to a female and an ex-noble. There
she was to assassinate the enemy of her country, and to attest her
magnanimity by slaughtering herself. I was weak enough to regret
the ignominious retreat of the Prussians, because it precluded the
necessity of such a sacrifice.’ ”—p. 29-31.

We gladly pass from revolutionary fanatics and cold-blooded
demi-devils, and all such incarnations of the evil principle, to “Ar-
thur Mervyn,” decidedly the best written of Brown’s novels, and
that in which our approbation meets with the least of drawback.
The idea of this tale is obviously taken from “Caleb Williams,”
on which, however, it is a great improvement, so far as regards the
character of the hero. In both cases, a young and inexperienced
person is represented as drawn into the vortex of a mysterious
patron, who becomes to him a sort of evil genius or archimage; and
placed in one of those pressing conjunctures which do the
work of years in forming the character, or crush it irrecoverably.
Caleb Williams, however, except in physical powers, is but a
poor passive sufferer compared to Mervyn, who breaks like a
strong insect through cobwebs intended to hold gnats. Destitute
of friends and resources, and even of good health and bodily
strength, a simple untaught youth, and as he quaintly expresses
it, “a barn-door simpleton, a plough-tail, kitchen-hearth,
turnip-hoeing novice,” — the decision and strength of his
character, and the probity of his principles, carry him through
every difficulty, and give him the ascendancy over those who ap-
peared at first to control his fate. The character is somewhat
formed on the basis of Ormond, whom Mervyn resembles in his
contempt for trifling forms and prejudices, his original turn of
thinking, and complete civil courage; improved, however, by the
rectitude and benevolence which the other wants. The leading
feature in his mental constitution is a fearless quixotism of pur-
pose, which thinks only of the good to be done, and never of the
obstacles in the way of doing it; a feeling allied to that with
which a volunteer heads the forlorn hope, and which often

strikes out the surest road to brilliant success. With nothing to second him but singleness of heart and purpose, he goes directly to his mark, and in most instances succeeds in succouring the victims of his employer's villany, and repairing its effects. In his first introduction to the friendly physician, there is a perfect disregard of self, which continues throughout, and finally, is the means of establishing him, unsuspected by himself, in the affections of the woman who has become necessary to his happiness. Why she should be a Jewess, and six years older than himself, we will not undertake to find reasons, more particularly as we think poor Eliza Hadwin, the slighted nymph, deserved a somewhat better fate. No blame, however, can be attributed to Mervyn for the mistake into which she falls, or for her overwrought sensibilities, for which the author, with his usual carelessness, provides no object at the conclusion. The scene between her uncle and Mervyn is most dexterously worked up, so as to show the temper, firmness, and address of the latter, and extort unwilling compliments from the savage old publican. We should be inclined to remark, that sleep-walking and the yellow fever were the stock articles in the author's common-place book, were it not that, in the present instance, only one slight touch of the former is given, and many new and striking features introduced into the account of the latter. We wish, however, that in such descriptions as the hospital scene, he had more attended to the difference drawn by ancient critics between the piteous and the disgusting, (*το μισηρον*.)

"I have no perfect recollection of what passed, till my arrival at the hospital. My passions combined with my disease to make me frantic and wild. In a state like mine, the slightest motion could not be endured without agony; what then must I have felt, scorched and dazzled by the sun, sustained by hard boards, and borne for miles over a rugged pavement?

"I cannot make you comprehend the anguish of my feelings:—to be disjointed, and torn piece-meal by the rack, was a torment inexpressibly inferior to this. Nothing excites my wonder, but that I did not expire before the cart had moved three paces.

"I knew not how, or by whom I was moved from this vehicle;—insensibility came at length to my relief. After a time I opened my eyes, and slowly gained some knowledge of my situation:—I lay upon a mattress, whose condition proved that a half-decayed corpse had recently been dragged from it. The room was large, but it was covered with beds like my own; between each there was scarcely the interval of three feet; each sustained a wretch, whose groans and distortions bespoke the desperateness of his condition.

"The atmosphere was loaded by mortal stench. A vapour, suffocating and malignant, scarcely allowed me to breathe. No suitable

receptacle was provided for the evacuations produced by medicine or disease. My nearest neighbour was struggling with death; and my bed, casually extended, was moist with the detestable matter which had flowed from his stomach.

"You will scarcely believe that, in this scene of horrors, the sound of laughter should be overheard. While the upper rooms of this building are filled with the sick and the dying, the lower apartments are the scene of carousals and mirth. The wretches who are hired, at enormous wages, to tend the sick, and convey away the dead, neglect their duty, and consume the cordials, which are provided for the patients, in debauchery and riot.

"A female visage, bloated with malignity and drunkenness, occasionally looked in: dying eyes were cast upon her, invoking the boon, perhaps, of a drop of cold water; or her assistance to change a posture, which compelled him to behold the ghastly writhings or deathful smile of his neighbour.

"The visitant had left the banquet for a moment, only to see who was dead. If she entered the room, blinking eyes and reeling steps showed her to be totally unqualified for ministering the aid that was needed.—Presently she disappeared, and others ascended the staircase; a coffin was deposited at the door—the wretch, whose heart still quivered, was seized by rude hands, and dragged along the floor into the passage."—p. 37-39.

Other situations abound, as striking and not so revolting; particularly the entombment of the unfortunate Watson, and the state of horror and stupor in which his unwilling murderer is found by Mervyn. Nor ought we to forget the moral discrimination with which the character of Welbeck, the master-villain, is handled. Instead of an unrelenting demon like Ormond, without even that compunction for the fate of his associates in guilt and daring, which enters into Milton's Satan, Welbeck is represented as a warning instance of a man not naturally malevolent, yet driven to every crime by the love of ease and self-indulgence, and visited by just enough of shuddering compunction to torment without reforming him.

We cannot see the necessity of the coarse little episode about Betty Lawrence, respecting which Arthur explains himself so awkwardly. And generally it may be remarked of Brown, that the wish to appear as it were an eye-witness of the actions of his characters has led him into many details, which, while they give a circumstantial air to the narrative, are quite irrelevant to the main bent of those characters, or the moral and interest of the story. Had he bestowed half the trouble on making conclusions to his tales, which he threw away upon trivial traits and descriptions, the whole would have been more perfect, and his readers better satisfied. Perhaps, however, most of his faults

were those of the time, country, and class of society in which he lived, and of the circumstances of neglect and depression under which he died. Unhappy himself, he seldom cared about making a generally happy conclusion to his works of fiction : which no doubt were usually hurried to the press "unappointed and unannealed." Poor and destitute in a country where the aristocracy of wealth predominates, he could have hardly possessed those means of introduction to the higher classes of society, which would have taught him to correct and soften down coarsenesses which after all less frequently occur than might have been expected. And accustomed as he was (we speak it more in sorrow than jest) to drudge in the spinning-jenny of a magazine, he naturally acquired the habit of leaving long threads in his woof, which were to be taken up and worked upon at some more convenient opportunity which never occurred. We particularly allude to several unexplained mysteries, and rough sketches of character, which he obviously intended to develop more fully. Carwin, we believe, figures in another story, but as to Colville, a tame wandering Jew of the same stamp, we are left in doubt whether he is to be identified with Welbeck, or taken up at some future time ; and an equal uncertainty exists whether Watson was ever intended to be brought again to life, or not. But these are slight flaws in the general texture of Brown's works, whose merit, as well as their date, will establish him as the founder of the romantic school of American literature. In the power of impressing vividly on the reader's mind whatever he chooses to describe, and in the almost intuitive knowledge of the female heart, in all its tenderness and devotion, its doubts and jealousies, and its April smiles and tears, he probably never will be excelled. Peace to his ashes ! We fear that as countrymen of Otway and Chatterton, we have no right to censure the neglect which is said to have broken his spirit, and brought him to his grave in the prime of life. And now for a very clever and opinionated man, who has evidently formed his style on that of Brown in his wildest vagaries, and with whom we have a heavy reckoning on the score of his first production, "Logan."

What Fuseli said of the difference between Opie and himself very much explains that between the works of Brown and Neal. "If you want an inveterate likeness of human nature," said the fiery, talented, wilful old Switzer, "you must go to Jack Opie ; —if you want to see what never was and never can be in human nature, come to me." And, in fact, no man ever could paint a ghost, witch, or devil, like him ; the mistake was in sometimes calling his mad visions human. Thus also, the characters

described in *Brown* are downright men and women, whom, with all their weaknesses and eccentricities, we are almost sure we know or have known. Neal's dramatis personæ are for the most part stalking moody spectres with glaring eye-balls and inflated nostrils, towering above the common height, and exhibiting the play of their muscles and veins through their clothes in the most trivial action; atrocious two-legged nightmares, such as might have been engendered in the brains of Edgar Huntly, if he had washed down his raw panther collop with new Yankee rum, and slept in the reeking skin. We might compare this author to a hundred exemplifications of sorely abused power: to the Sicilian prince mentioned by Kelly and Brydone, who employed the powers of excellent sculptors in horning and tailing his own outrageous chimæras; or if he prefers it, to one of his own South American wild horses as described in "*Logan*," ramping and snorting in the consciousness of his own strength, scorning the trammels of probability, and trampling common sense under foot. All this is very well on the basis of "every man his own reader, admirer, and critic;" but Mr. Neal comes bridled and saddled to the public of his own accord, exclaiming in his motto, "Hear me, for I will speak," and therefore must not kick up his heels at the world's opinion. His able article on American writers, in "*Blackwood's Magazine*," as well as much in his novels, shows him to be well worth the trouble of breaking in; and since, to judge from the conclusion of "*Logan*," he is so jealous of English criticism, we will content ourselves with a matter-of-fact abstract of the said novel, the first of his works, and thus let him review himself.

Logan is styled "a family history," and written under the imaginary character of a descendant of the family, dying of want and neglect in England. We had expected from its title that it would have been a narrative of the dangers and exploits of the brave old Indian Wallace, so well known by his specimen of untutored eloquence. This, however, is not the case; the *Logan*, like the *M'Callum-More*, is an hereditary title, as it appears, and in the present instance most undeservedly conferred upon a renegade felon from England, whose exact rank and designation in the latter country we cannot accurately make out. He is, we are told in vol. iii. p. 169, George Clarence of Salisbury, son of the last Cumberland, and father (vol. iii. p. 170) to "Harold of Salisbury, and Caroline of Salisbury, Cumberland being the family name, to be worn or not at pleasure." We are at a loss to discover whether the family were noble, gentle, or of the blood royal; perhaps the Princess Olive of Cumberland is a scion of the stock. Be that as it may, they mostly inherit

the happy temper of mind which drove their sire into the back woods of America.

“He was a savage and untractable man, related, I remember to have heard in my youth, to a noble family in his native land; one who, having run and rioted through every excess of indulgence, had, at last, turned his back for ever upon the old world, and embarked for America. How did he this? With what spirit? Not, I am sure, with that of the young adventurer, braving death and terror in their very hiding-places, the chambers of the ocean—seeing cities under the wave, and diamonds studding the brown cliffs that he is approaching. No, oh no!—nothing of this; but with the cold, deadly, unforgiving misanthropy of one, who, leaving all on earth that should bind him to it, turns in mockery of them that weep and shiver, as their heart-strings are tugged at, and shakes off the dust from his feet in scornful testimony against them, snapping asunder every tie of sympathy and affection—every filament of brotherhood or love—every chord of judgment, habit, or feeling—bruising with an iron hand, and breaking, as in derision, with profaning levity, the youngest and greenest tendrils of the heart, alike with the sinuous and gnarled roots of our toughest and most protracted habitudes—trampling on them all—scorning them all—scattering them all, without shame or remorse, yea, without emotion!

“Such was the father; a savage before he left the palaces of white men. But he was a great savage. He had a desperate but sublime ambition. He was full of the fiery element, that rises in the arteries like mercury in a thermometer, at the approach of greatness. His whole nature was heroic—but it was the nature of him who thundered against the battlements of heaven. He came to the colonies in company with white men, solely because he could not man and navigate a ship over the broad Atlantic, with his own individual and solitary spirit. But the first moment he landed—the first moment that he touched the shores of the Western world, he abjured them all; he turned upon them convulsively, and cursed them all in the bitterness of his heart—his name, and family, and kindred, and country—nay, his very religion did he curse, for that, he cried, even *that* was a religion of blood. He disappeared. For years it was thought that he had perished, and he was almost forgotten; yet men would start at the mention of his name, and look hastily about them, before they ventured to repeat any of the innumerable and terrific stories that were told of him.”—p. 15-17.

His intention, it seems, is to exterminate or drive the Europeans across the Atlantic, and emancipate the red men, an idea also entertained by his son Harold, who is, we know not why, abandoned in his infancy to seek his own fortune. At the beginning of the story he appears as a sort of Indian aide-de-camp to the governor of an English post, on whose privacy Logan the elder has intruded in his war-dress and mocassins, and frightened the

unfortunate veteran into a fit. The alarm is given; Harold, having rallied the soldiers who are running away en masse from their one unseen enemy, and restored the governor to his senses, thus gives him an account of a mission which is never further explained:—

“ ‘Well, well,’ said the governor at last, after repeated attempts, all of which had failed—‘Poor Harold! what have you done? how succeeded?’

“ ‘Nothing, sir—nothing!’ was the reply; ‘nothing could be done. I have traversed the whole continent—I have been to the Western Ocean. Tribe after tribe have I visited—nation after nation, whose existence is unknown even to the white traders. Oh, curse them—curse them all!’

“ ‘Do not curse them, Harold. Did you find him?’

“ ‘Find him! Can you ask me that question? Would you have seen me again, think you, if I had *not* found him? Do you know me, governor? Find him! ay, ay, I did find him! I found him where I wished. *His* children were about him! *his* wife—*his* little ones—*his* friends—many friends—and they were all armed, from head to foot—and I, governor, I—I was—as I am now—unarmed—except with *this*!’ Saying this, he half plucked from his belt a blade discoloured and rusty—‘And this—this very knife I drove up to the hilt into his heart—look here! this is *his* blood—and this—*this* is the blood of his oldest son.’

“ ‘His son?’

“ ‘Yes, governor—but his *oldest*:—his youngest is unharmed.—It was his own fault. He withstood me; nay worse, the fool dared to lay his hand upon me, as I passed away. I bade him desist. He disobeyed, and I struck him to my feet. How I escaped, God only knows!—I am scarred and wounded from head to foot—see here!’ he lifted his black hair, and showed where a ball had shorn it, and razed his temple—‘and here!’—he tore open his bosom, and showed a gash that had penetrated his side—‘nor is this all,’ said he—‘they literally shot my panther skin from my shoulders—shot it to tatters as I ran. But it is over. I am avenged. I have kept my promise. No woman, no babe, no old man have I slain; but the murderer, the midnight murderer! By God! I can hear the blood rattling from his heart at this moment! And now! now I have done with thee for ever! The avenger of blood is weary! satiated! Thou weapon of wrath, away! away with thee, for ever!’”—p. 99-101.

So much for the introduction of the young hero, to whom (p. 63) the author has devoted a long eulogium as a being of the noblest sentiments; and whom he proves, in pp. 107, 108, to be only a *genius*. Harold next makes some inquiry as to the Indian who has caused all the alarm, and tenders his services as follows: “Governor, what is his scalp worth to thee? Wouldst not thou give thy right hand for it? Speak, say the word, and thou shalt

have it." This offer the good old man declines : and after more consultation, the Lady Elvira, his young wife, enters ; a game at romps, in which she is dreadfully shocked at her husband's getting a glimpse of her neck, is succeeded by a religious and moral dispute, in which she displays peculiar notions. As the song observes,

" Hodge said 'twas vartue overmuch."

After seeing such a crowd of spectres as might well haunt him after what he had gone through, the governor attends a council of war, into which Logan breaks alone and unassisted, and intimidates him into his own terms. The latter is waylaid on his return by three Indian chiefs who had attended the council : and after killing two of them, is found by Harold dying of his wounds, and invoking his deceased Indian wife in Spanish. An explanation takes place, and Harold finding that the wounded man is his rival in the affections of Loena, an Indian princess, offers him, since he cannot rise, a fair match at rough-and-tumble and stabbing on the ground ; which is not accepted for a good reason. Logan declares himself his father, and dies in his son's arms, with the name of that son's mistress on his lips. Harold flies back to the garrison, and interrupts the funeral honours of his father's two antagonists ; a well-described battle with the Indians follows, the governor instantly espousing Harold's private quarrel. The latter is severely wounded ; the old governor finds his wife nursing him too tenderly ; a gentle hint gives the lady mortal offence, she abjures her husband's society, and advises Harold to depart to the wilderness. Here he outdoes the most thorough-going of Brown's heroes, seeing spectres by whole platoons, and actually fighting and killing a real Indian in his sleep : writes a tender letter to Elvira, receives a rebuff, and in revenge, after returning her Ariosto torn to pieces, breaks into the garrison, and violates her person. Here the author adds a note vituperative of poor Lucretia, and gives the preference to his own heroine, of whose subsequent conduct more anon. Harold returns to the woods stricken with some sort of remorse, and, by way of repentance, assists in the total extermination of an Indian tribe who have done him no wrong : then, after a metaphysical argument with an aged man, who starts as it were out of the earth for the purpose, is found by his mistress Loena and her friendly savages, just in time to save him from a panther, with whom he is in such close contact, that (see vol. ii. p. 65) " their blood mingled and frothed together, and smoked as in mortal strife yet." Loena, wounded by the beast's claws, is deposited on the same litter with her lover, whose strength scarcely returns, before he gratefully picks

a jealous quarrel with her on her own couch ; she tears off her bandages in desperation ; and Harold, finding by good luck his own unbroken colt at the door of the wigwam, dashes up a precipice with her whole enraged tribe in pursuit of him, and on his road kills an English officer, his particular friend, whose motive for molesting him, or whose business on the spot, is not explained to the astonished reader. In the next chapter, "apropos de bottes," the imaginary narrator describes his own escape from a troop of wild horses in South America, which, whether in place or not, is magnificently handled. After passing some time "toe to toe with peril," (we quote the author's words,) Harold is retaken by Loena's tribe, and reconciled to his princess. Much conversation ensues, in which Loena displays cultivated powers of argument unusual in a young squaw. She succeeds also in convincing him that she never loved his father, and that the latter made an attempt to carry her off by force, but was wounded by her for his pains ; and bearing off in his hurry her attendant instead of herself, dashed the poor girl to pieces down a precipice on discovering his mistake. "My heart," says Harold, (vol ii. p. 130,) "quakes *like jelly* at his name"—"but still he walks the earth." "These rocks," observes Loena, "would fall at the repetition of his deeds,"—and here follows a notable summary of them :—

"He faced the battle—he trampled the breath out of the wild beast he met, and tore asunder the jaws of the bear and the catamount ; he swam torrents, forded rivers, galloped the inaccessible mountain, played his archery above the clouds, bathed himself over and over again, to drunkenness and delirium, in the blood of the white men ; nay, of the red men too, in the unsparing bitterness of his wrath ; a creature, born and baptized in hot gore, whose baby fingers dabbled in the reeking vitals of slain children ; all this he did, merely—oh ! how little he knew of woman's nature ! the nature even of an Indian woman—merely to win Loena ! He sought some creature of sublimity, some bosom upon which ambition himself might lay his throbbing head, wearied and aching with royalty—but he sought her in smoke and flame."—pp. 130, 131.

A thought now striking the lovers, they set out on a ramble for Quebec, on a particularly fine day, without the least preparation, and live for three days on nothing, "unrefreshed, unsustained, but by the thin, unsubstantial aliment of love alone—love, almighty love"—(vol. ii. p. 141.)

"But lips, tho' blooming, must still be fed,
And not *ev'n* love could live on flowers."

"Weary of plucking wild flowers," as Mr. Neal most justly observes, poor Loena at length faints with hunger, and Harold, to

whom her wants and his own have never till that instant occurred, has the grace to shoot a wild pigeon, whose blood she sucks with great satisfaction. An old Indian, whom Harold has "sprinkled with the smoking brains of his own child," (p. 148,) comes up opportunely, commanded, as he says, to escort them to Quebec by some mysterious man, "whose dazzling eyes had terrified him, and whose great limbs were red with blood;" (p. 145;) and discharges his mission in a forgiving spirit, more meritorious than common in a savage. Arrived at Quebec, they are much admired in their Indian dresses, and domesticated without introduction or question in the house of De Vaudreuil, the French governor. Like the hospitable Arab, who entertains before he interrogates, the latter, as a family man, ventures at length to ask Harold, delicately, if Loena is his wife or sister. Harold answers, "Neither;" and on the poor Frenchman's smiling, is about to cut his throat. The real state of the case, however, is explained to the satisfaction of the countess and her daughters, and the count, as governor, warmly approves of Harold's scheme of reestablishing the dominion of the red men in America. Some previous education is necessary in Europe; Harold proposes (p. 195) to swim the Atlantic with his princess; but is persuaded at last that it will be more safe and decorous to leave her at Quebec, and embark on shipboard. Having thrown a French officer over the heights of Abraham, for some rudeness to Loena, and communicated to her, as a parting *douceur*, his conduct to Elvira, the wayward Childe Harold commences his pilgrimage; and as a parting salute, the author fires after him half a dozen bouncing chapter-mottos in four different languages,

‘ Ho ! Enihi ! bestertha enihi !’

and the like, of a sort which he confesses, in the next chapter, p. 257, to be "childish pedantry," wishing "the devil may take all those that delight in gabble and patchwork." Harold is sea sick more sublimely than man ever was before, and when recovered, makes the acquaintance of a solemn passenger who is feared and obeyed by the captain and every one else, and who having reason to think that his lost mistress is in the same vessel, leaps overboard and disappears. Harold soon finds out that the cause of this escapade is the Lady Elvira, who (less implacable than the Roman matron whom Mr. Neal before abused) informs him that the governor died aware of all, and left his property to the little boy by her side, the offspring of the outrage. Harold lands, delighted at once with his frank mistress, his little boy, the French uniform which Vaudreuil has given him from his own wardrobe, and a wild horse which he finds and breaks in the streets of

London, to the admiration of the owner's chaplain, who thus introduces himself:—

“ Well, faith if you ar'n't a pleasant chap ! here have I been telling you, over and over again, who I am, and what I am, and now you turn snap on a fellow, and snub him, damned genteely, I must say, with—‘ Who the devil are you ?’ Sir, I'll tell you who I am—I'm *Sir Edward's private chaplain*, sir—I am so.”—p. 124.

Next he ascertains his own birth and parentage, and discovers that he has a brother Oscar, the early lover of Elvira, who once stabbed her, in the violence of his thrust, through a rival's body ; very fond of pistol-shooting and abusing Shakspeare, and dictating to every man on every subject ; and guilty once of knocking out his elderly friend and guardian's eye at the communion table. Having from time to time verified all these pleasant traits, Harold exclaims, (p. 89, vol. iv.,) “ Oh, my brother ! would that I resembled thee entirely ! ”—Elvira's child dies of the croup. “ What shall we do now ? ” says the lady, (p. 182.) They agree to return to America ; from whence Harold, after a tour among the Indians, returns and electrifies the House of Lords by an appeal in their favour ; finds Loena faithful, and is much puzzled between the two ladies, till his brother Oscar, the same mysterious stranger who had erewhile leapt overboard, appears to claim Elvira, and the partie quarrée repair, or pair off again to America, “ to swear a covenant with the Indian god.” Here the original Logan also comes to life again, in the character of “ The Evil Spirit of the Cliff,” and having shot his son Harold as his tenth victim, dies of grief on the spot. Oscar, Elvira, and Loena, the former being made aware of all that has passed, follow his example ; and thus ends the “ Family History,” the narrator informing us in the conclusion, that he is dying too. We cannot positively aver, to use a favourite expression of Mr. Neal's, that the tale “ makes the breath and blood rattle in our chests,” nor, to quote him again as speaking of himself in *Blackwood*, “ that he has pumped lightning into us till we are out of breath ; ” but, in plain English, we are too much astounded to offer any comment save an opinion of a native American, which may throw some light on the original conception of this “ *par nobile fratrum*.” “ It is an old remark,” saith the facetious Diedrich Knickerbocker, in his humorous history of New York, “ that persons of Indian mixture are half civilized, half savage, and half devil, a third half being expressly provided for their particular convenience.” We might add, from our own observation, that emancipated, or wet Quakers, to which class Mr. Neal asserts himself to belong, often act as if the bottled fervour of some half dozen drab-coloured generations had at last

found vent in their persons. The most dashing drivers, and the boldest foxhunters, are to be found among this class; and by parity of reasoning, it should appear that "Logan," through whose four close printed volumes of sound and fury, few but ourselves will have the patience to wade, is the first mad ebullition of a young Quaker, broken loose over the wide savannahs of imagination. His "Seventy Six," and "Brother Jonathan," though not exempt from the faults of "Logan," approach much more nearly to the language of common sense, and better deserve to be mentioned in the same breath with Mr. Cooper's delightful series of novels, conjointly with which it is our purpose to notice them ere long.

ART. IV.—*Eusebii Pamphili, Cæsariensis Episcopi, Chronicon bipartitum, nunc primum ex Armeniaco Textu in Latinum conversum, adnotationibus auctum, Græcis Fragmentis exornatum, Opera P. Jo. Baptistæ Aucher, Ancyranî, Monachi Armeni, et Doctoris Mechitaristæ. Venetiis, 1818. 2 vols. 4to.*

THE chronologer, as he travels through the history of the human race, is like the tourist, who passes rapidly through an interesting country. Both are compelled to make selections from the multitude of objects which surround them. The one commits to his note-book short and hasty memorials of the principal works of art and nature; the other fixes his attention on certain important events, ascertains their respective dates, and arranges them in due order on his pages. The tourist, however, possesses this advantage, that he may embellish his narrative, whenever he gives it to the public; while the chronologer is confined, by the very nature of his task, to scanty and unsatisfactory notices. On this account, the labours of the latter offer few attractions to the general reader; but their value is soon discovered and appreciated by the historical student. Without their aid it would be impossible to trace the succession of kings and dynasties, the progress of civilisation and improvement, or the coeval or consecutive existence of states and empires. Take away chronology, and you reduce history to a *rudis indigestaque moles*, to a chaotic mass of facts without cause, without arrangement, and without connection.

If we except the Jewish scriptures, it is plain that the annals of every ancient people must be defective and uncertain. At first, the memory of events and of their dates was transmitted by

oral tradition: after the invention of writing the national traditions, in which a small portion of truth was usually worked up with an immense mass of fable, were collected and preserved in the archives of the temples; and from these impure sources was derived the whole of the information, which the more early writers have bequeathed to posterity. It was to the treacherous authority of the hieratic books that Berosus trusted, when he compiled the annals of the Assyrians; Manetho, when he collected those of Egypt; Acusiläus, when he wrote those of Greece. However, the composition of national, led to that of more general history: and in a short time the comparison between the annals of different empires suggested the construction of chronographic canons. If we may believe Polybius, (l. v. § 33.) the merit of this improvement was due to Ephorus, who lived about three hundred and fifty years before the christian era: but the title of "the great father of chronology," has been generally bestowed on Eratosthenes, the celebrated librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Evergetes. The canons of Eratosthenes were admitted, and improved by succeeding writers among the pagans: they were adapted to the testimony of the Hebrew scriptures by Josephus and Justus among the Jews, and by Tatian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Africanus, and Eusebius, among the Christians. It is to a work by the latter on this very subject—a work long lost and lately recovered—that we wish in the present article to direct the attention of our readers.

Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, holds a distinguished place in ecclesiastical history. His literary superiority was admitted by his contemporaries; and their award has been confirmed by the judgment of posterity. There have, indeed, been writers who point to certain stains in his character; who describe him as a venal and time-serving prelate; and who censure the suspicious ambiguity of his language on the subject of the Arian controversy. But in respect of his merit as a scholar, all are agreed. His various talents, his deep research, his indefatigable industry, have been acknowledged by the critics of every succeeding age, and of every religious denomination.

It was the lot of Eusebius to live at the commencement of the fourth century, at the very time when Christianity, having survived the efforts of the persecutors, had become, by the conversion of Constantine, the dominant religion in the empire. But its superiority did not subdue, it seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of its adversaries. Deprived of the sword, they had recourse to the pen: and, availing themselves of the light which had been diffused by the gospel, they purged the profession of paganism of the most revolting among its doctrines and prac-

tices, while they assailed the faith and worship of the Christians with every argument which their ingenuity could devise. Among these arguments were two, addressed rather to the passions than to the judgment of their readers. Christianity, they maintained, was a religion of yesterday: would any reasonable man adopt it in preference to a form of worship consecrated by the wisdom, and confirmed by the practice of antiquity? It was moreover the invention of Jewish fanatics: would Greeks and Romans condescend to learn from so barbarous and contemptible a people? Eusebius deemed it a duty to oppose himself to these adversaries. His intimate acquaintance with profane as well as sacred literature qualified him for the task, and the result of his labour was given to the public in two works, of the preparation and demonstration of the gospel—*τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς προπαρασκευῆς*, and *τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως*. In these, to repel the charge of novelty, he maintained that the gospel scheme was only a development and improvement of the law established by Moses, through whom, and the patriarchs before him, it remounted to the very origin of man; while, on the contrary, the gods of paganism were men, who had lived at a more recent period, and were indebted for their deification to the ignorance and superstition of their votaries: and, to raise the first christian teachers in the estimation of his readers, he argued that the Jews had been the favourite people of God, that their sacred books were better deserving of credit than the records of any other ancient nation, and that their prophets had foretold the coming and death of a redeemer, and the establishment and general diffusion of his doctrine.

During the composition of these treatises, he found it necessary to ascertain the date of the birth of Abraham, with the corresponding year in the Grecian and Assyrian annals: and the result of the inquiry suggested to him the idea of compiling a new and enlarged system of chronology. It was divided into two parts. The first, which he called his *παντοδαπὴν ἱστορίαν*, consisted of copious extracts from the most celebrated among the ancient writers of every nation, and formed the basis on which, in the second part, he constructed his *χρονικοὺς χανόνας*, or chronological tables. The work was received with the loudest applause by his contemporaries, and before the close of the century was translated into Latin for the benefit of the western Christians by the pen of St. Jerome. From that period it continued long to be consulted and quoted as an authority by the writers in each language; and, if we may believe Scaliger, was fully entitled to the celebrity which it enjoyed: for there was no work on the subject of chronography, either in Greek or Latin

literature, which could be put in competition with it. “Nihil neque Græcum neque Latinum in doctrina temporum habemus, quod cum eo libro conferri possit.”—Scalig. Proleg. in Chron.

It might have been expected that a work so highly prized, and so generally studied by the writers of the lower ages, would have descended to us in common with the other productions of the same author. But there is reason to believe that the original text of Eusebius is irretrievably lost: for though many searches were made during the two last centuries, in the libraries both of the East and West, not a single copy has been hitherto discovered. The version of Jerome, indeed, still exists: but it cannot supply the place of the original for two reasons. First, It contains only the second part, or the chronological tables. Secondly, It is not even a faithful version of that part. Jerome, in his preface, informs us, that he had taken on himself the duty of author, as well as translator, and had inserted numerous additions with the view of rendering the work more interesting to the Latin Christians.* Now the liberties which he took with Eusebius, his transcribers have taken with him; at the present day there exist not two manuscript copies which resemble each other, and it is impossible to distinguish the text of the author from the additions of the translator, or the additions of the translator from the interpolations of succeeding writers.† Scalliger, however, with the full knowledge of all these particulars, did not despair of recovering the original work. For that purpose he consulted with the most praiseworthy diligence all the Greek chronologists and historians, who wrote after the Bishop of Cæsarea; extracted from their works every passage which *they* stated, or which *he* supposed, to have been taken from the pages of Eusebius, translated other passages from the Latin version of Jerome, added a few improvements of his own, and then, having arranged his materials in order, produced a work, which he persuaded himself to be a correct representation of the Greek text, that had so long been lost. Never perhaps did the infallibility of criticism display itself with more barefaced impudence. The modest title of *Εὐσεβίου τὰ σωζόμενα* did not satisfy his pride: at the head of each page the eyes of the reader were greeted with *Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου Χρονικῶν λόγος πρῶτος*, as if he

* Sciendum est, me et interpretis et scriptoris ex parte officio usum; quia et Græca fidelissime expressi, et nonnulla quæ mihi intermissa videbantur, adjeci, in Romana maxime historia, quam Eusebius, hujus conditor libri, non tam ignorasse, utpote eruditissimus, quam ut Græce scribens, parum suis necessariam perstrinxisse, mihi videtur.—Præf. S. Hieron.

† Nullus liber tot mendorum monstribus deformatus, tot vitii obrutus, tam prodigiose contaminatus in manus nostras devenit, quam sunt illi codices hujus chronici, tam editi quam scripti.—Scalig. Proleg. in Chron.

were perusing the identical text of the Greek chronographer. By Causobon and others the pretensions of Scaliger were fully admitted: but most of the learned refused to become the dupes of his arrogance, and would allow him no other merit than that of having collected and strung together a great number of genuine, spurious, and doubtful passages.

The failure of Scaliger enhances the value of the discovery which we have now to announce. The work of Eusebius has at last been recovered, not indeed in the Greek language, but in an almost entire, and, as far as it is possible to judge, a faithful version. It was contained in an Armenian manuscript found in Jerusalem by Isaac, the vicar of the Armenian patriarch, a little before the close of the last century, and afterwards deposited by him in the library of the Armenian seminary in Constantinople. The monks of the isle of St. Lazarus, near Venice, have long been distinguished by the industry and success with which they have cultivated the antiquities and literature of their country. Their curiosity was awakened by the fame of this discovery; they requested a copy; suspicious of its fidelity they procured a second; and, in 1802, they sent Aucher of Ancyra, one of the fraternity, to Constantinople. During the seven years that he resided in the Turkish capital, he had numerous opportunities of correcting the two copies by the original, and of inquiring into the age and authenticity of the Armenian manuscript. With respect to its age, its appearance bore testimony to its antiquity, and the form of the characters resembled that which is known to have been in use in the twelfth century. From the impression of a seal on one of the pages, it seems to have belonged to the patriarch Gregory. But Gregory was a favourite name among the Armenians: and no fewer than six prelates of that appellation sat in the patriarchal chair between the years 1065 and 1306. Any one of these may have been the owner of the manuscript.

But the authenticity of the version is a subject of more important inquiry. It was in the year 406, that the Armenian characters were invented by the teacher Mesropes. The patriarch Isaac availed himself of this fortunate circumstance to improve the education of his clergy. Of his disciples some were sent to Edessa, some to Alexandria, and some to Constantinople. They studied the languages of Syria and Greece; they procured copies of the most serviceable works; and they undertook the task of translating them into their vernacular tongue. The books of scripture were the first object of their labours: the decrees and canons of the councils followed; to these were added a considerable number of treatises by theological authors: and so

extensive was the benefit derived from their writings, that the national historians, in gratitude for their services, have denominated the fifth century "the age of the translators." Now there is convincing evidence to show that the Armenian version of Eusebius before us, was executed at this early period. Numerous quotations from it, some of them of considerable length, are to be found in the ancient Armenian writers: and among the eight cited by the editor in his preface, are two, Lazarus Pharpensis, and Moyses Choronensis, who were contemporary with the patriarch Isaac himself. Moreover, there is reason to believe, that it is accurate as well as ancient. For in every passage, in which we have the opportunity of comparing it with the remains of the Greek text, it is found to render the sense of the original with the most scrupulous fidelity.

Having thus established the credit due to the Armenian version, we proceed to point out its contents. The plan is thus described by Eusebius himself:—

"I shall begin with the chronology of the Chaldeans, and in succession of the Assyrians, Medes, Lydians, and Persians. The second chapter will be confined to that of the Hebrews. In the third I shall describe the numerous dynasties of the Egyptian kings, with that of the Ptolemies, who, after the death of the Macedonian conqueror, reigned in Alexandria. The fourth will be devoted to the history of Greece. I shall enumerate the kings who reigned in Sicily, in Argos, in Athens, Lacedæmon and Corinth; to these I shall add the several periods when different states obtained the empire of the sea, and shall conclude with the origin and succession of the Grecian Olympiads. The last chapters will contain the kings of Macedon and Thessaly; those of Assyria and Asia after the death of Alexander; the descendants of Æneas who ruled the Latins, subsequently called Romans; those who succeeded Romulus, and were the founders of the Roman city; the emperors after Cæsar and Augustus, and the annual magistrates with the title of consuls. These divisions will form the first part: and from the materials thus collected I shall compose my general canon of times, in which the several successions will be placed in collateral columns, so arranged that, at the first glance, the reader may compare them together, and see who were contemporaries, and what relation of time the sovereigns of different countries, with the principal events of their reigns, bore to each other."

Such is the plan: we shall now examine the manner in which it has been executed. The first chapter consists of extracts from the works of the ancient writers, Berosus and Abydenus, for which Eusebius was indebted to the collection of Alexander Polyhistor, and of a long notice from Josephus, who had introduced several passages on the same subject into his work against Apion. These present us with the Chaldean cosmogony, and

history of the world before the flood. We are told that, originally, there existed nothing but water, and darkness, and animals self-generated, and of the most fantastic shapes; that Belus, whom the Greeks call Δεῦς, (and the Armenians, Aramazd,) divided the darkness, and separated the earth from the heavens; that he afterwards formed the sun, moon, and five planets; that the animals, unable to bear the light, perished; that Belus cut off his head, and that from his blood, dropping on the earth, sprung the present races of men and animals. After ten generations, which lasted 120 Sari, equal to forty-three myriads of years, the gods ordered Xisuthris to build an ark; the deluge followed; the waters subsided, and the ark rested on one of the Corduan mountains in Armenia. Soon afterwards Xisuthris disappeared; the children of his companions despised the gods; they built at the place called Babylon a lofty tower, which, when it had reached the heavens, was overturned by the winds; and in consequence, a great confusion of tongues introduced itself among men. We have then eighty-four kings, the descendants of Xisuthris, each of whom reigned a certain number of Neri and Sossi; these are followed by three dynasties of Median, Chaldean, and Arabian princes, who sway the Babylonian sceptre till the time of Semiramis. She is succeeded by forty-five kings, who lead us to Phul, Sennacherib, Samuges, Nabupalsar, Nabucodrossor, Amilmarudoc, Neglisar, Naboden, and Cyrus, names, which must bring to the remembrance of the reader the kings of Babylon, recorded in the scriptural books of Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel.

These numerous extracts are connected together by Eusebius, with observations of his own. He remarks that the Chaldean history of the creation and the deluge has been derived from the same source as that of Moses, but disfigured with absurd and ridiculous fables: that Xisuthris is evidently the Noah of the Hebrews, being the tenth in descent from Alorus, as Noah was the tenth in descent from Adam; but that no man can admit the long duration of these ten generations of men, who is not equally disposed to believe all the fables, with which it had pleased antiquity to embellish them: and that the Chaldean Saros, if there be any truth in the enumeration, must have been in its origin a short measure of time, instead of comprehending that multitude of years, which it was supposed to do afterwards. He equally rejects the number of kings, who follow Xisuthris, but dwells with pleasure on the confirmation, which the succession of the last race of princes gives to the testimony of the scripture in those passages, in which they are mentioned.*

* According to Apollodorus and Abydenus (Euseb. Chron. i. 11, 47.) the Chal-

It must be evident, that the manner in which this chapter is written (those which follow are on the same plan) must impart to it considerable interest in the estimation of readers at the present day. It has preserved for us valuable passages from the works of writers, that perished more than a thousand years ago ; and makes us acquainted with the historical and religious traditions of the most ancient among the eastern nations. Of these passages, several were entirely unknown before the publication of the volumes before us : some, indeed, have been extracted from the work by Eusebius himself, and inserted in his book on the demonstration of the gospel, and others by Syncellus, a Greek chronographer, who, while he carped at the opinions, made free with the writings of the Bishop of Cæsarea. But, even these passages in the printed copies abound with errors, which may be usefully and easily corrected with the aid of the Armenian version.

The next chapter is devoted to the chronology of the Assyrians. Of the works to which Eusebius here appeals, those by Abydenus, Castor, Cephalio, and Ctesias have long been lost ; the histories of Herodotus and Diodorus are still extant. He makes no mention, though he can hardly have been ignorant, of the era of Nabonassar, established by Ptolemy ; but he has fortunately preserved a passage, which may help to solve a difficulty which has often tortured chronographers. They have generally asserted that the Nimrod of the scriptures, and the Bel of the profane writers, are the same person, the founder of Babylon. His son was Ninus, the founder of Nineveh, to whom and his widow Semiramis are attributed a long succession of victories, and the subjugation of the larger portion of Asia. But in this hypothesis whence sprung the numerous and powerful nations, which they are said to have subdued ? Ninus is but the fourth from Noah, and in his time Asia must have been a desert almost without inhabitants. To answer the question, Petavius supposes a marvellous fecundity in the human race at this early period ; he even amuses his leisure in calculating the descendants of a single man at the end of two hundred years ; and asserts that, in the supposition, that none of them die during the interval, they would amount to

dean Sossos consisted of 60 years, the Neros of 600, and the Saros of 3,600. Eusebius maintains, that by years must be understood seasons, or lunar months. Suidas, if we may believe Desvignoles, goes farther. (Langlet, i. 457.) He takes the years of the ancients to mean diurnal revolutions of 24 hours : and Gibert, adopting and improving this idea, published a letter at Amsterdam in 1743, in which he reduced the pretensions of the Chaldeans within the bounds of credibility, by contending that their boasted astronomical observations during 473,000 years, had been confined to so many days, or 1297 years,

1200 millions. Usher seeks to elude the difficulty. He supposes that Bel was not the same person with Nimrod, but with Evechous, who lived five hundred years later, and that another Bel, the father of Ninus, reigned in Babylon in the days of Ehud, the second judge of Israel, about 1300 years before Christ. But the passage from Abydenus to which we have alluded, informs us that the difficulty is founded on an error; that Ninus was not the son of Bel, but of Arbel II., and that instead of being the fourth, he was the ninth in descent from Noah. "Ninus was the son of Arbel, Arbel the son of Chaal, Chaal the son of Arbel, Arbel the son of Aneb, Aneb the son of Babius, and Babius the son of Bel, king of the Assyrians." By this account, Ninus will have been contemporary with Abraham.

In the next chapter, (its subject is the chronology of the Hebrews,) the great object of the author is to ascertain the date of the birth of that patriarch, the era on which he means to build all his subsequent computations. With this view, he compares together the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek texts, points out their various discrepancies, and calculates that, according to the first, Abraham was born in the year of the world 1948, according to the second in 2249, and according to the third in 3184. With some hesitation he adopts the computation of the Septuagint, for two reasons: first, because it is frequently supported by the concurrent testimony of the Samaritan; and secondly, because that version was made at an early period, when the Hebrew copies must have been (so at least he presumes) more correct than they could be at the time in which he was writing. It is, however, manifest that he feels uneasy under this decision, and is always eager to desert the usual reading in the Greek, whenever he can discover a copy which helps to reduce the number of years given to the lives of the patriarchs. But after the birth of Abraham, his labour becomes comparatively easy. Difficulties, indeed, occur from the different statements in different parts of the scriptures, and these he discusses with ability and judgment: but his solutions we omit, because, however interesting they might prove to the biblical student, they could afford but little gratification to the majority of our readers.

The chapter on the chronology of Egypt is taken from the works of Manetho and Porphyry: from Manetho for the more early ages, to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, from Porphyry for the period which intervened between the death of that prince and the battle of Actium. Manetho informs us, that the government of Egypt was successively held by gods, demigods, Manes, and mortals. The first who swayed the sceptre was Hephaistos, (Vulcan,) the inventor of fire: he was followed by

the Sun; then came Agathodæmon, Chronus, (Saturn,) Osiris, his brother Typhon, Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, and a long succession of deities, the last of whom was called Bites. After the gods, the sceptre passed into the hands of demigods, and from them to the race of the manes, so that almost 25,000 years elapsed, before the country was governed by mortals. It is to be regretted that Eusebius, when he enumerated the deities, gave to the four first their Grecian, instead of Egyptian, names: especially as both Osiris and Horus have been taken for the sun, though in this catalogue the sun occupies the second, Osiris and Horus the fifth and seventh place. He supposes that these fables were invented to account for the history of Egypt from the creation of the earth to the colonization of that country by Mizraim: nor is he scared by the incredible duration of that period; for he tells us from Manetho, that the Egyptian year means no more than a single revolution of the moon, and ingeniously calculates that 25,000 lunar months give nearly the same number of years, as according to the Septuagint preceded the birth of Mizraim, the father of the Egyptians.

Of mortals Menes is said to have been the first king. Several moderns have identified him with Noah: Eusebius is positive that he was Mizraim. From Menes to the fall of Darius Manetho reckons one and thirty dynasties of Egyptian princes; but though their names are recorded, with the precise duration and most remarkable events of their reigns, the very number, independently of other circumstances, will suffice to provoke a strong suspicion of fiction. Eusebius, however, comes forward to relieve our doubts with the remark, that they are not to be reckoned in one continued line. Egypt did not always form a single monarchy. At different periods it was divided into separate principalities; each of these was governed by its peculiar dynasty; and it often happened that at the same time there were kings reigning at Memphis, others at Thebes, others at Heracleopolis, Diospolis, and the several places from which the Egyptian dynasties have derived their distinctive appellations. This supposition is certainly founded on fact, and may perhaps satisfy the mind of the reader, if he be unacquainted with the propensity of the Egyptian priests to exaggerate wherever the claim of their nation to superior antiquity was concerned.*

* From one of these charges we think it in our power to clear them. It is pretended that, to support their claim of antiquity, they made the reigns of their ancient kings equal to so many generations of men, of which three were supposed to fill one hundred years. This rests on the authority of Herodotus, (lib. xi. ch. 43.) and, in opposition to it, Sir Isaac Newton has shown, that the just medium of duration for such reigns is

Among these dynasties, that of the Hyccussin, or shepherd kings, has been the subject of several fanciful theories. From Manetho we learn that the shepherds came from the East, expelled the natives from more than one half of Egypt, and retained possession, under kings of their own, for the space of one hundred and three years, as he is copied by Eusebius, or of five hundred and eleven according to the reading in Josephus. After a long succession of hostilities, Tmosis, the king of Diospolis, called to his aid the other princes of Egypt; and, at the head of 480,000 men, marched against the shepherds, who, to the amount of 240,000, retired to Avaris, a place containing 10,000 acres, situated on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and surrounded by a wall, the work of the first of their kings. The siege and the defence were equally obstinate: a treaty was concluded; and the shepherds were suffered to quit Egypt without further molestation. They took the road of the desert towards Assyria, but afterwards turning to the left, entered the land subsequently called Judea, and built the city of Jerusalem, sufficiently capacious to contain the whole nation. In this tale Josephus, and he is followed by the christian writers Tatian, Justin, and Clemens, discovers the history of his ancestors, disfigured by the traditions of the Egyptian priests. The shepherds, if we believe him, are Jacob, his sons, and their descendants; Avaris is the land of Goshen; and the expulsion of the strangers is the migration of the Israelites into the land of Canaan. Modern chronologers, however, place these transactions after the history of the shepherds. These, according to Bryant, were Cuthites, driven from their original seat by the sons of Shem, and compelled to earn by force new settlements in Egypt: by their subsequent expulsion the land of Goshen was left without inhabitants; and it was afterwards given to Jacob through the influence of his son Joseph. Eusebius, though he transcribes at length the authorities and reasoning adduced by Josephus, follows a different opinion. He leads Jacob and his family into Egypt, under one of the shepherd kings. There they remain in tranquillity till the expulsion of their protectors: then, under a king "which knew not Joseph," they are reduced to slavery, and are at last miraculously delivered during the reign of Achencheres, the third in succession from Tmosis.

from eighteen to twenty years. But Herodotus, in the opinion of Manetho, was a very unsafe guide in Egyptian history: (πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. :) and it appears from the account of the Egyptian dynasties preserved by Eusebius, that the average duration of each reign did not reach to sixteen years. Indeed, the more early reigns are the shortest. During the first eleven dynasties, twelve years are the medium.

At length we begin to emerge from that mist of fiction which covers the more remote antiquities of Egypt. A few rays of historic light illumine the reigns of the monarchs who followed Cambyses, the Persian; and after the fall of Darius we walk in open day, and plainly see our way before us. The reigns of the Ptolemies, the successors of Alexander, have been elucidated by the labours of several historians. From these Eusebius selects Porphyry, whose annals he epitomizes, and introduces the epitome among his own pages. To the historical student, as the original work is lost, it must prove a valuable substitute, comprising, from the accession of Alexander to the death of Cleopatra, a most interesting period of two hundred and ninety-three years.

The next chapter is dedicated to the history of Greece. The canons of Eratosthenes, whom we have already mentioned, have been preserved in the *σπράγματα* of Clemens Alexandrinus, and, on a comparison with the Arundelian marbles, are found to place almost every event six and twenty years later than the Parian chronology. According to Eratosthenes, eighty years elapsed from the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ, sixty from their return to the settlement of Ionia, one hundred and fifty-nine from that period to the guardianship of Lycurgus, and one hundred and eight more to the first Olympiad. Apollodorus, the disciple of Panætius, in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon adopted these canons, and his authority was followed by most succeeding chronographers. Eusebius walks in the steps of his predecessors; but at the same time is careful to admonish his readers that little credit is due to the date of any event which happened before the first Olympiad. Of the origin of that era, the supposed institution of the games by the Idæi Dactyli, and their subsequent restoration by Iphitus, he gives a succinct but interesting account. In one of the Olympiads (it matters not whether it was the fourteenth, as Callimachus asserts, or the twenty-eighth, as Aristodemus and Polybius pretend) Coræbus obtained the prize: and, as he was the first conqueror whose name was placed on record, Timæus proposed, and subsequent historians agreed, to reckon the Olympiads from the epoch of his victory, which was the year 776 before Christ. In this place Eusebius has preserved an ancient list of two hundred and forty-nine Olympiads, with the names of the successful candidates in each; a fragment of considerable utility, because the Greek writers occasionally designate the date of an event, not by the number of the Olympiad, but by the name of the conqueror.* In the

* Causobon had furnished Scaliger with this fragment in Greek, which had

same chapter are also two other sections of great interest, one containing the history of Alexander's successors in Macedon, written by Porphyry, the other the history of his successors in Asia and Syria, compiled apparently by Eusebius himself.

If the ancient history of the Greeks is uncertain, that of the Latins, the subject of the next chapter, is involved in tenfold obscurity. We shall not follow Eusebius through the long and doubtful line of the Latin kings. He is content to take Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Hallicarnassus for his guides; and the works of these historians are still open to the inspection of the reader. To the chronologers of that day, no less than to those of modern times, the foundation of Rome offered a problem of very difficult solution. Eusebius does not make the attempt; but, as the construction of his tables rendered it necessary for him to fix on some particular era, he selects, in imitation of Dionysius, and on the authority of Cato, the first year of "the seventh Olympiad, in which the name of the victor was Daicles, the Messenian." With this concludes the first part, or the *παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία*.

The second part is occupied by the chronological tables, and may, therefore, be dismissed with very few remarks. In the preface the author makes it his first care to ascertain the age in which Moses lived: and, reckoning backwards from the birth of Christ, he finds that the commencement of the first Olympiad corresponds with the fiftieth year of Uzziah, King of Judah; the taking of Troy with the third of Abdon, the Judge; and the eightieth year of Moses with the forty-fifth of Cecrops, King of Attica. This antiquity of the Jewish legislator furnishes him with a subject of triumph over his pagan adversaries. Moses, he observes, even according to their own chronology, existed prior to the worship of Jupiter, and the birth of Latona, of Apollo, of Bacchus, and of most of the heathen deities; prior to the flood of Deucalion, the fall of Phaethon, the rape of Europa, and the other wonders of Grecian mythology; and some centuries prior to the first poets, philosophers, and historians of Greece. Nor is this all. His history reaches back to

formerly been copied from Eusebius by some unknown writer. It may, however, be corrected from the Armenian text in numerous passages, particularly in that which attributes to Chionis, the Lacedæmonian, a prodigious leap of fifty-two feet. These, in the Armenian, are reduced to twenty-two cubits. Scaliger expresses his estimation of the catalogue in the following words:—"Sed Deum immortalem, quanti refert hos *σταδιονίκας* non periisse! Omnis enim memoria rerum Græcarum horum titulis continetur: ita ut, ignorata Olympiade, τοῦ *σταδιονίκου* nomen superstes neque Olympiaden, neque tempus rei gestæ perire patiatur. Nam non raro Pausanias, non quota est Olympias, sed quam quidam vicit, notare solet. Τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν ὁ *δεῖνα ἐνίκησε*."—Scal. p. 426.

the very creation of man. What have Greeks or barbarians to put in competition with it? What document can they produce respecting that most early period which can deserve a moment's attention from any reasonable man?

He next proceeds to fix the date of the birth of Abraham. Comparing the Jewish history with the chronology of other nations, he finds that patriarch to have been contemporary with Ninus in Assyria, Europs in Sicyon, and Thuorin in Thebes of Egypt; and having laid this foundation, commences to arrange his tables in collateral columns. The first contains his Abrahamic era, or succession of years from the birth of Abraham, to which he afterwards adds a second, containing the Olympiads, and subsequently a third, numbering the years from the foundation of Rome. Then follow columns, appropriated to the chronology of each kingdom: and these, as new states arise, increase in number, and afterwards decrease, in proportion as the same are swallowed up by more extensive empires. On each side of the columns, and opposite to their respective dates, are scattered short historical notices of memorable events; and wherever the importance of the matter appears to demand a longer narrative, the columns are broken, and a full paragraph is interposed.

In the construction of these tables, Eusebius seeks to abridge, by every expedient in his power, the labour of the chronological student; and we think that we discover in his pages the rudiments, perhaps we may say the substance, of every improvement which has been attributed to more modern authors. The arrangement in collateral columns is his; the adoption of different contemporary eras is his; even the appropriation of transverse lines to equal periods of time, an invention the merit of which has been claimed by Helvicus and Blair, is also his. By drawing a line across the columns at the interval of every ten years, he has divided them into decades, so that the reader, with almost a single glance of the eye, may form a just notion of the distance of time between any two given events. We subjoin, as a specimen of his manner, the following extract from that part of the tables where the columns are few in number. It should be observed, that the lateral notes are divided from each other by horizontal lines, and refer to the highest line of the opposite numbers for their respective dates.

U. C.		Olym- piads.	From Abra- ham.	Rome. Augus- tus.	Judea. Herod.		
760	Birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.	195	2015	42	32	Quirinus is sent into Judea, by order of the senate, to tax the Jews.	
	Cæsar makes peace with the Parthians.		2016	43	33		
	Xistus, the Pythago- rean philosopher.		2017	44	34		Augustus adopts Ti- berius and Agrippa.
	Herod slays the child- ren in Bethlehem.	196	2018	45	35	Judas, of Galilee, in- cites the Jews to rebel.	
			2019	46	36		
	Herod, Antipater, Ly- sanias, and Philip, the brothers of Archelaus, appointed tetrarchs by Augustus.		2020	47	37	Herod dies of the dropsy.	
					Arche- laus. ix. yrs.		
				2021	48	1	Archelaus succeeds his father.
				2022	49	2	Tiberius subdues the Dalmatæ and Sarmatæ.
	An extraordinary fa- mine in Rome.		197	2023	50	3	Athenodorus, the phi- losopher.
				2024	51	4	
				2025	52	5	
				2026	53	6	
		2027		54	7		
	Authors of a sedition, at Athens, put to death.	198	2028	55	8	Archelaus banished. Number of Roman citizens in the census, 4,190,117. Eclipse of the sun, and death of Augustus.	
			2029	56	9		
770		199		Tibe- rius. xxiii.ys.	Herod. xxiv.ys.		
			2030	1	1	Ephesus, Magnesia Sardis, Mostene, Ægæ, Hiero-Cæsarea, Phila- delphia, Tmolus, Temus, Myrhina, Apollonia, Dia, and Hyrcania, destroyed by an earthquake.	
			2031	2	2		
			2032	3	3		
	Triumph of Germani- cus over the Parthians.		2033	4	4		
			2034	5	5		
	Conflagration of Pom- pey's theatre.	200	2035	6	6		
			2036	7	7		
			2037	8	8		
			2038	9	9		
Drusus associated in the empire.			2039	10	10	Philip, the tetrarch, builds Pennada, Cæsa- rea, Philippi, and Julias.	
Drusus poisoned.	201	2040	11	11	Pilot appointed procu- rator of Judea.		
		2041	12	12			
		2042	13	13			

Aucher, the Armenian monk, has performed his duty as editor with accuracy and skill. The presswork, though executed in the monastery, is neat, and free from any important errors; and the Latin translation, if it be deficient in elegance, possesses the higher merit of verbal fidelity. He has also laboured to restore the Greek text of Eusebius: and has discovered nearly two-thirds of it, partly in Syncellus, partly in the anonymous eclogist of Scaliger, and partly in other works of the Bishop of Cæsarea, who appears to have been in the habit of copying himself. That in this pursuit Aucher should have succeeded better than Scaliger, is not surprising, for he had the Armenian text for his guide: but his notes serve to expose the arrogance of the Dutch critic, whose overweening confidence in his own judgment, frequently led him to reject as spurious the real text of his author, and as frequently to attribute to him passages which he had never written.

On the whole, we consider these two volumes as a very useful addition to our stores of ancient learning. It is not that we think the calculations of Eusebius less liable to objection than those of his fellow-labourers in the same department of literature; but he has given us a faithful representation of the accredited systems of chronography in his day; he has preserved in his pages the opinions of writers whose works have long since perished; and in regard of the more early ages, he has furnished us with information which we cannot now obtain from any other source. This information is, indeed, as was to be expected, imperfect and unsatisfactory. By it the darkness which overspreads that remote region cannot be dispelled. Nevertheless, it may often serve as a light to direct the steps, and gratify the curiosity, of the patient and inquisitive traveller.

ART. V.—*Wanderings in South America, the North-west of the United States, and the Antilles, in the Years 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824. With original Instructions for the perfect Preservation of Birds, &c. for Cabinets of Natural History.* By Charles Waterton, Esq. 4to. London, 1825.

WHEN men of leisure, who are not drawn from their homes either by the engagements of business, or the vanity of fashion, betake themselves to travel, the chances are, that they have some rational object in view; and if so, a faithful account of what they see and do will not be uninteresting to those who despise nothing that tends to enlarge our acquaintance with the manners of men or the works of God. It is true, indeed, that

many travel out of mere restlessness, and the importunities of that unquiet spirit, which, more or less, ferments in every human breast; and we should surmise, that Mr. Waterton has his full share of this latter influence. But he has also something better. He is a great naturalist, and has the organ of adventure very fully developed on his skull; and he did well to fix upon the New World for the scene of action, for there the museum of nature is rich in treasures yet unexplored. The dull conveniences of civilisation are unknown through boundless regions; and no grand tourists intrude, where post-horses are not to be had. Our author is evidently a man of an original and singular humour, and his book at any rate is both curious and amusing. In his preface, he speaks of himself in a mixed tone of humility and confidence, but produces some strong testimonies in his favour from Sir Joseph Banks. He says, "he has sent forth the account of his wanderings just as it was written at the time," and that, whatever the critics may think, "it is not totally devoid of interest, but contains something useful," His motto is—

"nec herba nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis."

Yet with such diligence and minuteness of attention, he has comprised the observations of four years in 326 pages. To each year belongs a distinct journey, and a deliberate interval occurs between each, which the wanderer has employed in digesting his collection of facts and remarks, and preparing for a fresh campaign.

His journal, though pregnant with matter, is very miscellaneous, and so must be our observations upon it. The minute details of natural history are rather out of our line as literary critics, and we shall therefore treat our author merely as a good-natured gentleman, who has lent us his diary for our amusement, and shall select such facts and anecdotes out of it as may take our fancy most in the perusal.

He is for the most part concise and sententious; but his pen is tipped with poetry, and as no plant or root (according to his motto) has escaped him in rough places, so we may observe, that he never misses a flower of rhetoric, which may be latent in his subject, how barren and unpoetical soever it might appear to the organs of duller men. Our readers will have full proof of this as we proceed; and to say the truth, however Quintilian might sometimes be startled, the vagaries of our author's fancy impart great liveliness and novelty to his book.

He gives no map of his route, for geography was not his object; but, "in the month of April 1812, he left the town of Stabroek, to travel through the wilds of Demerara and Essequibo,

a part of *ci-devant* Dutch Guiana, in South America. The chief objects in view were to collect a quantity of the strongest Wourali poison ; and to reach the inland frontier of Portuguese Guiana."

In pursuance of this plan, he proceeds by water up the river Demerara, through much fine woodland scenery, till he comes to the rocks of Saba, the Indian frontier, and "on the top of which stands the house of the postholder."

"He is appointed by government to give in his report to the protector of the Indians, of what is going on amongst them ; and to prevent suspicious people from passing up the river.

"When the Indians assemble here, the stranger may have an opportunity of seeing the Aborigines, dancing to the sound of their country music, and painted in their native style. They will shoot their arrows for him with an unerring aim, and send the poisoned dart, from the blow-pipe, true to its destination : and here he may often view all the different shades, from the red savage to the white man ; and from the white man to the sootiest son of Africa.

"Beyond this post, there are no more habitations of white men, or free people of colour."

Our author now spreads before us a lively sketch of the soil and aspect of the country, and its vegetable and animal productions—of the stately mora tree, so high that the shot of the fowler will but faintly reach its summit—of the harmless and much calumniated sloth, whose native home is in these forests—of the vampire, that sucks the traveller's blood in the night-season—and of the beautiful and deadly COUNACOUCHI snake, that drives man and beast before him. And then he sums up the whole in the following characteristic address to the reader :—

"Courteous reader, here thou hast the outlines of an amazing landscape given thee ; thou wilt see that the principal parts of it are but faintly traced, some of them scarcely visible at all, and that the shades are wholly wanting. If thy soul partakes of the ardent flame which the persevering Mungo Park's did, these outlines will be enough for thee ; they will give thee some idea of what a noble country this is ; and, if thou hast but courage to set about giving the word a finished picture of it, neither materials to work on, nor colours to paint it in its true shades, will be wanting to thee. It may appear a difficult task at a distance ; but look close at it, and it is nothing at all ; provided thou hast but a quiet mind, little more is necessary, and the genius which presides over these wilds will kindly help thee through the rest. She will allow thee to slay the fawn, and to cut down the mountain cabbage for thy support, and to select from every part of her domain whatever may be necessary for the work thou art about ; but, having killed a pair of doves in order to enable thee to give mankind a true and proper description of them, thou must not

destroy a third through wantonness, or to show what a good marksman thou art; that would only blot the picture thou art finishing, not colour it.

"Though retired from the haunts of men, and even without a friend with thee, thou wouldst not find it solitary. The crowing of the hannaquoi will sound in thine years like the daybreak town-clock; and the wren and the thrush will join with thee in thy matin hymn to thy Creator, to thank him for thy night's rest.

"At noon the genius will lead thee to the troely, one leaf of which will defend thee from both sun and rain. And if, in the cool of the evening, thou hast been tempted to stray too far from thy place of abode, and art deprived of light to write down the information thou hast collected, the fire-fly, which thou wilt see in almost every bush around thee, will be thy candle. Hold it over thy pocket-book, in any position which thou knowest will not hurt it, and it will give thee ample light. And when thou hast done with it, put it kindly back again on the next branch to thee. It will want no other reward for its services.

"When in thy hammock, should the thought of thy little crosses and disappointments, in thy ups and downs through life, break in upon thee, and throw thee into a pensive mood, the owl will bear thee company. She will tell thee that hard has been her fate too; and at intervals, "Whip-poor-Will," and "Willy-come-go," will take up the tale of sorrow. Ovid has told thee how the owl once boasted the human form, and lost it for a very small offence; and were the poet now alive, he would inform thee, that "Whip-poor-Will," and "Willy-come-go," are the shades of those poor African and Indian slaves, who died worn-out and broken-hearted. They wail and cry "Whip-poor-Will," "Willy-come-go," all night long; and often when the moon shines, you see them sitting on the green turf, near the houses of those whose ancestors tore them from the bosom of their helpless families, which all probably perished through grief and want, after their support was gone."

From Saba, the wanderer continued his course along the banks of the Demerara, for about four days' journey, till he arrived at the Great Fall, which is not a perpendicular cascade, but a magnificent rush of water, down a rocky and sloping channel which completely interrupts the navigation of the river. Here he turned aside, and in about a day and a half reached the Essequibo, in prosecution of his design to penetrate to the Portuguese frontier. He dwells with enthusiasm on the majestic scenery and abundant riches of nature, which surrounded him on every side. So matted and interwoven were the tops of the trees above him, that he pursued his way securely sheltered from the sun, and at leisure to contemplate with admiring eyes the varied magnificence of the vegetable kingdom. He paints the lords of the forest, flourishing in their strength, and spreading abroad

their branches to the sky, and then quotes the "cloud-capt towers," and moralizes upon their decay and fall, as the emblem of the latter end of mortal man, whose fleeting generations, like the leaves of autumn, are mingled with the dust. "I hate the man, exclaims Sterne, who can travel from Dan to Beersheba, and say, 'it is all barren.' " Our author is in no danger of falling within this anathema, for he is never at a loss for objects of instruction and amusement; he ranges the wilderness and finds it a museum, and the placid and cheerful images which the book of nature spreads before him, seem to warm his heart with love and good-will towards men :—

"Reader, canst thou not be induced to dedicate a few months to the public good, and examine with thy scientific eye the productions which the vast and well-stored colony of Demerara presents to thee?

"What an immense range of forest is there from the Rock Saba to the Great Fall! and what an uninterrupted extent before thee from it to the banks of the Essequibo! No doubt, there is many a balsam and many a medicinal root yet to be discovered, and many a resin, gum, and oil yet unnoticed. Thy work would be a pleasing one, and thou mightest make several useful observations in it."

With reference to the advantage of the colony, he suggests that stones might be conveyed from Saba to Stabroek, and usefully employed in stemming the equinoctial tides which continually wash away the wooden piles round the mounds of the fort :—that the navigation of the river might, at little expense, be opened all the way to the Great Fall, by removing the rocks that form the rapids :—that the climate in the high lands above Saba is very salubrious, and that new settlers there might, with great advantage to themselves, cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Indians.—"They are a poor, harmless, inoffensive set of people, and their wandering and ill-provided way of living seems more to ask for pity from us, than to fill our heads with thoughts that they would be hostile to us."

The landscape along the shores of the Essequibo, consists of "hills, vallies, and lowlands, all linked together by a chain of forest. Ascend the highest mountain, climb the highest tree, as far as the eye can extend, whichever way it directs itself, all is luxuriant and unbroken forest." "The hayawa tree perfumes the woods around: pairs of scarlet aras are continually crossing the river. The maam sends forth its plaintive note, the wren chants its evening song. The caprimulgus wheels its busy flight around the canoe, while 'Whip-poor-Will' sits on the broken stump near the water's edge, complaining, as the shades of night set in."

Quitting the Essequibo, and entering the river Apoura-poura, which falls into it from the south, the traveller in five days arrived "within the borders of Macoushia, inhabited by a different tribe of people, called Macoushi Indians; uncommonly dexterous in the use of the blow-pipe, (not the chemist's) and famous for their skill in preparing the deadly vegetable poison, commonly called Wourali."

Mr. Waterton forewarns his "Courteous Reader, not to expect a dissertation on the manner in which the Wourali poison operates on the system; a treatise has been already written upon the subject, and after all, there is probably still reason to doubt. It is supposed to affect the nervous system, and thus destroy the vital functions; it is also said to be perfectly harmless, provided it does not touch the blood. However, it is certain, that when a sufficient quantity of it enters the blood, death is the inevitable consequence; but there is no alteration in the colour of the blood, and both the blood and flesh may be eaten with safety."

We shall follow our author's judicious example in leaving the scientific discussion of this question to the chemists. He has done his part in supplying them with the ingredients and mode of preparation, and as his account is curious and interesting, we shall give it (though rather a long extract,) in his own words:—

"A day or two before the Macoushi Indian prepares his poison, he goes into the forest in quest of the ingredients. A vine grows in these wilds, which is called Wourali. It is from this that the poison takes its name, and it is the principal ingredient. When he has procured enough of this, he digs up a root of a very bitter taste, ties them together, and then looks about for two kinds of bulbous plants, which contain a green and glutinous juice. He fills a little quack, which he carries on his back, with the stalks of these; and lastly, ranges up and down till he finds two species of ants. One of them is very large and black, and so venomous, that its sting produces a fever: it is most commonly to be met with on the ground. The other is a little red ant, which stings like a nettle, and generally has its nest under the leaf of a shrub. After obtaining these, he has no more need to range the forest.

"A quantity of the strongest Indian pepper is used; but this he has already planted round his hut. The pounded fangs of the Labarri snake, and those of the Counacouchi are also added. These he commonly has in store; for when he kills a snake, he generally extracts the fangs, and keeps them by him.

"Having thus found the necessary ingredients, he scrapes the Wourali vine and bitter root into thin shavings, and puts them into a kind of colander, made of leaves; this he holds over an earthen pot, and pours water on the shavings: the liquor which comes through, has the appearance of coffee. When a sufficient quantity has been

procured, the shavings are thrown aside. He then bruises the bulbous stalks, and squeezes a proportionate quantity of their juice through his hands into the pot. Lastly, the snakes' fangs, ants, and pepper, are bruised, and thrown into it. It is then placed on a slow fire, and as it boils, more of the juice of the Wourali is added, according as it may be found necessary, and the scum is taken off with a leaf: it remains on the fire till reduced to a thick sirup of a deep brown colour. As soon as it has arrived at this state, a few arrows are poisoned with it, to try its strength. If it answer the expectations, it is poured out into a calabash, or little pot of Indian manufacture, which is carefully covered with a couple of leaves, and over them a piece of deer's skin, tied round with a cord. They keep it in the most dry part of the hut; and from time to time suspend it over the fire, to counteract the effects of dampness.

"The act of preparing this poison is not considered as a common one; the savage may shape his bow, fasten the barb on the point of his arrow, and make his other implements of destruction, either lying in his hammock, or in the midst of his family; but if he has to prepare the Wourali poison, many precautions are supposed to be necessary.

"The women and young girls are not allowed to be present, lest the Yabanhou, or Evil Spirit, should do them harm. The shed under which it has been boiled, is pronounced polluted and abandoned ever after. He who makes the poison must eat nothing that morning, and must continue fasting as long as the operation lasts. The pot in which it is boiled must be a new one, and must never have held any thing before, otherwise the poison would be deficient in strength: add to this, that the operator must take particular care not to expose himself to the vapour which arises from it while on the fire."

After all, it seems, the Indians believe that this mystic process affects the health; and the operator either is, or fancies himself to be, sick for some days after.

Upon the principle of "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*," it will not seem strange that superstition should be peculiarly associated with a process such as this. The manufacture of other implements of destruction is mere mechanism—and so in a great degree are their effects; the arrow and the battle-axe kill by visible wounds and bloodshed, but who can explain the workings of a drug? there is inscrutable mystery in death by poison.

Perhaps, in savage life, superstition is that which, more than any thing else, distinguishes man from the beasts of the field. He lives as much the life of an animal as they do; reason seems almost as faint and feeble within him; judgment and instinct are scarcely to be distinguished, even in degree: but the mysterious consciousness of unknown power evinced in his superstitions, reveals the working of an inward spirit that wanders beyond the limits of the visible world.

Mr. Waterton very naturally suggests a question, whether all the ingredients which he has enumerated are really necessary to the efficacy of the poison? Most probably not: but, as he says, there is no pronouncing here without proof, which would not easily be obtained; for the Indians would hardly be persuaded to depart from their established custom in a matter of such religious solemnity, merely to gratify the curiosity of a philosopher.

We cannot make room for a lively description of an Indian sportsman going forth into the woods in quest of game, armed with his blow-pipe, quiver, and poisoned arrows,—of the dexterity with which he pursues or decoys his bird, of the unerring aim, and infallible effect of the slightest wound. But we must briefly notice one or two of the experiments by which the power of the poison was proved, and which the author begs may not be ascribed to inhumanity:—

“The kind-hearted reader will be sorry to read of an unoffending animal doomed to death in order to satisfy a doubt: still it will be a relief to know that the victim was not tortured. The Wourali poison destroys life’s action so gently, that the victim appears to be in no pain whatever.”

After several sacrifices had been made, and particularly of a hog, a sloth, and some birds, an ox was condemned to give proof of the power of the Wourali poison upon larger animals. Three wild-hog arrows were shot into him, two into the thighs, and the third transversely into the extremity of the nostril. In about four minutes the poison seemed to take effect. In a quarter of an hour he staggered and fell, his eye became fixed and dim, his legs convulsed, he breathed hard, and emitted foam from the mouth—but life passed gradually more and more quietly away, “and in five and twenty minutes from the time of his being wounded, he was quite dead.”

After our author returned to London, “several experiments were made with the Wourali poison.”

“An ass was inoculated with it, and died in twelve minutes. The poison was inserted into the leg of another, round which a bandage had been previously tied a little above the place where the Wourali was introduced. He walked about as usual, and ate his food as though all were right. After an hour had elapsed, the bandage was untied, and, ten minutes after, death overtook him.”

“A she-ass received the Wourali poison in the shoulder, and died apparently in ten minutes. An incision was then made in its wind-pipe, and through it the lungs were regularly inflated for two hours with a pair of bellows. Suspended animation returned. The ass held up her head, and looked around; but the inflating being discontinued, she sunk once more in apparent death. The artificial breathing

was immediately recommenced, and continued without intermission for two hours more. This saved the ass from final dissolution ; she rose up, and walked about ; she seemed neither in agitation nor in pain. The wound, through which the poison entered, was healed without difficulty. Her constitution, however, was so severely affected, that it was long a doubt if she would ever be well again. She looked lean and sickly for above a year, but began to mend the spring after, and by midsummer became fat and frisky.

“ The kind-hearted reader will rejoice on learning that Earl Percy, pitying her misfortunes, sent her down from London to Walton-hall, near Wakefield. There she goes by the name of Wourali. Wourali shall be sheltered from the wintry storm ; and when summer comes, she shall feed in the finest pasture. No burthen shall be laid upon her, and she shall end her days in peace.”

The preceding details afford fine food for the chemical and anatomical students. If they cannot make a vegetable poison of equal strength and subtilty, it may be some humiliation of the pride of science, to find how the untutored Indian can sometimes outwork their skill, how chance, or that accurate observation of nature which is enforced by the wants of savage life, may, in some instances, anticipate or surpass the discoveries of philosophy.

We may mention here, that Mr. Waterton suggests a great geographical, or rather hydrographical, doubt as to the existence of Lake Parima, or the White Sea, which is laid down in the late maps of South America, between 2 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude and 59 and 61 degrees of west longitude. After diligent inquiries among the Indians he could obtain no consistent or satisfactory information ; and the Portuguese governor at fort St. Jackson, who had lived forty years in the country, never met with any one who had seen the lake.

Having bestowed so much attention on the wanderer's first journey, we must of necessity dismiss the remaining three with more cursory notice. Mr. Waterton finding his home *wifeless*, as he says, and cold, and altogether uncomfortable, resolved that he would envy the swallows no longer, but follow them once more to warmer regions, and accordingly, in 1816, he sailed from Liverpool for Pernambuco in Brazil. He describes the trade winds, the flying fish, and the dying dolphins, during the voyage : represents Pernambuco as a very large and splendid city, and strenuously defends the Jesuits against Portugal and the poet laureate.

“ Reader, throw a veil over thy recollection for a little while, and forget the cruel, unjust, and unmerited censures thou hast heard against an unoffending order. This palace was once the Jesuits College, and

originally built by those charitable fathers. Ask the aged and respectable inhabitants of Pernambuco, and they will tell thee that the destruction of the Society of Jesus was a terrible disaster to the public, and its consequences severely felt to the present day."

We shall not meddle with this controversy, but follow the pilgrim once more into the forests of Demerara. He embarked for Cayenne on board a Portuguese brig, and established himself during the voyage on the top of a hen-coop, where the bugs nightly disputed his sovereignty. From Cayenne he made his way on to Demerara. Here he pauses to celebrate the flourishing condition of the colony, the elegance and luxury of Stabroek, its capital, the value of the plantations, the humane treatment of the slaves, and the hospitality of the inhabitants; and then, equipped simply with a hat, a shirt, a pair of light trowsers, and lighter spirits, he betakes himself to the woods. Neither man nor beast have any terrors for him: he thinks nothing of a tiger, and not much of a snake, but blithely explores the recesses of the forest, and pursues his way wherever the curiosities of nature attract him. Ornithology being now his especial object, the feathered beauties of the tropics are passed in picturesque review before us; the humming-bird, the cotingas, the snow-white campanero, the toucan, the houtou, and a variety of others equally worthy of distinct enumeration: their plumage, haunts, and manners are accurately described; the woodpecker is defended from the charge of spoiling the trees, and the goatsucker honourably acquitted of the crime which his name implies. At the end of the year which he had dedicated to these pursuits, our naturalist, "having collected above two hundred specimens of the finest birds, and formed a pretty just knowledge of their haunts and economy," conceived that he has executed his purpose and so returned to England.

The principle of motion, however, was still strong within him, and in two years more he is again in Demerara in pursuit of wild beasts, snakes, Indians, and all tropical curiosities. On his arrival he was attacked by a violent fever, but he cures himself of this with great medical skill, and "sallying forth sound and joyful," he said to himself,—

‘I, quo te pedes rapiunt et auræ
Dum favet Sol, et locus, i secundo
Omne, et conto latebras, ut olim,
Rumpe ferarum.’

"Now this contus was a tough light pole, eight feet long, on the end of which was fixed an old bayonet. I never went into the canoe without it; it was of great use in starting the beasts and snakes out of the hollow trees, and in case of need, was an excellent defence."

The sloth, which Buffon supposed to have been created for misery, because he had examined it only on the ground, where it is not intended to live, and where, being without soles to its feet, it moves with pain and difficulty, Mr. Waterton describes as no less happy in its existence than any other of the children of nature. It inhabits the trees, hanging by the branches, and can travel with agility if need requires. The anatomy and habits of this animal are minutely and pleasingly described.

In the course of this third wandering there are recounted three adventures of so extraordinary a nature, that we believe they have been transcribed into most of the newspapers. The first is a combat with a Coulacanara snake, fourteen feet long, and as thick as a common boa of twenty-four. This serpent is not poisonous, but crushes its victim in its enormous folds, and swallows it whole like the boa. Mr. W., with very little assistance, gives battle to this formidable antagonist, encounters him in close action in his den, and, after a severe conflict, captures, kills, and dissects him. A few days after this, being again in the woods, he says:—

“I observed a young Coulacanara ten feet long slowly moving onwards; I saw he was not thick enough to break my arm in case he got twisted round it. There was not a moment to be lost. I laid hold of his tail with the left hand, one knee being on the ground; with the right I took off my hat, and held it as you would hold a shield for defence.

“The snake instantly turned, and came at me, with his head about a yard from the ground, as if to ask me what business I had to take liberties with his tail. I let him come, hissing and open mouthed, within two feet of my face, and then, with all the force I was master of, I drove my fist, shielded by my hat, full in his jaws. He was stunned and confounded by the blow, and ere he could recover himself, I had seized his throat with both hands, in such a position that he could not bite me; I then allowed him to coil himself round my body, and marched off with him as my lawful prize. He pressed me hard, but not alarmingly so.”

The third exploit is the capture of a cayman, or alligator. Having caught him in the river with a hook and line, the Indians with fear and trembling drew him on shore, when our intrepid naturalist instantly vaulted upon his back, as the safest mode of attack, and seizing his fore legs twisted them upwards for a bridle. By this method the cayman, after some violent plunging, was constrained to submit; his jaws were secured, his throat cut, and his anatomy subjected to the dissecting knife.

However strange these narratives may be, we have no right to pronounce them either fabulous or exaggerated. They are cer-

tainly not impossible ; Mr. Waterton is evidently a most adventurous knight, and we are willing to give him credit for doing things which few other men would do.

On arriving at Liverpool with a ship load of treasures, the fruits of his industry and courage, he met with unexpected maltreatment at the Custom-house. His boxes of specimens were detained long, and heavy duties imposed upon them ; and a store of eggs of curious tropical birds, which he intended to have had hatched in England, were spoilt and lost. Moreover our philosopher's temper, which neither hardships, nor dangers, nor wounds, nor illness, nor manifold disappointments, had hitherto been able to ruffle, now gave way a little for the first time. He complains grievously, and we cannot wonder at it, for all those who have been beyond the seas, will bear witness that a Custom-house often puts philosophy to the proof, as much as many more serious crossings.

The fourth and last journey begins with the United States, and a voyage up the Hudson. This is, perhaps, as lively and pleasing as any part of the book : but the ground is now so well known, that we shall not follow the author into any of his details. He extols the country to the skies, praises the inhabitants for every thing but their habit of smoking, and dwells with rapture on the beauty and grace of the ladies. He makes us wish above all things for a voyage up the Hudson, and certainly we should desire no better company than such as he met with on board the steam boat.

As we perused his enthusiastic encomiums on every thing moral and physical in the United States, we never expected to find him wandering further, or returning any more into the Old World. But like Rasselas in the happy valley, and Candide in Eldorado, he could not rest in paradise.

“The sun was now within a week or two of passing into the southern hemisphere, and the mornings and evenings were too cold to be comfortable. I embarked for the island of Antigua, with the intention of calling at the different islands in the Caribbean Sea, on my way once more towards the wilds of Guiana.”

When he arrives there, he takes to his sylvan habits again, and associates this time principally with the monkies. He describes their powers of voice as very wonderful. Those tremendous howlings often heard in the forests by night, which seem to proceed from enraged and dying wild beasts, Mr. Waterton asserts may be produced by a single red monkey of Demerara ; and any naturalist, he says, may be convinced of this by examining the trachea of the animal, and listening to him when, in dark and

cloudy weather, he may sometimes be discovered on a tree in the daytime giving utterance to the most dreadful and discordant sounds.

The frontispiece of the volume is a drawing of the head of an animal called a nondescript, which is so like a human countenance of the Grecian mould, that our author seems to have been questioned closely since he came home, and is anxious to defend himself from the suspicion of homicide. He assures us that when he cut off the head and shoulders for the convenience of transportation, he left the body of a decided brute of some class or other behind him, as was fully evidenced by a thick coat of hair, and a great length of tail. The latter circumstance we hope will procure a verdict of "not guilty," even though Lord Monboddo should be upon the bench.

Our author takes his leave with a flourish of poetry which we will not quote, because we would quote nothing to his disadvantage, and his muse is certainly not an inhabitant of the highest heaven.

His book throughout has given us great entertainment. It is full of much interesting matter which we could not compress into a review, but we conscientiously recommend the whole of it to those who, without criticising peculiarities with rigour, can take pleasure in accompanying a good-humoured and ingenious traveller through an unknown country, and in reading lively descriptions, benevolent sentiments, and curious adventures. The student of nature can never exhaust his sources of inquiry. Fresh-springing interest and unclouded cheerfulness continually animate his labours; for grandeur or beauty run through all the harmonious orders of the universe; and the wisdom and benevolence of the Divinity are reflected in his works.

Mr. Waterton has deserved well of the reading world, and if he wanders again, we hope he will meet with more lenity at the Custom-house. We are sure the public will receive his journal with pleasure.

We have altogether passed over a treatise at the end of the volume, on the stuffing and preserving of birds, because it will be consulted entire by those who are engaged in the practice of that art, and the subject has not much interest for general readers.

ART. VI.—*Memorials of the Public Life and Character of the Right Hon. James Oswald, of Dunnikier; contained in a Correspondence with some of the most distinguished Men of the Last Century.* Edw. Constable and Co. 1825.

WE have been disappointed in these letters; which, taken in the mass, are neither interesting nor well written. The list of noble, learned, and reverend correspondents, which invites to a perusal of the volume, could not fail to create in us the expectation of much excellent material and profound discussion; and yet, with the exception of a few at the beginning, the notes addressed to Mr. Oswald are the most common-place things imaginable, and altogether unworthy of the slightest notice or regard. In short, did they not belong to times and events which are destined to occupy a prominent position in the history of the last age, they could not be read with any degree of patience; and it is only because there is to be found in them a constant reference to men and measures, which have secured for themselves a permanent hold upon the interest of the most distant posterity, that even a determined lover of anecdote, could hope to make his way over the tedious ground, which is encumbered with these Memorials.

It is not a century since the earliest of these letters were written; and yet, in reading them, we seem to be perusing the annals of another people, and to be forming an acquaintance with a different quarter of the globe. For example, we are called upon to listen to the declamations of politicians, lamenting over a national debt which entailed upon the country the enormous burden of a million per annum; and announcing the rapid and inevitable catastrophe of a public bankruptcy, accompanied with the total ruin of commerce, and a revolution in the government; whereas, at present, the subjects of the British crown sit with great tranquillity, under an annual obligation, to the stockholder, of nearly thirty millions, and bear with ease the pressure of a taxation which draws every year from the labour and capital of the kingdom, a gross sum falling little short of sixty millions.*

Again, we read of patriots denouncing the executive, and alarming their own constituents, because twelve thousand men were allowed to practise the use of arms in the time of peace; while, in these days, we have no fears for the permanence of our

* We are aware that the *nett sum* received at the Exchequer does not exceed 54,000,000*l.*; but many payments are made out of the gross produce of taxes, before they are placed to the credit of the Treasury.

freedom, although the military establishment of the empire exhibits the formidable roll-call of a hundred and thirty regiments of horse and foot. In the same work, we listen to debates on the expedience of continuing to the Queen of Hungary a subsidy of 300,000*l.*; by means of which she baffled the designs of France, humbled the power of Bavaria, compelled Prussia to sue for peace, and restored the balance of Europe: and now we prosper, after having expended upon a single war more than a thousand millions sterling, and added to the national debt at least the half of that sum.

We find, too, that, in those days, Sir Robert Walpole met his antagonists in the House of Commons at eight o'clock in the morning, and gave his friends a late dinner at four; whereas his successors begin their parliamentary toils at the hour when he retired for relaxation, and go to bed at the time when he used to rise, in order to renew, in the political arena, his stormy campaigns with Pulteney and Argyle. At the period when Mr. Oswald joined the ranks of patriotism, as the representative of a northern borough, a Scottish member could not be expected to reach town with his family luggage, in less than a fortnight from the date of his departure: but in this happy era of steam and mail coaches, an eager partizan may attend a public dinner at Edinburgh, and return to plead a cause in Westminster Hall, before the sun has more than twice descended below the horizon.

We can infer from certain statements made in these Memorials, that a new book might be read and almost forgotten in London, before it could be heard of in the northern capital; and, on the other hand, that the works of the Scottish literati usually encountered a slow and arduous approach towards acceptance with the readers of Middlesex and Surrey: at present, our periodicals are regularly received in Edinburgh, before the moisture of the press has dried upon them; and, in return, the Waverley novels are seen in our drawing-rooms and libraries, the day after they are announced in the "romantic town" of the Great Unknown. We observe, too, that it is not much more than fifty years since Mr. Oswald was entreated by the provost of Edinburgh to use his interest in parliament, for the purpose of obtaining a bill, to connect by a bridge of stone, that ancient city with the open grounds to the northward, then occupied by a few farm-houses; and it is upon those very grounds that the modern Athens has raised her aspiring head, and displayed on a large scale some of the finest streets in Europe.

In those days, debates in parliament were not communicated to the public as they are at present, in fuller measure, and in more statesman-like language, than they are originally pronounced.

The opinions of our legislators were given under fictitious names, and their speeches reported by authors who were never within the walls of the house. Dr. Johnson expended his wisdom and his swelling periods on the juvenile eloquence of Pitt, and on the indignant sarcasm of Horace Walpole. He laboured to find suitable expressions for the ambition of Pulteney, for the wit of Doddington, and for the logical reasoning of Murray: but the business of the nation was never revealed to the general reader, and the real sentiments of the leading men, on either side, were only made subject of conjecture. Oswald found it necessary to write to his friends in Scotland, the substance of every discussion which was intimately connected with the policy of the government; and to give an outline of the arguments which had been advanced against or in favour of every important measure, which occupied the attention of the Commons.

In these Memorials, we witness another phenomenon, altogether unknown to the present generation—the whigs in power, and the tories leaning on popular favour: the latter, of course, declaiming against corruption and the abuse of confidence; the former labouring to strengthen the prerogative of the crown, to secure their own places, and to gloss over the inconsistency of their conduct. The correspondence, indeed, opens at that interesting period of English history, when Sir Robert Walpole found himself compelled to retire from office, and make way for Carteret and the future Earl of Bath: several amusing references, in which events are found in a series of letters from Mr. Oswald, addressed to his friend, Mr. Home, afterwards Lord Kames.

Before we proceed to extract or abridge any portion of this volume, we shall give a short account of the person whose character and fame it is meant to preserve from oblivion.

We learn from a brief memoir, prefixed to his correspondence, that Mr. Oswald was born and educated in Scotland, and that soon after entering at the bar of his native country, he obtained a seat in parliament, as the representative of certain boroughs in the shire of Fife. He was, it is added, the founder of his own fortune. He began his career in public life, unaided by political influence; and it was not till he gave proofs of his distinguished merit, and of the value of his services that he was befriended by those in power. He filled successively the situations of commissioner of the navy, lord of trade and plantations, lord of the treasury, and treasurer of Ireland; he was a member of the privy council, and at all times a highly respected and persuasive speaker on such matters as came within his province, as a minister and man of business. He deserved the high honour of having it said of him, that he never made any sacrifice

of connections, nor compromise of principle, in order to obtain office ; and that he never concurred in recommending measures which were not intended and calculated to promote the best interests of the country. As a proof that he was not a mere political adventurer, it is stated that, after having held several lucrative appointments, at a period of great official corruption, he retired at the age of fifty-two from all public employment with an exhausted frame and an impaired fortune ; being indebted for the comfort which attended the closing years of his life, to the wise liberality of his late majesty, who rewarded his faithful services with a moderate pension.

It is farther said that Mr. Oswald, joining the accomplishments of a scholar to the qualities of a statesman, willingly devoted all the leisure he could spare to the company of men of letters. He was the first patron of the author of "Douglas : " David Hume submitted to him his essays on "Political Economy," and the pages of his history before they were sent to the press ; and drew from his deep knowledge of the political state of England, both in ancient and modern times, many valuable remarks. Lord Kames, too, consulted him upon his literary labours ; and Adam Smith was indebted to the same large and comprehensive mind, for many of those sound opinions on finance, which adorn the "Wealth of Nations."

In regard to his parliamentary talents, we find in the "Posthumous History of Lord Orford" two notices, both of which are extremely flattering. Upon the one occasion, he places him on a level with Mr. Fox, the speaker whom his lordship most admired ; and on the other, he contrasts him with the celebrated Doddington :—"Oswald overflowed with a torrent of sense and logic ; Doddington was always searching for wit, and what was surprising, generally found it ; Oswald hurried argument along with him : Doddington teased it to accompany him." We recommend the following letter to the attention of young statesmen and orators ; who will find by it that the only sure path to fame and influence must be sought for in labour, study, and the knowledge of business. It appears to have been written in reply to Lord Kames, who had, it should seem, given his opinion on the impropriety of introducing into parliamentary speeches, metaphysical discussions, and vague remarks :—

"Your opinion as to general reflections is certainly just ; yet, if short and sparingly used, I observe they meet with very great approbation, even from the youngest speakers ; especially if drawn from English history, or if relative to the constitution. These topics are so familiar that they always strike, and are never heard without pleasure. A young man who shows but a very small knowledge on these

subjects is almost adored. Flowers of rhetoric especially in style and expression, are a good deal more dangerous; and I could name several whom their attachment to this sort of speaking has completely spoiled; for ornament without matter is of all things I know the most disgusting. And I look upon attempts of this kind as the more foolish, that I am convinced whoever makes it a rule never to speak without a knowledge of his subject, must by degrees acquire as much of rhetoric and ornament as is necessary; and am satisfied that what leads into the other preposterous method is mere laziness and aversion to business. But whatever may be in this, the surest way of becoming remarkable *here* is certainly application to business; for whoever understands it must make a figure."

The following letter which relates to the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, corrects an error in the chronology of Smollett, or is itself incorrectly dated. According to the historian of the reign of George II., the change of ministry took place in 1741. Whereas the epistle now before us referring to that event, appears to have been composed on the 4th of February, 1742—that is, a year later than the occurrence actually fell out, unless the editor of these Memorials has anticipated the arrangements of the new style, and made 1741 end with December. "The affair," says Mr. Oswald, "is now over. Sir Robert upon the night of our division on the Chippenham election, divested himself of all his employments: and the next day, the king coming to the House of Peers, signified his pleasure that the two houses should adjourn for a fortnight. You may guess what a scramble there is like to be for places, &c. Perhaps our new ministry may continue honest men, even after they get power; but I would not have the safety of my country depend upon a chance; and *such* a virtuous ministry is and always must be."

The quotation which we are now about to make, confirms the opinion, which has been generally received, that the discontented whigs, although invited by the king, refused to take office under Lord Carteret: because that nobleman had, in order to gratify the personal wishes of the monarch, professed his readiness to conduct the government of this country in such a way as might prove subservient to the interests and aggrandizement of the hereditary states on the Elbe and Weser. The son of George I., it is well known, could never transfer his affections to England, nor identify his fame with her glory and prosperity. He viewed the wealth and power of his new dominions, in the light only of an additional weight to be thrown into the scale, against the influence of France on the banks of the Rhine, or the ascendancy of Frederick, and the Czarina in the north of Europe.

"As in the late hurry and transactions I have been named to an

office, you will no doubt expect, at least, that I should give some account of myself. I begin, then, with assuring you that I have not had the smallest share in the whole negotiation and transaction, which in some things I approve, in some disapprove; but these must be reserved for conversation. It suffices to say, that it ever has been my opinion, and still is, that places ought to be the last part of every negotiation; but unluckily they have *almost* always been the first. It must, however, be owned for the present negotiators, that they refused even to treat with Lord Carteret, though invited to it by the highest authority, and attempted by a proffer of the greatest sacrifices, (for such the displacing all in opposition to him certainly was,) and so far places did not *seem* to be their view. They chose, therefore, to enter into negotiation with eleven others of the cabinet, when no such hope of places could possibly exist, because it could not possibly leave such room as they and their friends must necessarily still be supposed to retain that which they then had. So far, then, our negotiators acted disinterestedly; how far prudently is still a question. They found their conduct upon the impossibility of their ever uniting with one who had openly proposed, projected, and executed the scheme of sacrificing Britain to Hanover. But they negotiated, and are now united with those who certainly had been instruments in that scheme, upon their disavowal of it for the future, and their promise of doing so no more. Time will show if the one side is not dupes, and the other knaves."

There are several rather entertaining letters from Hume, the historian, addressed to Mr. Oswald; and as they are by far the best in the volume, we shall be the more free in our extracts. An allusion is made, it will be observed, to a claim on the part of the philosopher for half-pay, which it seems he had very slender hopes of obtaining, notwithstanding the good wishes of his countrymen in office. Hume had served in the army under General St. Clair, in the capacity of military secretary; but there being no precedent of such an officer obtaining a remuneration for the fatigues of a campaign, the future historian of England had to sustain a refusal at the hand of the war-minister. The reader will be amused with the gloomy anticipations which darkened the political prospects of this celebrated writer, suggested by the very common events of violent animosities among our parties at home, and of excessive coolness among our allies abroad.

"I know not whether I ought to congratulate you upon the success of your election, where you prevailed so unexpectedly. I think the present times are so calamitous, and our future prospect so dismal, that it is a misfortune to have any concern in public affairs, which one cannot redress, and where it is difficult to arrive at a proper degree of insensibility or philosophy, so long as one is in the scene. You know my sentiments were always a little gloomy on that head; and I am sorry to observe that all accidents (besides the natural course of events,)

turn out against us. What a surprising misfortune is this Bergen-op-Zoom, which is almost unparalleled in modern history! I hear the Dutch troops, besides their common cowardice and ill discipline, are seized with a universal panic. This winter may, perhaps, decide the fate of Holland; and then, where are we? I shall not be much disappointed, if this prove the last parliament, worthy the name, we shall ever have in Britain. I cannot, therefore, congratulate you upon having a seat in it: I can only congratulate you upon the universal joy and satisfaction it gave to every body; and this popularity, I doubt not but you will endeavour to preserve, as more valuable than any thing that politics can give you, especially in the present times.

"I have some thoughts of taking advantage of this short interval of liberty that is indulged us, and of printing the Philosophical Essays I left in your hands. Our friend Harry (Lord Kames, we presume,) is against this as indiscreet. But, in the first place, I think I am too deep engaged to think of a retreat. In the second place, I see not what bad consequences follow, in the present age, from the character of an infidel; especially if a man's conduct be in other respects irreproachable. What is your opinion?

"I have no thoughts of being in London this winter, because Colonel Abercromby thinks it will not be requisite in order to solicit my half-pay. The colonel has small hopes of success in that matter; Hume Campbell, without my asking it, offered to lend me his assistance in surmounting the difficulties," &c.

About the beginning of 1748, Mr. Hume accepted the situation of private secretary to his old friend, the general, who was sent to Turin as British minister. In a letter to Mr. Oswald he writes as follows:—

"I have little more to say to you, than to bid you adieu before I leave this country. I got an invitation from General St. Clair, to attend him in his new employment at the court of Turin, which I hope will prove an agreeable, if not a profitable, jaunt for me. I shall have an opportunity of seeing courts and camps; and if I can afterwards be so happy as to attain leisure and other opportunities, this knowledge may even turn to account to me, as a man of letters, which, I confess, has always been the sole object of my ambition. I have long had an intention, in my riper years, of composing some history; and I question not but some greater experience in the operations of the field, and the intrigues of the cabinet, will be requisite in order to enable me to speak with judgment upon these subjects. But notwithstanding of these flattering ideas of futurity, as well as the present charms of variety, I must confess that I have left home with infinite regret, where I had treasured up stores of study and plans of thinking for many years. I am sure I shall not be so happy as I should have been, had I prosecuted these; but, in certain situations, a man dares not follow his own judgment, or refuse such offers as these.

"There was a controverted election that has made some noise,

betwixt John Pitt and Mr. Drax, of the prince's family, when Mr. Pelham, finding himself under a necessity of disobliging the heir-apparent, resolved to have others as deep in the scrape as himself, and accordingly obliged Fox, Pitt, Lyttleton, and Hume Campbell, all to speak on the same side. They say their speeches were very diverting. An ass could not mumble a thistle more ridiculously, than they handled this subject. Particularly our countryman, not being prepared, was not able to speak a word to the subject; but spent half an hour in protestations of his own integrity, disinterestedness, and regard to every man's right and property.

“His brother, Lord Marchmont, has had the most extraordinary adventure in the world. About three weeks ago he was at the play, where he espied in one of the boxes a fair virgin, whose looks, air, and manner made such a powerful and wonderful effect upon him, as was visible to every by-stander. His raptures were so undisguised, his looks so expressive of passion, his inquiries so earnest that every body took notice of it. He soon was told that her name was Crompton, a linendraper's daughter, that had been bankrupt last year, and had not been able to pay above five shillings in the pound. The fair nymph herself was about sixteen or seventeen, and being supported by some relatives, appeared in every public place, and had fatigued every eye but that of his lordship, which being entirely employed in the severer studies, had never till that fatal moment opened upon her charms. Such, and so powerful, was their effect, as to be able to justify all the Pharamonds and Cyruses in their utmost extravagancies. He wrote next morning to her father, desiring leave to visit his daughter on honourable terms; and in a few days she will be Countess of Marchmont. All this is certainly true. They say many small fevers prevent a great one. Heaven be praised that I have always liked the persons and company of the fair sex! for by that means I hope to escape such ridiculous passions. But could you ever suspect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent, Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain—an Artamanes—an Oroondates?”

The subject of the next letter from Mr. Hume is ably handled, and will prove of considerable interest to the student of political economy. But it admits not of abridgement, and is too long for insertion. The historical value of the following note must be obvious to every reader, whose attention has at any time been directed to the inquiry which it was meant to elucidate:—

“Mr. Mure told me that you had undertaken to get satisfaction with regard to the *Old English Subsidies*. I cannot satisfy myself on that head; but I find that all historians and antiquarians are as much at a loss. The nobility, I observe, paid according to their rank and quality, not their estates. The counties were subjected to no valuation; but it was in the power of the commissioners to sink the sums demanded upon every individual, without raising it upon others; and they practised this art when discontented with the court, as Charles complains

of with regard to the subsidies voted by his third parliament. Yet it seems certain, that there must have been some rule of estimation. What was it? Why was it so variable? Lord Strafford raised an Irish subsidy from 12,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* by changing the rule of valuation; but the Irish parliament, after his impeachment, brought it down again. If Mr. Harding undertakes the solution of this matter, it will be requisite to have these difficulties in his eye. I am glad to hear that we are to have your company here this summer; and that I shall have an opportunity to talk over this and many other subjects, where I want your advice and opinion. The more I advance in my work, the more am I convinced that the History of England has never yet been written, not only for style, which is notorious to all the world, but also for matter; such is the ignorance and partiality of all our historians. Rapin, whom I had an esteem for, is totally despicable. I may be liable to the reproach of ignorance, but I am certain of escaping that of partiality. The truth is, there is so much reason to blame and praise, alternately, king and parliament, that I am afraid the mixture of both in my composition, being so equal, may pass sometimes for an affectation, and not the result of judgment and wisdom. Of this you shall be judge; for I am resolved to encroach on your leisure and patience: *Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo.* Let me hear of you as you pass through the town, that we may concert measures for my catching you idle, and without company, at Kirkaldy."

We consider the above notice regarding the spirit in which Mr. Hume composed his "History of England," as an extremely valuable relic and testimonial; but it appears most clearly from this, as well as from a former letter to Oswald, that the philosopher was no prophet. His bright thoughts concerning himself have been proved to be as groundless as his gloomy views respecting the nation; for while the affairs of the public have prospered, his hopes of reputation, as an impartial writer, have entirely deceived him. No charge is so heavy on his memory, as that of having been influenced by a decided bias towards royalty and Charles I.; a charge, we think, both ill-founded and unjust, but yet very generally, and most pertinaciously, urged against him.

We have paid some attention to the history of the civil war, as well as to the theory and practice of the English government, from the accession of the Tudors down to the period of the commonwealth; and in all our examination of authorities, we have not been able to detect Hume in a single misrepresentation, originating in design, or party spirit. In respect to some occurrences, indeed, he had not the same means of information which we now possess; and in respect to others, he seems to have satisfied himself with statements given at second hand: but we repeat, that there is nowhere any just reason for impeaching his historical honesty, or for denouncing him as partial and narrow-

mind in his views. Most modern authors, it is true, who have gone over the ground occupied by Hume, have endeavoured to gratify certain republican propensities in themselves and their readers, by attacking at once the sincerity of Charles, and the impartiality of his historian. For this purpose, they have had recourse to the worst arts of the special pleader; assailing the motives of their opponents, and magnifying the slightest discrepancy into a monstrous perversion of facts.

That Hume intended to be impartial, and also that he imagined himself to have succeeded in his intention, admits of no doubt. "I may be liable," says he, to his friend, in all the confidence and openness of a private correspondence, "to the reproach of ignorance, *but I am certain of escaping that of partiality.*"

We can afford to give but one letter more from Mr. Hume; and it relates to the appointment which he held under Lord Hertford, as secretary for Ireland. His communication to Mr. Oswald, bears date June 2, 1765—the year before he was removed from Paris to the Emerald Isle, and is no farther valuable than as it illustrates a passage in the autobiography of its distinguished author.

"There is a gentleman here, an Abbé, and a man of letters, who is willing to enter into a commerce, or mutual exchange with me, on every point of political and commercial knowledge. He has a great deal of very exact information with regard to every thing that concerns these subjects; has great freedom of thought and speech, and has no connections with any minister. As a sample, he has sent me the enclosed questions which I could not exactly answer, and is willing to answer any of a like kind which I could propose to him. I thought I could not do better than transmit them to you; and as I know you will also have questions to ask, I shall also transmit them to him, and you may depend on his answer as just and solid. I have left the margin large enough to save you trouble; I know you are the most industrious, and the most indolent man of my acquaintance; the former in business, the latter in ceremony. The present task I propose to you is of the former kind.

"You will hear that Sir Charles Bunbury is appointed secretary for Ireland. Lord Hertford thinks it absolutely certain that I am to succeed him; and I, too, think it probable. My lord throws up immediately this demand is not complied with; yet, notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, I shall not be wonderfully surprised in case of a disappointment. I know that I can depend on your good offices with Lord Halifax, and with every other person on whom you have influence. Lord Hertford writes this post to that noble lord. The present advantages I possess are so great, that it seems almost extravagant to doubt of success; and yet, in general, it appears to

me almost incomprehensible, how it should happen that I, a philosopher, a man of letters, nowise a courtier, of the most independent spirit, who have given offence to every part and every party; that I, I say, such as I have described myself, should obtain an employment of dignity of a thousand a-year. This event is, in general, so strange that I fancy in the issue, it will not have place."

Mr. Oswald answered this letter on the 13th day of the same month, giving Mr. Hume assurances that the appointment to Ireland would infallibly take place. Both epistles were written in 1765; and yet in the sketch which the historian gives of his own life, his nomination to the office of under-secretary did not reach him till the year 1767. He tells us, that in the summer of 1765, Lord Hertford left him at Paris, being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. "I was *chargé d'affaires*," he continues, "till the arrival of the Duke of Richmond, towards the end of the year. In the beginning of 1766 I left Paris, and next summer went to Edinburgh with the same view, as formerly, of burying myself in a philosophical retreat. I returned to that place not richer, but with much more money, and a much larger income, by means of Lord Hertford's friendship, than I left it, and I was desirous of trying what superfluity could produce, as I had formerly made an experiment of a competency. But in 1767, I received from Mr. Conway an invitation to be under-secretary; and this invitation, both the character of the person, and my connections with Lord Hertford, prevented me from declining. I returned to Edinburgh in 1769 very opulent," &c.

We must, therefore, again express our suspicion, that the editor, in preparing these memorials for the public eye, has not been attentive to dates. We were not a little disappointed, too, at finding that hardly any of these historical notices make the slightest reference to the insurrection which took place in Scotland in the year 1745. The only exceptions are, a letter from the provost of Edinburgh to Mr. Oswald, assuring his countryman that the report which had gone abroad of the chief magistrate of the "gude town" having taken upon himself *the command of the pretender's artillery and dragoons*, was totally devoid of truth; and secondly, a note from Mr. Doddington, making some jocular remarks on the said provost, and on the still more celebrated General Cope. We transcribe the latter of these documents:—

"I am much obliged to you for your two letters. Our poor friend Johnny has made Mrs. Doddington and I, who sincerely valued him, very melancholy; poor worthy gallant creature! May thy virtues be rewarded where thou art, and imitated when thou art no more.

"As to the behaviour of Edinburgh, I am not quite satisfied with

it: as to friend Archy, (the provost,) certainly he may be very blameless, but I find by all accounts he has very ill luck. Some make him Earl of Leith, &c. What is the result of the man's conduct?

"Surely the behaviour of Cope's army is beyond example, and there must be more at the bottom of it than I can account for. However, though sure there never was such management, yet, I think, we have now a number of tories that puts us out of danger."

As the fame of Mr. George Bubb Doddington's wit and humour has been perpetuated to our own times, we are induced to copy the following short letter, addressed to his friend Oswald:—

"Mr. Grenville tells me, that he left you in a perfect state of health in Scotland, both as to body and soul, and this last from your firm adherence to the beauty of holiness as professed by the church of England. I hope you have and will make the best use imaginable of this illumination, during the little time you shall be under its dispensation; for I most impatiently long to see you, and though I know it will last no longer than till you cross the Tweed, yet I cannot forbear begging of you to let me enjoy you soon: come away, then,—which, considering the change of religion, which will certainly seize you before you get to Carlisle, is little better than saying, come and be d—d.

"But be that as it may, I hope it will be open account for many happy years longer, and am only to tell you that your friends call for you, want you, wish for you: none of them does all these things more than myself, and that from many private, as well as public, reasons. I have been beholden to you for too many hours of improvement, as well as of pleasure, to forget them, and not earnestly to desire the continuance of them; and as private interest is become the characteristic of this blessed country, don't be surprised that, without alleging one public motive, I press you to come away and gratify mine."

In the list of noble and illustrious correspondents, who maintained with Mr. Oswald the intercourse of business or of friendship, we see the name of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham. The contributions of this distinguished statesman are, however, confined to one short letter, on the first dramatic performance of John Home, the author of "Douglas." Mr. Oswald had put the play into the hands of Mr. Pitt, to secure for the minister of Athelstaneford the critical judgment of a great scholar and a man of taste; and as it is pleasant to follow into the paths of literature and private life the great public characters who have ruled the fate of nations, we make no apology to our readers for inserting the whole of the brief communication. "After missing the pleasure of seeing you the times you have been so good to call at my house, during my absence, I am extremely mortified

not to be able to wait on you during my passage as it were through London, in my way to Bath, for which place I shall be set out by the time this note reaches you. I found the play, which I return by the bearer of this, sent from Hagley to me, and lying at my house for you. Mr. Lyttleton—now become Sir George, and your humble servant, read it over together with much pleasure. We both found great spirit and imagery in it, as well as much deep and strong sense; there is likewise character. We think the business had better begin between *Agis* and the mother, and leave out an unnecessary preceding scene. The great situation of the judgment is well kept up, in part: towards the end of it something more of dignity and greatness might be thrown in, to hold it up to the last. With all this merit no one can answer for the success of the play;—‘’tis not in mortals to command success,’ (in our squeamish age,) ‘but we’ll do more, Sempronius, we’ll deserve it.’ I not only wish, but shall be glad, to contribute all in my power to forward it. I hope when I return, to kiss your hands; and am, with the greatest regard,” &c.

We shall close our extracts with a description of the eloquence of Mr. Pitt compared with that of Mr. Murray, the celebrated Lord Mansfield. Alluding to the contested measure of taking 16,000 Hanoverians into British pay, Mr. Oswald states in a letter to Lord Kames, that “On the first day Mr. Murray, (who was then, we think, solicitor-general,) was introduced to support the court, which he did in a set speech, extremely methodical, with great perspicuity, and very fine colouring. He was replied to by Mr. Pitt, who, in the most masterly manner, laying hold of the weakest parts of his speech, with the greatest strength of expression, and in the most manly style I ever witnessed, turned almost all his colours against him. The one spoke like a pleader and could not divest himself of a certain appearance of having been employed by others. The other spoke like a gentleman, like a statesman, who felt what he said, and possessed the strongest desire of conveying that feeling to others, for their own interest and that of their country. Murray *gains* your attention by the perspicuity of his arguments, and the elegance of his diction. Pitt *commands* your attention and respect, by the nobleness, the greatness of his sentiments, the strength and energy of his expressions, and the certainty you are in of his always rising to a greater elevation both of thought and style. For this talent he possesses beyond any speaker I ever heard, of never falling, from the beginning to the end of his speech, either in thought or in expression. And, as in this session he has begun to speak like a man of business as well as an orator, he will, in all probability, be, or rather at present is, allowed to

make as great an appearance as ever man did in that house. Murray has not spoke since on the other two debates, where his rival carried all before him, being very unequally matched with Pelham, Young, and Winnington. I dare say you will be scarce able to read this scrawl, which I have drawn to an immeasurable length, from the difficulty I find in having done when Pitt is the subject ; for I think him sincerely the most finished character I ever saw."

There are a few more of these Memorials, as they are called, worthy of being read ; but the greater part have no interest whatever, being private notes on personal and domestic affairs ; petitions addressed to the benevolence or official patronage of Mr. Oswald, or complaints intrusted to him against individuals high in rank and station. We are astonished that prudence did not pluck the editor by the ear, and remind him that there is among men such a thing as posthumous reputation, and that there may be individuals on both sides of the Tweed, whose sensibility is more acute than his own, and who may not choose to have all the world told that their fathers went a begging to the son of a Scotch laird. There must be an end to all correspondence with men in place, if the most private letters of persons in the retired walks of life are to be raked together, and put forth in a volume, merely to show that people in power are possessed of patronage, and that those who want a favour are not ashamed to ask it. One half of these Memorials, in short, should have been thrown into the fire of the library at Dunnequier, and the remainder kept in manuscript for the amusement of grateful and admiring relatives in the parlour.

ART. VII.—*The History of Chivalry, or Knighthood and its Times*. By Charles Mills, Esq. 2 vols. London. Longman and Co. 1825.

THE generality of modern readers, instead of attending to the earnest expostulation of Count Hamilton's giant, "*Mon ami, si tu voulais commencer par le commencement, tu me ferois grand plaisir,*" are apt, when they get hold of a new book, to dip into it, here and there, at random, and either read, or lay it aside, according to the relish, or distaste, which these prelibations may afford. To this evil custom we ourselves are too much addicted ; and so little did we relish these casual foretastes of the present work, that, had not its title been unusually attractive, we should

probably have desisted from any farther perusal of it, and thus should have been spared some trouble, and have been deprived of some amusement. Whatever may be thought of his merits as a writer, it must be acknowledged, that Mr. Mills has been singularly fortunate in the choice of his subjects. A history of chivalry has been hitherto a desideratum in English literature; and Mr. Mills, who is already known to the public as the author of a history of the Crusades, has kindly undertaken to supply the defect; and has produced a work, which, with some peculiar features of its own, presents, both in its merits and defects, a strong general resemblance, "*qualem decet esse sororum*," to that exquisite production. The author, who seems not to be aware how greatly he is indebted for his present popularity to the adventitious interest which the "Waverley romances" have given to his subject with general readers, is, by a very natural and pardonable weakness, proud of his own offspring; and assuming to himself the "*superbiam quæsitam meritis*," the full dignity of a writer, whose work has attained to a third edition, he feels himself entitled to treat his contemporaries with the airs of conscious superiority, and to repel with scorn the indecorous familiarity of those who presume to claim his acquaintance. If this feeling has frequently rendered him unjust towards other writers of the present day, an opposite sentiment has sometimes led him to depreciate the merits of his predecessors. Of M. de Sainte Palaye,—to whose admirable "*Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*" he is under infinite, and too often unacknowledged, obligations,—he thus speaks in terms of cold commendation, or jealous disparagement:—

"It was his purpose to describe the education which accomplished the youth for the distinction of knighthood, and this part of his work he has prepared with considerable success. But he failed in his next endeavour, that of painting the martial games of chivalry, for nothing can be more unsatisfactory than his account of jousts and tournaments. As he wished to inform his readers of the use which was made in the battle-field of the valour, skill, and experience of knights, a description of some of the extraordinary and interesting battles of the middle ages might have been expected. Here, also, disappointment is experienced; neither can any pleasure be derived from perusing his examination of the causes which produced the decline and extinction of chivalry, and his account of the inconveniences which counterbalanced the advantages of the establishment.

"Sainte Palaye was a very excellent French antiquarian; but the limited scope of his studies disqualified him from the office of a general historian of chivalry, &c. &c. He has altogether kept out of sight many characteristic features of his subject. The best executed part of his subject regards, as I have already observed, the education of

knights; and he has scattered up and down his little volume and a half, many curious notices of ancient manners."—Preface, pp. iv, v.

The next work which Mr. Mills deigns to notice,

"Is called *Ritterzeit and Ritterwesen*, (two volumes octavo, Leipzig, 1823,) and is the substance of a course of lectures on chivalry delivered by the author, Mr. Büsching, to his pupils of the high school at Breslau. The style of the work is the garrulous, slovenly, ungrammatical style which lecturers, in all countries, and upon all subjects, think themselves privileged to use. A large portion of the book is borrowed from Sainte Palaye; much of the remainder relates to feudalism, and other matters distinct from chivalry," &c.—Preface, p. xi.

Now, though Mr. Büsching may have borrowed much from Sainte Palaye, Mr. Mills, we greatly suspect, has borrowed more. There is, indeed, not much worth notice in the volumes before us, except what is taken from the "little volume and a half" of that excellent French antiquarian. His account of the education of a knight is executed with such *complete* success, that Mr. Mills, who has transferred almost the whole of it to his own pages, has been able to add nothing to the detail. That he failed in his endeavour to paint the martial games of chivalry we utterly deny; he expressly declines to enter on the minute details of his subjects: "*Je ne ferai point la description des lices pour le tournoi, ni des tentes et des pavillons superbes dont toute la campagne étoit couverte aux environs, ni des hours, c'est-à-dire, des échaffauds dressés autour de la carrière, où tant de braves et de nobles personnages devoient se signaler. Je ne distinguerai point les différentes espèces des combats qui s'y donnoient, joûtes, castilles, pas d'armes, et les combats à la foule;*" &c. ("*Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*," part. ii. 87, 88.) And yet he has given, in this second memoir, a far more spirited and interesting account of the tournament than Mr. Mills; and, in the notes appended to it, has brought to view some characteristic features of the subject, (such, for instance, as the explanation of the martial game of the *castille*,) which the more ambitious historian of chivalry has wholly omitted. Had it been the wish of Sainte Palaye to extend his terse and well-digested memoirs through two octavo volumes, he would, perhaps, have anticipated Mr. Mills's expectations, and have transcribed, like him, entire pages from Joinville, Monstrelet, and Froissart, the "*Chronicle of the Cid*," the histories of Du Guesclin, Boncicaut, and Bayard, or such familiar works as the lives of Sir Philip Sidney, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Instead of doing this, he was contented to produce a smaller work, which

displays in every page the extent and variety of his researches, and the acumen and vigour of his judgment; which is enriched, in its copious annotations, with an invaluable apparatus of antiquarian lore, to which all future inquirers will have recourse for information; and which will be perused with delight, when the more elaborate "History of Chivalry" shall either be forgotten, or be read only by those unhappy lecturers, who, in all countries, will continue to look with pleasure on a work so congenial in its diction to "*that garrulous, slovenly, and ungrammatical style, which, on all subjects, they think themselves privileged to use.*" Again; had Sainte Palaye designed to produce a mere encomium of chivalry, and not to exhibit with equal impartiality its blemishes and its beauties, he would, probably, have forborne to examine the causes which effected its decline and fall, and would altogether have omitted to state the inconveniences by which, during the latter periods of its existence, the advantages of that singular institution were more than counterbalanced. From this part of the "Mémoires sur la Chevalerie" no pleasure can, in Mr. Mills's estimation, be derived; and, accordingly, though it is evident that a history of chivalry, in which this portion of the subject is entirely left out, must be extremely incomplete and unsatisfactory, he has thought proper to pass it over unnoticed, and to resolve it all into the invention of gunpowder, and the conferring "the degrees of knighthood on men distinguished for their learning or talents," and not for military prowess.

Having "*dammed*" Sainte Palaye "*with faint praise,*" and annihilated Mr. Büsching and the lecturers with overwhelming censure, Mr. Mills proceeds, in a sort of postscript to the preface, to inflict a tremendous punishment on Sir Walter Scott; who was, probably, utterly unconscious of the offence he had given. That "Great Unknown," (whom Mr. Mills will not permit to preserve his *incognito*,) in his late romance of "The Talisman," has represented the Sultan Saladin as proposing a union with his heroine, the lady Edith of Plantagenet; and, aware that the generality of his readers would be unacquainted with the historical details of that period, and would think this fiction too gross a violation of probability, has quoted Mr. Mills's "History of the Crusades" to prove, that a treaty of marriage was actually set on foot between the sister of King Richard, and the brother of Saladin, for the purpose of consolidating a peace between the Christian and Mohammedan powers. Sir Walter has, indeed, fallen into the grievous error of making the proposal originate with Saladin himself; and in a note on the passage has remarked, "This may appear so extraordinary and improbable a proposition, that it is necessary to say *such-a-one* was

actually made. The historians, however, substitute the widowed queen of Naples, sister of Richard, for the bride, and Saladin's brother for the bridegroom. They appear to be ignorant of the existence of Edith of Plantagenet." (See Mills's "History of the Crusades," vol. ii. p. 61.)

In this passage we, in our simplicity, had supposed that Sir Walter Scott had intended to pay Mr. Mills the compliment of referring to his history, as the best, or at least the newest work on the subject. But Mr. Mills sees the matter in a very different light. He seems to think, that Sir Walter quotes him, not for the purpose of showing that a proposal *similar* to that which he has feigned was actually made; but to prove, in opposition to him, that the Sultan Saladin did *bond fide* make an offer of marriage to Richard's imaginary cousin, the lady Edith. Hereupon, having set forth the offence in all its heinousness, and having duly quoted himself and M. Michaud, the French historian of the Crusades, to prove, that the proposal originally came from Richard, Mr. Mills proceeds in the following strain of indignant remonstrance:—

"Whether or no 'the historians' are ignorant of the existence of 'Edith of Plantagenet,' is not the present question. The question is, which of the two opposite statements is consistent with historical truth?" (Did ever mortal, except Mr. Mills, imagine that the romance of the "Talisman" was intended for authentic history?) "The statement of M. Michaud and myself is supported by the principal Arabic historians, by writers, who, as every student in history knows, are of unimpeachable credit. Bohadin, in his 'Life of Saladin,' says, that 'the Englishman was desirous that Almalick Aladin should take his sister to wife.' (Her brother had brought her with him from Sicily, when he passed through that island, to the deceased lord of which she had been married.) To the same effect Abulfeda observes, 'Hither came the ambassadors of the Franks to negotiate a peace; and offered this condition, that Malek al Adel, brother of the sultan, should receive the sister of the king of England in marriage, and Jerusalem for a kingdom.' That this sister, Joan, the widowed queen of Sicily, was with Richard in the Holy Land is proved by a passage in Matthew Paris, (p. 171.) She and the wife of Richard are mentioned together, and no other person of royal rank.

"Thus, therefore, 'the historians' are correct in their statement, that the matrimonial proposition was made by the English to Saladin, and that the parties were to be the brother of Saladin and the widowed Queen of Sicily. The novelist has not supported his assertion by a single historical testimony; and we may defy him to produce a tittle of evidence on his side.

"In the composition of his tales, the author of Waverley has seldom shown much respect for historical keeping. But greater accuracy than his no person had a right to expect in the texture of a mere

novel; and as long as he gave his readers no excuse for confounding fiction with truth, the play of his brilliant and excursive imagination was harmless. Thus in the 'Talisman,' the poetical antiquarian only smiles when he finds the romance of the 'Squire of Low Degree' quoted as familiar to the English long before it was written; and when, in the 'Betrothed,' Gloucester is raised into a bishopric three centuries and a half before the authentic era, we equally admit the author's license of anachronism. On these two occasions, as in innumerable other instances, in which the novelist, whether intentionally or unwittingly, has strayed from the path of historical accuracy, he has never given formal warranty for the truth of his statements, and he is entitled to laugh at the simple credulity which could mistake his tales for veracious chronicles. But his assertion respecting the marriage of Saladin with his 'Edith of Plantagenet,' is a very different case. For here he throws aside the garb of a novelist, and quits the privilege of his text, that he may gravely and critically vouch in a note for the errors of our historians, and his own superior knowledge. If this can possibly be done merely to heighten the illusion of his romance, it is carrying the jest a little too far; for the preservation of historical truth is really too important a principle to be idly violated. But if he seriously designed to unite the province of the historian with that of the novelist, he has chosen a very unlucky expedient for his own reputation; and thus, in either case, he has rather wantonly led his readers into error, and brought against others a charge of ignorance, which must recoil more deservedly on himself."—Preface, pp. xvii, xviii, xix.

Since the memorable cure of the "madness of John Dennis," we really never met with any thing at all resembling this. Poor Sir Walter Scott! how we pity him! If he survives these thundering blows, if he recovers from this heavy charge of fraud and ignorance, we trust that a prudent concern for his own reputation will, in future, cure him of all disposition "to laugh at the simple credulity which can mistake his tales for veracious chronicles," or to think the "History of the Crusades" a work fit to be quoted. There are, however, in that delectable production, some curious relations of facts of which "the historians appear to be ignorant." Such, for example, is that signal miracle performed at the siege of Antioch, by the ferocious Bohemund, prince of Tarentum; who, as Mr. Mills gravely assures us, having, in the extremity of the famine, seized on the persons of some Turkish prisoners, murdered them first in cold blood, and then roasted them alive for his dinner. We will give this stupendous fact in his own words, as we find them in the first edition. "Bohemund *slew* some Turkish prisoners, and *roasted them alive*. He then exclaimed to the astonished bystanders, (well might they be astonished!) that his appetite

would submit to necessity, and that during the famine he would greedily devour what at other times would be loathsome and disgusting." (History of the Crusades, vol. i. c. 5. p. 175. Ed. 1.)

This Mr. Mills calls, "an expedient at once ludicrous and dreadful." It is certainly dreadful enough; but where the joke lies, for the life of us, we cannot discover. The miraculous part of the story appears, however, at length to have staggered him; for, in the last edition, we perceive, the circumstance of these *dead* Turks being roasted *alive* is omitted. Nevertheless, in his present work, the "History of Chivalry," he has related a fact not much less stupendous, in which the order of the miracle is a little inverted; for here the roasting comes first. Sir Andrew Harclay, who, in the time of Edward II., was created Earl of Carlisle, and had subsequently been guilty of high treason, was publicly degraded from the rank of knighthood, and condemned to die the death of a traitor. There were, however, some very peculiar circumstances in the mode of his sentence and execution, which Mr. Mills has adopted from "Stow," without note or comment. The ceremony of his degradation being completed, his judge, Sir Anthony Lucy, thus addressed him:—

"Andrew, quoth he, now art thou no knight, but a knave; and for thy treason the king wills that thou shalt be hanged and drawn, and thy head smitten off from thy body, and burned before thee, and thy body quartered, and thy head being smitten off, afterwards to be set upon London-bridge, and thy four quarters shall be sent into four good towns of England, that all others may beware by thee."—pp. 63, 64.

Now, however difficult it might be to burn a man's head first before his face, and afterwards to set it upon London-bridge, we are assured, that the sentence was *ipso facto*, to the minutest point, carried into effect. For Mr. Mills adds, in the words of Stow—

"And as Sir Anthony Lucy had said, so was it done in all things, on the last day of October."

The ceremonies attending the degradation of a knight, and the reasons for which they were adopted, were, according to Mr. Mills's account, sufficiently remarkable. We have not time or inclination to detail the entire process; but imagine that our readers will be amused with the following short extract:—

"The knight who was to be degraded was in the first instance armed by his brother knights from head to foot, as if he had been going to the battle-field; they then conducted him to a high stage,

raised in a church, where the king and his court, the clergy, and the people, were assembled; thirty priests sung such psalms as were used at burials; at the end of every psalm they took from him a piece of armour. First, they removed his helmet, the defence of disloyal eyes, then his cuirass *on the right side*, as the protector of *a corrupt heart*," &c.

For this detail, Mr. Mills quotes "Segar of Honour." We suspect, however, that he is indebted for the last remark to a much more amusing personage, and that when he wrote it, he was fresh from "*Le Médecin malgré lui*" of Moliere:—

"GERONTE. Il me semble que vous les placez autrement qu'ils ne sont; que le cœur est du côté gauche, et le foye du côté droit.

"SGANORELLE. Oui; cela étoit autrefois ainsi; *mais nous avons changé tout cela.*"

The next living writer whom Mr. Mills encounters is Dr. Meyrick, the author of an elaborate work on "Armour;" whom he has condescended to notice three times, and always in the same tone of unmeasured contempt.

"In Dr. Meyrick's three ponderous quartos on 'Armour,' *there is one* interesting point: he shows that the celebrated title of the Black Prince, which the prince of Wales gained for his achievements at the battle of Cressy, did not arise, as is generally supposed, from his wearing black armour on that day, nor does it appear that he ever wore black armour at all. Plain steel armour was his usual wear, and the surcoat was emblazoned with the arms of England labelled. When he attended tournaments in France or England he appeared in a surcoat with a shield, and his horse in a caparison all black with the white feathers on *them*;" (on what? on the caparison, shield, and surcoat? or on the prince and his horse?) "so that the colour of the covering of the armour, and not of the armour itself, gave him his title. Dr. Meyrick thinks the common story an erroneous one, that the ostrich feathers in the crest of our princes of Wales, arose from young Edward's taking that ornament from the helmet of the king of Bohemia, who was slain by him at the battle of Cressy. He contends that the feathers formed a *device* on the banner of the monarch, and were not worn on the helmet, because plumes of feathers were not used as crests till the fifteenth century. That Dr. Meyrick has not been able to find any instance of their being thus worn, goes but very little way to prove the negative. On the other hand *we know* that the swan's neck, the feathers of favourite birds, such as the peacock and pheasant, were devices on shields, and also, at the same time, continually surmounted the helmet, and the ostrich feathers, which ever since the Crusades the western world had been familiar with, might, in all probability, have been used in this twofold manner," &c.—pp. 101, 102, in a note.

We should like to ask how Mr. Mills *knows* that feathers were continually worn on the helmet prior to the fifteenth century ; and what instances he has been able to find to prove it ? Dr. Meyrick's conjecture, we are convinced, is well founded ; for as the *device* on the shield or banner was the distinguishing cognizance of the knightly warrior, by assuming to himself the armorial ensign of the king of Bohemia, the Black Prince continually bore on his standard the most illustrious trophy of the field of Cressy.

Dr. Meyrick's work was, to be sure, ponderous enough, and his monotonous style extremely inferior in point of attraction to the variegated and checkered mosaic which adorns the pages of the "History of Chivalry ;" where an elaborate imitation of Gibbon, beautifully alternating with an equally elaborate imitation of Lord Berner's antiquated translation of Froissart, produces an effect similar to that which our ancestors witnessed with so much delight, when they saw

" Old Edward's armour beam on Cibber's breast."

There are fastidious persons, we are aware, who would have preferred an unvaried uniformity of style throughout the entire work ; and who will think, that the obsolete phraseology with which the "*cavaleresque*" parts of the history are so richly impregnated, accord but ill with the ornate and flowery sentences to which the author naturally gives utterance, when the old translation of Froissart, or the "Chronicle of the Cid," are not immediately before him. How exquisitely poetical and devoid of meaning is the following delicious effusion !—

" The patriarchal system of manners, shaped and sanctioned by Christianity, formed the fabric of chivalry ; and romance, with its many-coloured hues, gave it light and beauty. The early ages of Europe gaily moved in all the wildness and vigour of youth ; imagination freshened and heightened every pleasure ; the world was a vision, and life a dream," &c. &c. &c.—Vol. ii. p. 343.

Cold-minded critics, when they stumble on a passage like this, will be inclined to ask, why Mr. Mills should think it necessary to talk of "*bright guerdons*," (vol. i. p. 22,) or of "*stakes raised for the nonce*?" (p. 35.) Why he should say, that " the young English squire in the time of Edward III. carved before his *fader* at the table?" Why he should ask, "*What boots it to know*?" (p. 94.) Why he should speak of " achieving the high *emprises* of his calling?" (p. 123.) Why he should say, "*Certes* all knights were not religious?" (p. 150.) Why he should talk of " the *valiancy* of chivalry?" (p. 158,) of " falcons gallantly

bedight?" (p. 162,) and of "the brave *gestes* of women?" (p. 252.) Why, in sober prose, he should adopt the phraseology of Spenser, "he *pricked on the plain* with knightly grace?" (p. 330,) and, above all, why he should take the trouble of coining such a villanous and unpronounceable word as "*squierarchy*," for "squirehood?" (p. 311.) Questions like these Mr. Mills will, probably, treat with scorn unspeakable, and disdain to answer them. And, after all, perhaps he is right. He is a practised author, who knows how to cater to the public taste; and having learnt by experience, that these exquisite little morsels are "caviar to the general," may already indulge the flattering expectation, that they will enable his present work, like the "*History of the Crusades*," to arrive at a third edition.

The first chapter very properly contains, what Mr. Mills is pleased to consider, a full and clear account of the "Origin and first appearances of Chivalry in Europe;" and the introductory sentences afford no unfavourable specimen of that discriminating judgment and felicitous expression by which he is so eminently distinguished.

"There is little to charm the imagination in the first ages of chivalry. No plumed steeds, no warrior bearing on his crested helm the favour of his lady bright, graced those early times. All was rudeness and gloom. But the subject is not altogether without interest, as it must ever be curious to mark the causes and the first appearances in conduct of any widely spread system of opinions."—pp. 1, 2.

The poetical cast of this brief introduction will meet, we should conceive, with universal admiration. But what Mr. Mills may mean by marking "the appearances in conduct of a system of opinions," we are rather at a loss to guess. Possibly he means, not the conduct of the opinions, but the conduct of those persons by whom the opinions are adopted. If so, we are afraid that our lecturers on the belles lettres will accuse Mr. Mills of employing a style no less "*garrulous and slovenly*," than their own. Perhaps, in the spirit of retaliation, they may even urge that his exquisitely beautiful and accurate definition of courtesy is liable to the same objection.

"Kindness and gentleness of manner, which, *when adopted by kings* from knightly customs, were called *courtesy*, were *peculiar to the soldier* of the middle ages," (just as if there were no examples of them in ancient history,) "and pleasingly distinguished him from the savage sternness of other warriors, whether Roman or barbarian. *Courtesy was the appearance, in the ordinary circumstances of life, of that principle of protection which, in weightier matters, made the sword leap*

from its scabbard; and, like every other blessing of modern times, had its origin in the christian religion."—vol. i. p. 160.

Let us see. Kindness of manner, when adopted by kings, was called courtesy: and courtesy was the appearance, in the ordinary circumstances of life, of a principle of protection, which, in weightier matters, made the sword leap, &c. We hope the reader understands it.

But we return to the origin of chivalry, which Mr. Mills is disposed to refer to the wilds of Scandinavia and the Hercynian forests. And though he says it is impossible to mark the exact time when the rude elements were framed into "that system of thought and action which we call chivalry," he is positive that knighthood existed as a distinct establishment before the days of Charlemagne; and that the commission which that emperor gave to the governor of Friesland to make knights, "*milites*," by girding them with a sword, and giving them a blow, unequivocally proves it. He might just as well say, that knighthood, properly so called, existed in the days of Hercules and Theseus; and, if we mistake not, the author of that fantastical work, the "*Broadstone of Honour*," actually claims for it this remote antiquity. The commission of Charlemagne to the governor of Friesland only proves, that he authorized that officer to admit certain youths into the military rank, in compliance with that well-known custom, which, according to Tacitus, had prevailed amongst the Germans from the earliest ages, of delivering to the candidates for martial honours those arms by which they were, thenceforth, to defend their country. The blow which accompanied the ceremony, the "*datus manu colaphus*," was probably copied from the Roman rite of manumission; and was intended to denote, that the young soldier was now set free from his state of pupillage. The word "*miles*," which was subsequently restricted to those who had attained the rank of knighthood, in contradistinction to "*eques*," which was applied indiscriminately to all who served on horseback, had not yet acquired that exclusive signification: and to infer that the "*milites*" of Charlemagne were necessarily knights, would be as absurd as to assume, that all simple knights, called *knight-bachelors*, or *bas-chevaliers*, were necessarily unmarried, because the word *bachelor* was afterwards applied to those who lived in a state of celibacy. "*Les mots miles, militia, militare*," &c., says Sainte Palaye, "*s'appliquoient anciennement, suivant du Cange, (gloss. lat.) au service qui se faisoit dans les palais ou les maisons des rois et des princes: dans les neuvièmes et dixièmes siècles ils désignèrent le service des fiefs; enfin ils furent employés pour exprimer une nouvelle*

espèce de milice qui servoit à cheval, et avoit le premier rang à la guerre sur l'infanterie et la cavalerie. Un des plus anciens passages rapportés par du Cange, peut faire connoître ce qui constituoit la chevalerie proprement dite, et ce qui établissoit la distinction entre les chevaliers et les Ecuyers. Il est tiré de Foucher de Chartres. *Milites nostri*, dit cet auteur, chapelain de Godefroi de Bouillon, *erant quingenti, exceptis illis qui militari nomine non censebantur, tamen equitantes.*" (Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, partie ii. not. 5.)

If chivalry is to be considered as nothing more than a ceremony, by which the right of bearing arms was conferred on those who were designed for the military profession, it will not be difficult to show, that the institution is far more ancient than the days of Charlemagne; or if knighthood has existed wherever men of more exalted character have stood forth as the assertors of right and the avengers of wrong, or have united together in fraternities of arms, then it will be as easy for the panegyrists of the order to trace it downwards from the heroic ages of Greece, or the days of Jonathan and David, as it is for the freemasons to show, that their society has existed ever since brick and stone were used in building, and to carry it back to the temple of Solomon, or the tower of Babel. But if it be regarded as an institution, which was conferred by a species of investiture, and accompanied with certain impressive ceremonies, and the religious obligation of the most solemn vows, then chivalry, most assuredly, did not exist before the eleventh century.

It seems, in fact, to have owed its origin to the gross and insupportable abuses to which the feudal system had given birth. In a state of society in which every independent baron claimed and exercised the right of waging private war, and power was the only security against oppression, it was the obvious policy of every feudal lord to strengthen his cause by attaching to his interest, (beside the vassals and feudatories, who were obliged by their fiefs to attend his summons,) other volunteers, who were most distinguished in the profession of arms, and were willing, either from affection to his person, or the love of glory, to follow his standard. We need not say that auxiliaries of this description served on horseback; for, in the accurate language of Mr. Mills, "in the kingdoms which sprang from the ruins of the Roman empire, every king, baron, and person of estate, was *a knight*." (Vol. i. p. 3.) Soldiers of this rank, on their reception into the service of the more powerful barons, were, probably, admitted by the ceremony of investiture; which, by its close analogy to "that of homage, was intended to remind these military retainers that they were henceforth bound to defend their

lord, no less than if they had been born his proper feudatories. The clergy of that era, who, much as it has been the fashion to malign and misrepresent them, were really the great depositories of religion and virtue,—an imperfect virtue, and a defective religion, we will admit, but yet a virtue and a religion which shone forth with beneficial influence through the surrounding darkness of barbarity and vice ;—the clergy, who were ever on the watch to catch at each opportunity that offered of mitigating the ferocity of the age, and encouraging the growth of the gentler virtues of Christianity, soon perceived that this class of military adventurers might be rendered eminently serviceable in promoting their exalted views of supporting religion, protecting the oppressed and defenceless, the orphan and the widow, and checking the usurpations of lawless tyranny. Their personal interests, at the same time, contributed to make them doubly zealous in effecting this noble purpose. For as their profession, which forbade them to carry arms, exposed them, above all other men, to the aggressions of sacrilegious violence, it behoved them to provide for their own safety by enlisting under the banners of the church such a powerful body of martial protectors. The Crusades, which commenced with the close of the eleventh century, greatly favoured their design of imparting to the institution of chivalry the sacred character of religion. We cannot, indeed, agree with Mr. Mills, that “ the knightly and clerical characters were every where considered as convertible ;” (vol. i. p. 13 ;)—and the passages he quotes from Spenser, and the “ *Morte d’Arthur*,” only prove, that the knight, weary of the world, would often retire from its toils and perils, that he might end his days in some quiet hermitage.—But it is certain, that chivalry was regarded by its ancient panegyrist as a holy order, inferior only to the priesthood ; that the august formalities with which it was accompanied bore a close relation to the sacraments of the church ; and that its engagements were held no less binding than the sacerdotal or monastic vow. The candidate for knighthood passed the night previous to his creation in prayer, and fasting, and the sacraments of penance. He was provided with sponsors, as in baptism. He entered a bath, in token of the purity which was required of him ; and, for the same reason, came forth clothed in the white robes of a neophyte. By his vow he was bound to defend the church against all her enemies ;* to avenge the oppressed, especially

* Hence arose that striking custom, which, it is said, is still retained in Poland, that, at the reading of the gospel, the knights stood up, and drew their swords, in token of their readiness to defend the christian faith : and hence, too, the author of the “ *Broad-stone of Honour*” deduces our present custom of standing up when the gospel

widows and orphans ; to extend his protection to all noble dames who required his aid ; and to put down all tyranny and injustice. He offered his sword on the altar to the officiating priest, who, having blessed it, returned it to him, with a prayer that God would enable him to perform his vow. The feudal part of the ceremony, the investiture, and the accolade, then followed, in which the knight was more especially reminded of the secular and military duties of his order.

It might reasonably be expected, that an institution, rendered illustrious by the most honourable secular distinctions, and the most awful sanctions of religion, and which spread itself forth through the whole circle both of public and private life, would effect a corresponding improvement in the manners of the people by whom it was adopted, and that its influence on the national character would be as durable as it was important. And so it was ; for to it we are indebted for that high principle of honour, which forms the most conspicuous ornament in the character of the christian gentleman and soldier ; which teaches him to respect himself ; to consider his word as no less sacred than if it were confirmed by the solemnity of a judicial oath ; to avoid all that is base and mercenary ; and to be careful that his conduct should never bring the smallest disgrace on his own name, nor disparage the gentle blood from which he is descended. To it we chiefly owe the humanities and courtesies of modern warfare ; and all that gallantry, that respectful deference and delicacy of manner, which mark our intercourse with the softer sex, and lead them, in return, to cultivate those virtues which impart to female loveliness its most powerful charms, and render it worthy of that homage which was never paid to vice.

But to chivalry we are also indebted for the absurd and indefensible custom of duelling—a custom, unquestionably, derived, not from the judicial combat, which was a solemn appeal to God's judgment, but from the *joûte à l'outrance*, which was generally used to decide a private quarrel. In the "days of the shield and lance," this folly was not frequent. The celebrated challenge of Francis I. to Charles V. at once made it fashionable ; and, in the wane of chivalrous customs, those gallant spirits who would formerly have sought distinction in the joust or tournament, endeavoured to maintain the knightly character, by the promptitude with which they drew their swords in private duel. The

is read in our churches ; but he is mistaken. The custom can boast of a far more remote antiquity,—seven centuries, at least, before the institution of chivalry ;—being enjoined in the "Apostolical Constitutions," book ii, c. 57,

custom, though it is utterly abhorrent from the precepts and spirit of the christian religion, acquired, in a short time, so powerful an ascendant, that in every country of Europe, he who refused a challenge, lost, as it were, his *caste*, and incurred indelible disgrace and infamy. It is in vain that the ministers of the gospel have denounced, and the christian magistrate has enacted laws against it. It has still gone on increasing. What was once the distinguished privilege of knights and nobles, has long descended to the very lowest classes of our gentry, and is now making its way behind the desks and counters of merchants and attornies. In its progress downwards, it will become deservedly ridiculous; and, as it shall gradually be adopted by the lower classes, will be thrown aside by the superior orders of society, who, through mere shame, will discontinue a practice, from which the weightier motives of religion have not yet had power to dissuade them.

With this single exception—and, perhaps, the practice of duelling, which had its birth in the corruption and decline of chivalry, hardly constitutes an exception—the influence of its ennobling principles is still beneficially felt, in the formation of that peculiar character which exalts the high-born gentry of christian Europe to a moral elevation far above all Greek and Roman fame. The orders of ancient knighthood have, indeed, expired one by one, or exist only in name; but let us hope that the purer parts of the chivalrous spirit will long continue to survive with unimpaired vigour, and preserve us from the contagion of grovelling avarice and heartless infidelity. Far removed from us be the day when the indignant moralist may truly exclaim, “the age of chivalry is gone;” when the dead palsy of a false philosophy shall occupy the heart, and the open profession of christian principles, and the earnest maintenance of the christian faith, shall no longer be thought essential to the character of an English gentleman; when the love of money, displaying itself in the base and sordid habits of stock-jobbing and gambling, shall have eradicated every disinterested and honourable sentiment from the breast, and shall have rendered those, who, from their exalted birth or station, ought to have stood forth as the firmest assertors of genuine patriotism and uncompromising independence, the willing tools of mercenary faction, and the servile instruments of political corruption.

But though it is impossible too highly to extol the pure and elevating principles of chivalry, its institutions, it must be acknowledged, had, long before their final extinction, not only outlived their utility, but, in a military point of view, had become positively detrimental. The invention of gunpowder, which

totally changed the face of modern war, soon swept away the steel-clad warriors from the plain; but if that "villanous saltpetre had *not* been digged out of the bowels of the harmless earth," chivalry would still have expired by a natural death; for, by elevating every banneret to the dignity of a separate command, it confounded the principles of military discipline, and was inconsistent with that unity of operation which is necessary to the successful conduct of armies. In his fifth memoir,—from the perusal of which, in Mr. Mills's judgment, no pleasure can be derived, but which appears to us the best written and the most amusing portion of his work,—Sainte Palaye has clearly shown, that these inconveniences were not imaginary; and attributes the disastrous overthrows which the French sustained in the fields of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, to that presumptuous insubordination which displayed itself throughout the ranks of their jealous and disorderly chivalry. This truth is so evident, that Mr. Mills, who is rather the panegyrist than the historian of the order, has sometimes confessed it unawares.

"Certainly the virtues of a knight were not necessarily patriotic. *They were rather calculated to weaken than to strengthen his tendencies to king and country.* Although, as an individual, he was bound to his native land, yet *the character of his knighthood was perpetually pressing him to a course of conduct distinct from all national objects.* He was an independent agent."—vol. i. pp. 139, 140.

Yet, within five pages after, he insists upon it that this very independence was strictly compatible with the exactest military discipline, and that it is a great mistake to suppose it could have a contrary tendency.

"It has often been supposed that the chivalric array must have been inconvenient to the feudal and national disposition of armies, and that knightly honours would be continually striving with other distinctions for preeminence. But this supposition has arisen from a want of attention to chivalric principles. *Chivalry was not opposed to national institutions.*" "Even so judicious a writer as Mr. Dunlop says, (*History of Fiction*, vol. ii. p. 144,) that vigour of discipline was broken by want of unity of command. St. Palaye, in whom want of acquaintance with the subject is less excusable, says, 'Si le pouvoir absolu, si l'unité du commandement est le seul moyen d'entretenir la vigueur de la discipline, jamais elle ne dut être moins solidement établie, et plus souvent ébranlée, que du temps de nos chevaliers. Quelle confusion, en effet, ne devoient point apporter tant d'espèces de chefs, dont les principes, les motifs, et les intérêts n'étoient pas toujours d'accord, et qui ne tiroient point d'une même source le droit de se faire obéir?'"—vol. i. p. 145, and note.

This is a mere question of fact, and Mr. Dunlop and Sainte Palaye are right; but Mr. Mills is determined to see nothing wrong in the system of which he has undertaken to write the history. It is, perhaps, the greatest defect of his work, that he permits himself to view only the bright side of his subject; and whilst he studiously keeps its faults out of sight, only very casually and imperfectly notices the causes of its decline and fall.

As we have impartially pointed out a few of the principal blemishes which disfigure his "*History of Chivalry*,"—blemishes which will assuredly prevent the author from taking a permanent station amongst our best historical writers, and which render ridiculous the tone of confident superiority in which he is too apt to indulge;—we shall now briefly notice the points in which he seems entitled to commendation. We have already admitted that a history of chivalry was a desideratum in English literature; the deficiency might have been more ably and judiciously supplied, and the work in general might be greatly improved by compression; but the matter is well arranged, and there are scarcely any facts omitted that were worth preserving on the subject. The first volume presents us, in the following order, with an account of the origin and first appearance of chivalry in Europe; and this, with the concluding chapter of the second volume, is the worst and most unsatisfactory part of the book. In Chap. II. we have a full and curious account of the education of a knight; and the ceremonies of his inauguration and degradation. Chap. III. contains an exact and copious description of his equipment. We are then presented with four chapters on the chivalric character; on dames and damsels, and lady-love; on tournaments and jousts; and on the religious and military orders of knighthood; under which last head many interesting facts are collected concerning the order of the knights templars; an order which, though dissolved in the beginning of the fourteenth century, is said to be still "in full and chivalric existence," and to have preserved an unbroken series of its grand-masters from the time of Jacques de Molai to these days. The last chapter of the first, and the six first chapters of the second volume, contain a long and detailed account of the progress of chivalry in the various countries of Europe; of which chapters four are given to England, one to France, one to Spain, one to Germany and Italy; and the work concludes with an extremely ill-written and defective dissertation on the merits and effects of chivalry.

Now, as the causes to which chivalry owed both its rise and fall were every where the same, and the system itself was designed to include all the nobles and warriors of Europe in one

great brotherhood, we cannot help thinking, that if Mr. Mills had not taken great pains to extend his subject through two volumes, instead of these seven mental chapters on the progress of chivalry in different countries, he would have introduced the most striking of those particulars which distinguished the knighthood of different states in different ages, either into his chapter on the chivalric character, or that on the civil and military orders of knighthood. And as it is evident that he sets a just value on the ameliorating influence of the christian religion, we cannot but consider it a very remarkable omission, that in his concluding statement of the merits and effects of chivalry, he should wholly have neglected to mention the obligations which it laid on all the members of its order to cultivate in their own hearts the sanctifying principles of the gospel, and to maintain the faith of Christ against all its opponents. With all its faults, however, we are inclined to think that the work will acquire a certain degree of popularity. There are many readers to whom its very faults will appear beauties; and to those who have never read the "*Mémoires*" of Sainte Palaye, and have neither leisure nor opportunity to peruse the more costly volumes of Froissart, &c. it will present an ample field of information and amusement.

ART. VIII.—*A Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy, from the earliest Dawn of that Science in India to the present Time. In two Parts.* By John Bentley, Member of the Asiatic Society. 8vo. 1825.

WHEN philosophical inquiries are pursued among a people under the baneful influence of Popery, they place the inquirer in direct opposition to a system which would, if possible, bind the intellects of all its subjects in chains; they render him incapable of giving a reverential assent to the numberless absurdities which vain traditions have mixed up with divine truths; and instead of distinguishing between these traditions and the sure grounds on which purer Christianity rests, the unhappy inquirer, who had been prevented, whilst he yet believed, from ascertaining this distinction, is tempted to reject all revelation as no better than the forgery of priestcraft, and with more or less boldness he endeavours to employ his talents or his scientific discoveries in storming or undermining the rock of ages.

In this manner we have seen every branch of natural philosophy in its turn made, by the French sçavans, to supply an

argument against the authority of the Mosaic history of the creation.

In our own more favoured country, the encouragement given to a full and free examination of the evidence in support of Christianity, has taught acute reasoners its strength; and has given them a consciousness, that if arguments against the truth of revelation, drawn from observations on natural phenomena, or from accredited histories of the human race, appear for a time to admit of no decisive refutation, the solution of the difficulty would be clearly seen if our knowledge was perfect: and as science advances, they feel it to be their duty to watch for the clue which shall unravel the mazes of error.

In this manner the antiquity assigned to the astronomical tables of the Hindoos and to the zodiacs of Dendera, has, for some time, been regarded on the continent as quite sufficiently established to prove that the Indians and Egyptians were a learned and scientific people, long before the date which our belief affixes to the creation of man; but the patient researches and the ingenuity of a British merchant, resident at Calcutta, have enabled him to detect the shallow foundation on which these supposed strong holds of scepticism had been erected; and, in the work before us, he has completed their overthrow in so satisfactory a manner, that we trust they will rise no more in defiance of that venerable authority, which a celebrated continental mathematician had rashly declared himself ashamed to compare with them. “*Si nous croyons à l’inspiration des livres saints,*” said Montucla, speaking of the disagreement between the Hindoo and Mosaic chronology, “*nous ne devons pas être embarrassés. Mais dans ce siècle philosophique, qui oseroit, sans se vouer au ridicule, appuyer sur une pareille raison?*” (*Hist. des Mathématiques, part. ii. liv. iii. § 3.*) And when M. Bailly rejected the claims of some of these Hindoo astronomical works to an age exceeding two millions of years, and assigned them, instead, to a period between only four and five thousand years before the christian era, after this acknowledgment of the absurdity of their pretended date, he would not cut off a few centuries more, to sacrifice even such preposterous claims entirely to a Christian’s belief; but preferred increasing the discrepancy between the date assigned by him, and the limit affixed by revelation to the existence of the nations of the world, by a fanciful hypothesis of his own, that the Indian astronomy was but a relic of the philosophical discoveries of some older people:—“*Elle est l’ouvrage,*” says he, “*d’un peuple antérieur, qui avait fait sans doute en ce genre des progrès, dont*

nous ignorons la plus grande partie." (Hist. de l'Astronomie, lib. i. § 12.)

Happily, Mr. Bentley combined sufficient astronomical science to constitute him a very competent judge of the Hindoo treatises and tables, which his access to the Sanscrit enabled him to examine for himself; he was unawed by these European authorities, and unseduced by the prejudices which the possession of any rare species of knowledge has so strong a tendency to excite, and which are so apt to exaggerate the value of such knowledge in the possessor's eye. He saw that the science of which he had acquired the key was full of vain pretensions, supported by frauds and forgeries; and he commenced his exposure of them in a paper laid before the Asiatic Society in 1799. This was followed by another valuable paper, which appeared in the eighth volume of the "Asiatic Researches;" and from that time to the present Mr. Bentley appears to have had the subject steadily in sight, and now gives the matured result of his long continued inquiries to the public, filling out and confirming the views exhibited in his earlier sketches, in a work which must prove exceedingly interesting to all those who are capable of appreciating the nature and importance of the questions which he has taken such praiseworthy pains to sift. We have great pleasure in reflecting that, in a former series of the "British Critic," (vol. ix. 1818,) we bore our testimony to the satisfactory manner in which Mr. Bentley had made good his explanation of the origin of the enormous Hindoo cycles; that his exposure of the willing blindness of the French sceptics should have brought on him repeated attacks in the "Edinburgh Review," will not surprise any one, and we regret to see that Mr. Bentley has allowed himself to be irritated by them. Their effect on his feelings ought, certainly, to have been neutralized, at least, by his obtaining from Professor Playfair, who had been mentioned as the reviewer, a declaration that he hoped not to be suspected of being the author of any such nonsense; and by the gratifying approbation of the accurate Dr. Maskelyne, who said, it appears, to a friend of Mr. B.'s,—

"I think Bentley right: he has proved by his calculations that there were no real observations made at the beginning of the *Kali Yuga*. Bailly was a pleasing historical writer; but he had more imagination than judgment, and I know that he was condemned by his friends La Lande and La Place, as a *superficial astronomer*, and a very *indifferent calculator*. These two gentlemen entertained the same opinion with myself, with respect to the antiquity of Hindu

astronomy; and I think Mr. Bentley has made out satisfactorily the real antiquity of the *Surya Siddhānta*.'”—Preface, p. xxv.

But if our author has destroyed the pretensions of the Hindoo astronomers to such high antiquity as no Christian could have conceded to them, the character of their nation for very early advances in science will justly be indebted to him, for proving by very ingenious observations, and to us, satisfactory arguments, that the existence of some attention to astronomical subjects may be traced in India as far back as the fifteenth century before the christian era.

The first step towards the formation of astronomical calculations, must be the division of the zodiacal portion of the heavens into distinct compartments, for the purpose of marking the progress of the sun, moon, and planets. The figurative style of the Hindoos disguises this operation under the assertion that Daksha's daughters were born in the first quarter of the Treta Yuga, and that he gave twenty-seven of them to the moon. That is, says Mr. Bentley, this person was an eminent astronomer, who first allotted to the moon twenty-seven asterisms of $13^{\circ} 20'$ each, still known by the names which Hindoo mythologists have assigned to his daughters; and, since the Treta Yuga began in the year 1528 before Christ, and lasted about 627 years, the lunar asterisms must have been formed between the years 1528 and 1371 B. C.

This is Mr. B.'s first ground for fixing the date of their invention; but, as it appears to involve the debatable point of the true commencement of the Treta Yuga, we should prefer to argue simply from the astronomical data, which he next produces, as leading with more precision to the same period. Thus one of these lunar mansions had the epithet Visakha, *bisected*, attached to its name, Radha, because the equinoctial colure passed through its centre; and, calculating from the precession of the equinoxes, this brings us to 1426 B. C. The next argument from which he deduces a date approaching most remarkably close to this, shall be given in Mr. Bentley's own words:—

“From the union of the daughters of Daksha with the Moon, the ancient Astronomers feigned the birth of four of the planets; that is to say, Mercury from *Rohinī*; hence he is called *Rohineya*, after his mother. *Magā* brought forth the beautiful planet Venus; hence one of the names of that planet is *Maghābhū*. The Lunar Mansion *Ashād'hā* brought forth the martial planet Mars, who was thence called *Ashād'hābhava*; and *Purvaphalgunī* brought forth Jupiter, the largest of all the planets, and the tutor of the gods: hence he is called *Purvaphalgunībhava*; the Moon, the father, being present at the birth of each. The observations here alluded to are supposed to have been

occultations of the planets by the Moon, in the respective Lunar Mansions from which they are named :* they refer us to the year 1424-5 B. C. and therefore corroborating the result of the observation on the Colures.

"The planet Mercury and the Moon in *Rohinī*, 17th April, 1424, B. C. ;

"The planet Jupiter and the Moon in *P. Phalgunī*, 23d April, 1424 ;

"The planet Mars and the Moon in *P. Ashād'hā*, 19th August, 1424 ;

"The planet Venus and the Moon in *Maghā*, 19th August, 1425 ;

all within the space of about sixteen months, and there is no other year, either before that period or since, in which they were so placed or situated. Saturn is not mentioned among these births, probably from his being situated out of the Moon's course ; but was feigned to have been born afterwards from the shadow of the Earth."—pp. 4, 5.

The next period in the astronomical history of India to which Mr. B. has been able to assign a date with similar precision, is that in which the solar months were formed and named, viz. 1181 B. C. ; in which year the sun and moon were in conjunction at the winter solstice in the beginning of the lunar asterism *Sravishta*. Other improvements were made at the same era ; for the Hindoo astronomers had now had time to observe the motion of the colures, and found they had receded through a quarter of each of the lunar mansions in which they stood when those mansions were first arranged. Henceforward they continued to reckon twenty-seven lunar mansions from the winter solstice, whilst their old division preserved its arrangement amongst the fixed stars. These movable mansions would gradually separate from the fixed or astral mansions ; and as the period of their coincidence may be readily calculated from the observed interval between them at any given subsequent time, the date of the formation of these movable mansions is thus ascertained. There is an inconvenience in this double arrangement, however, which Mr. Bentley has illustrated as follows :—

"The names of the movable or tropical Lunar Mansions, always beginning from the winter solstice, are the same with the fixed or Astral Mansions ; and therefore may sometimes cause an ambiguity, to be explained only by the nature of the subject. Thus when it is said, that the summer solstice is *always* in the middle of *Asleshā*, we know immediately that the tropical or movable *Asleshā* is meant ; just in the same manner as if it was said that the summer solstice is

* "They are supposed to be occultations, because they are not made in the time of a single revolution of the Moon, but take in the space of about sixteen months, from 19th August, 1425, to the 19th April, 1424, B. C. ; and this idea of the observations being confined to occultations is supported by Saturn not being included, because that planet was then out of the Moon's course."

always in the beginning of Cancer, we should know that the *sign* Cancer was meant, and not the *constellation* Cancer; because the solstices and Colures do not remain *always* in the same points with respect to the fixed stars.”—p. 7.

On the other hand, the inequality in the number of lunar mansions and solar months is most happily serviceable in fixing, within certain limits, the invention of the names for the months; as will appear on the perusal of the next extract from our author:—

“I have already observed, that the Lunar Mansions were fabled by the Hindu poets to have been married to the Moon, and that the first offspring of that poetic union were four of the planets. In like manner, the Hindu poets feign, that the twelve months sprung from the same union, each month deriving its name, in the form of a patronymic, from the Lunar Mansions in which the Moon was supposed to be in full at the time.

“Let us therefore, in the case before us, apply this principle. At the above epoch, 1181 B. C. the sun and moon were in conjunction at the winter solstice; and as the month began when the sun entered the signs, the first month therefore began at the winter solstice. Now to find the name of that month, the moon would be in full at about $14\frac{3}{4}$ days after the winter solstice, and would then be in the opposite part of the heavens to the sun. The sun would have advanced in $14\frac{3}{4}$ days about $14\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and therefore would have entered the second Lunar Asterism, *Satabhishū*; a line drawn from the point in which the sun is thus situated, through the centre, would fall into the Lunar Asterism *Maghā*, in which the moon was full, on the opposite side; and consequently, on the principle stated, the solar month was from thence called *Māgha*, in the form of a patronymic. At the next full, the moon would be in *Uttara Phalgunī*, and the solar month from thence called *Phālguna*; and on this principle all the months of the year were named; that is to say,

The month		from the Lunar Asterism			the 15th Mansion.
<i>Māgha</i> ,		from	<i>Maghā</i> ,		
<i>Phālguna</i> ,	from	..	<i>U. Phalgunī</i> ,	..	17th.
<i>Chaitra</i> ,	from	..	<i>Chitrā</i> ,	..	19th.
<i>Vaisakha</i> ,	from	..	<i>Visakhā</i> ,	..	21st.
<i>Jyāishtha</i> ,	from	..	<i>Jyeshthā</i> ,	..	23rd.
<i>Ashāra</i> ,	from	..	<i>P. Ashād'hā</i> ,	..	25th.
<i>Srāvana</i> ,	from	..	<i>Sravanā</i> ,	..	27th.
<i>Bhādra</i> ,	from	..	<i>P. Bhādrapadā</i> ,	..	3rd.
<i>Aswina</i> ,	from	..	<i>Aswinī</i> ,	..	6th.
<i>Kārtika</i> ,	from	..	<i>Kritikā</i> ,	..	8th.
<i>Mārgasirsha</i> ,	from	..	<i>Mrigasiras</i> ,	..	10th.
<i>Pausa</i> ,	from	..	<i>Pushyā</i> ,	..	13th.

“On the principle above stated, though the moon has been introduced by way of explanation, it is not at all necessary. All that is requisite to be understood, is that a line drawn from some part of the Lunar Mansion, through the centre, it must fall into some part of that month to which it gives name, otherwise it does not answer the condi-

tion requisite. Hence, it is very easy to demonstrate the utmost possible antiquity of the time, when the months were, or could be, so named; for, there are certain limits beyond which the line cannot be drawn; and these are the termination of the Lunar Mansion, and the commencement of the solar month which determines the time; because, it points out the commencement of the solar month in respect of the fixed stars at the time. Thus, at the time of the above observations, the summer solstitial point was found in the middle of the Lunar Asterism *Asleshā*, and the solar month *Srāvana* then began; for, in the ancient Astronomy of the Hindus, that month always began at the summer solstice. Now the month *Srāvana* derives its name from the Lunar Asterism *Sravanā* (the 27th,) then in the opposite part of the heavens. Let, therefore, a line be drawn from the solstitial point, or commencement of the month, cutting the centre, and it will fall into the very end of the Lunar Asterism *Sravanā*, from which it derives its name *Srāvana*; which line is, therefore, at its utmost limit, as it cannot go farther without falling into a Mansion of a very different name. This position of the line, therefore, proves that the months received their names at the time of the above observations, and not before. For, if we wish to make it more ancient, let the solstitial point be supposed more advanced in respect of the fixed stars, say one, two, or three degrees, then a line drawn from the solstitial point, or commencement of the month *Srāvana*, cutting the centre, cannot fall into any part of the Lunar Asterism *Sravanā*, from which it derives its name, but into *Sravisht'hā* (the 1st.) Therefore, the name which it possesses, could never be given to it till the solstitial point, and commencement of the month actually coincided with the middle of the Lunar Asterism *Asleshā* (the 14th,) being the same with the observation which refers us to the year 1181 B. C.; and this is the utmost antiquity of the formation and naming of the Hindu months, from which a very useful inference may be drawn, which is, that no Hindu writer, or book, that mentions the names of the Hindu months, can possibly be older than this period, let its pretensions to antiquity be ever so great."—p. 7-10.

We have next the dates of Yudhishtira, and of the astronomical writers, Garga and Parasara, fixed, by calculation, about 550 B. C.; though they have, since, been represented by the Hindoos as living 2600 years before that period. In the works of these astronomers it is observable, Mr. B. informs us, that there appear no traces of the twelve zodiacal signs, the knowledge of which reached India afterwards from the west.

The invention of the Yugas, or epochs employed in Hindoo chronology, is assigned by Mr. Bentley to a later date, viz. 204 B. C., and he gives the following account of them:—

"The years with which each period was to commence and end having been previously fixed on, the inventor then, by computation, determines the month, and moon's age, on the very day on which *Jupiter* is

found to be in conjunction with the *sun*, in each of the years so fixed on; which being recorded in the calendar and other books, might at any time be referred to for clearing up any doubt, in case of necessity.

“It was from these conjunctions of the *sun* with *Jupiter*, that the periods themselves were named *Yugas*, or conjunctions; and the order in which they were named was thus:—The first period immediately preceding the inventor, was called the first, or *Kali Yuga*; the second, or next, was called the *Dwāper Yuga*; the third was called the *Tretā Yuga*; and the fourth, or furthest back from the author, was called the *Kritā Yuga*, and with which the creation began. The end of the first period, called the *Kali*, was fixed by a conjunction of the *sun*, *moon*, and *Jupiter*, in the beginning of *Cancer*, on the 26th June, 299 B. C. This was called the *Satya Yuga*, or true conjunction, and is the radical point from which the calculation proceeds.

“Having thus far explained the principles on which the four ages of the ancient *Hindus* were founded and settled, I shall now exhibit them complete, with all their dates, in the following table:

Names and Order of the Four Ages.	Dates.	Moon's Age and Month.	Error in the Hindu Tables used.
<i>Kritā</i> , or fourth	19th April 2352 B. C.	3d <i>Tithi</i> of <i>Vaisākha</i> ,	About 21° 46' —
<i>Tretā</i> , or third	28th Oct. 1528 ..	9th .. of <i>Kārtika</i> ,	.. 13 1 —
<i>Dwāpar</i> , or second	15th Sept. 901 ..	28th .. of <i>Bhādra</i> ,	.. 6 22 —
<i>Kali</i> , or first	8th Feb. 540 ..	15th .. of <i>Māgha</i> ,	.. 2 33 —
— ended	26th June 299 ..	1st .. of <i>Shrāvana</i> .	.. 0 1 ×

“The mean motion of *Jupiter* in the *Hindu* tables employed for calculating the conjunctions and settling the periods, appear to have been 1^s 0^o 21' 9" 54"', or nearly so, which being too great by about 38" would cause the error to increase continually the further we go back into antiquity, as exhibited in the last column, and from which a near conclusion can be drawn as to the time the tables were framed, from the decrease in the error. I fix them to the year 204 B. C. because it was then the commencement of the astronomical period, at which the astronomers would naturally correct their table by new observations. Moreover, it appears that the *Hindu* history, according to the above periods, so settled and adjusted, was brought down, either by the inventor or some other person, to the year 204 B. C. and there terminated.

“It will naturally be observed, that the year of the *Hindu* creation, or beginning of the *Kritā*, corresponds exactly with the year of the Mosaic flood, which is a most remarkable circumstance, and points out the opinion of the *Hindus* at that period, (204 B. C.) in respect of the time of the creation.”—p. 75-77.

As this is exceedingly interesting, we cannot help wishing that our author had been more full and explicit in detailing the data on which he has given the above table. If we understand the

last column of it, the error in the Hindoo statements changes its sign in the course of the Kali Yuga; which affords a strong argument for its having been formed during, and towards the close, rather than after that period; and whilst the composer of such a system cannot reasonably be imagined to have excluded his own time, a melancholy conviction of the vices of his contemporaries would, but too certainly, lead him to assign his own age to that which had the name of the Kali, or *evil* period. We observe, also, that the different Yugas in this table do not exceed each other in the regular proportion of their numbers, 4, 3, 2 and 1; which Mr. Bentley himself in his earlier treatise, on this subject, had pointed out as the ordinary scale of their construction; and, in the passage above quoted, he has not given us the least hint as to what was likely to guide the inventor in fixing the years, with which each period was to commence; whilst the error in the Hindoo hypothesis, as to the true place of Jupiter, makes it difficult to imagine, how the corresponding years of our era were determined. His opinion of the period at which the system of Yugas was formed, is founded, we perceive, on the circumstance, that the precession would, in 204 B. C., according to his calculations, have carried back the solstitial colure exactly to the commencement of another lunar asterism, Sravana. The calculation of these astronomical periods for the correction, or renovation, of the Hindoo systems, proceeds on this ground, that supposing the winter solstice to be coincident with the beginning of one of the lunar asterisms of $13^{\circ} 20'$ each, the vernal equinoctial colure would be 10° within the seventh asterism, the summer solstice would be $6^{\circ} 40'$ within the fourteenth, and the autumnal colure $3^{\circ} 20'$ within the twenty-first; hence taking the rate of the precession at $3^{\circ} 20'$ in 247 years, the autumnal colure would have fallen back to the commencement of an asterism at the end of one such period of 247 years; the summer solstice at the end of two; the vernal colure at the end of three; and the winter solstice at the end of four; making some allowance for the variation of the precession in the longer periods.

Hence, as in 204 B. C. all the movable lunar mansions had fallen back through one complete asterism, if we advance through three periods more, which brings us to A. D. 538, the vernal colure would coincide with the beginning of the sixth asterism, Aswini, and the year would, agreeably to previously established rules, be made to commence with the vernal equinox, or the first of Vaisakha.

From A. D. 538 commences what Mr. B. calls the *modern* astronomy of the Hindoos; and to prove that such is the true date of the commencement of its monstrous systems of chronology

is the main object of the volume before us. The proof is supported by several distinct arguments.

First; the positions of the stars in all the Indian astronomical works, which involve these immense cycles, are estimated from the first point of Aswini, or ζ Piscium. Such a mode of reckoning cannot plausibly be supposed to have originated at any other period, than that in which the vernal colure was coincident with this point.

To illustrate the next argument, we must give some explanation of the manner in which these great cycles were formed.

And here we shall take the liberty of abridging, what we had occasion to state on this subject in our review of Mr. Colebrooke's "Translations from the Indian Algebraists;" (British Critic, New Series, vol. ix. p. 176.) If P be a solar year, and p represent the periodic time of a planet, and such integers n and m be found as will give $\frac{n}{P-p} = m$, the interval between two conjunctions of

the planet in the same line will be mP . Now the calculation of such integers is the discovery of, what Mr. Colebrooke renders, a pulverizer; and it is in modes of solving such problems, that the Hindoo algebraists have shown their greatest skill. By a similar process, the conjunction of a second planet in the same line may be calculated, and so on; the great period which must elapse between the two conjunctions of all the known planets, the moon's apogee and node in one line, forms the duration of a Yuga. The next indeterminate problem which presents itself to the Hindoo calculator is this:—The present position of the heavenly bodies being observed, what time has elapsed since the last great conjunction? The answer gives the position of the present moment in the Yuga; or, in other words, instructs him how many years he must antedate the commencement of the Yuga; which is found to be made to begin from February the 18th, in the year 1612, of the hypothetical Julian period.

But it is obvious that the accuracy of the results of such calculation, will depend upon the accuracy with which the values of P and p were assumed. If we use the more correct tables of European astronomers, we discover that the planets, &c. would not have been in conjunction at the date assigned by the Hindoos for the beginning of the Yuga. Supposing the sun on the given line at the given time, the error in

The Moon's place was.	3°	8'	48"—
Mercury's	32	38	59 +
Venus's	32	52	51 —
Mars's	12	13	37 +.

Jupiter's	16°	49'	21''	—
Saturn's	21	13	20	+ *

If we then inquire what are the errors of the Hindoo astronomers in their estimate of the annual motions of the planets, &c., and divide the errors at the supposed commencement of the Yuga by the annual errors, we obtain in each case the number of annual errors required to make up the whole error, or the period at which the Hindoo calculator made his observations, and formed his estimate. Now the mean results of this division give 3639 years, which bring us to 5251 of the Julian period, or A. D. 538! †

There still remains another source of confirmation to this remarkable conclusion.

If we assume that the planets were in conjunction at the beginning of the Yuga, and adopt the Hindoo estimate of their annual motions, and employ it to calculate the places of the planets at any other given time, such a calculation will produce erroneous results, unless the given time be assumed synchronous with that from which the Hindoo inventor formed his cycle; and the application of this principle again brings us to the same date, in the sixth century of the christian era.

To this period, therefore, belongs the system in which the astronomer, who composed it, placed himself and his contemporaries in the three thousand six hundred and thirty-ninth year from the commencement of the Kali Yuga, whilst he announced that the complete Kali Yuga would fill up 432,000 years; the Dwapar Yuga its double, or 864,000; the Treta its triple; and the whole of this cycle, or complete Kalpa, was to contain 4,320,000,000 years; all of which were supposed to be already passed, except the remainder of the Kali Yuga. At the same time, the chronology of Hindoo history, preserving its order, was exaggerated in all its parts; by assigning the events and the personages of the Dwapar and Treta Yugas of the former system, which extended respectively according to B. 627 and 361 years from 1528 B. C., to the corresponding portions of the new gigantic Dwapar and Treta Yugas, spreading over a period of 1,296,000 years. The defects of the rules for calculating the places of the planets would, however, become palpable to the eye of the Hindoo observer after the lapse of a century or two; when the errors were no longer confined to erroneously accredited accounts of past conjunctions of the heavenly bodies. Hence there arose a necessity for forming new systems. Such were the

* Bentley p. 87.

† Bentley p. 96.

Vasishta Siddhanta, ascribed by the Hindoos to the year 1,299,101 B. C.; and the Surya Siddhanta, ascribed in the year 3,027,101 B. C.

The first of these, from an observation recorded in it as made on Canopus, when in the beginning of Cancer, may safely be assigned to the tenth century of the christian era. The second, by a process similar to that employed in calculating the age of the earliest of the exaggerating systems, is fixed, with considerable precision, to the close of the eleventh century.

Thus far we follow Mr. Bentley, whilst he proceeds by steps which rest upon calculations easily verified, and conclusions not likely to be shaken. When he comes to suppositions, respecting the causes which led to these absurd claims to such monstrous antiquity, and as to the extent to which Hindoo mythology and literature have been tampered with by the frauds and forgeries of modern Brahmins, and the object of their interpolations, different readers will hold themselves entitled to form different opinions as to the plausibility of his speculations.

The following passage, however, contains an opinion, which, coming from such a quarter and on such a subject, will be read, we doubt not, with considerable interest:—

“The introduction of the modern system was doubtless intended as a blow on Christianity, which, at the time, was making some progress in *India*; for by making the Christians appear but as people of yesterday, in comparison to themselves, the natives would not only be less disposed to listen to them, but would look upon them with the same degree of contempt as the *Brahmins* did.

“But the grandest blow of all, which was levelled by the *Brahmins* against Christianity, and the *ne plus ultra* of their schemes, was the invention of the *Avatars*, or descents of the Deity, in various shapes, and under various names, particularly that of Krishna; for as the Christians acknowledged that Christ was an incarnation of the Deity, and that God the Father had sent him down on earth to show his special favour to them, and redeem them from sin; so the *Brahmins*, in return, invented not one, but several incarnations and descents of the Deity amongst them at various times; thereby, to make it appear by such frequent descents, that they exceeded the Christians and all other nations by far, in point of favour with the Deity.

“My attention was first drawn to this subject, by finding that a great many of the *Hindu* festivals marked in their calendar, had every appearance of being modern; for they agreed with the modern astronomy only, and not with the ancient.

“I observed also several passages in the *Gveta*, having a reference to the new order of things. I was therefore induced to make particular inquiries respecting the time of Krishna, who, I was satisfied, was not near so ancient as pretended. In these inquiries I was told

the usual story, that Krishna lived a great many ages ago; that he was contemporary with Yudhishthira; that Garga, the astronomer, was his priest; and that Garga was present at his birth, and determined the positions of the planets at that moment; which positions were still preserved in some books, to be found among the astronomers: besides which, there was mention made of his birth in the *Harivansa* and other *Purānas*. These I examined, but found they were insufficient to point out the time. I therefore directed my attention towards obtaining the *Janampatra* of Krishna, containing the positions of the planets at his birth, which, at length, I was fortunate enough to meet with.

“From which it appears that Krishna was born on the 23d day of the moon of *Srāvana*, in the Lunar Mansion *Rohinī*, at midnight; at which instant the moon, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn, were in their respective houses of exaltation; the moon in Taurus, Mars in Aries, Mercury in Virgo, and Saturn in Libra: that the sign Taurus was then rising; Jupiter in Pisces, the Sun in Leo, Venus and the moon's ascending node in Libra.

“The positions of the planets thus given us at the birth of Krishna, place the time of the fiction to the year A. D. 600, on the 7th of August, on which day, at noon, on the meridian of Paris, the following were their respective positions, as computed from European Tables:—

Sun in Leo,	4 ^s	16°	40'
Moon in Taurus,	1	18	32
Moon's node asc. in Libra,	6	11	17
Mercury in Virgo, geoc. long.	5	0	29
Venus in Libra, do.	6	1	24
Mars in Aries, do.	0	16	46
Jupiter in Taurus, do.	1	10	5
Saturn in Libra, do.	6	26	51

“Subtracting the sun's longitude, 4^s 16° 40', from the moon's, 1^s 18° 32', we get 9^s 1° 52', which being divided by 12, the difference in longitude between the sun and moon in a lunar day, we have 22 lunar days, 29 dandas, and 20', and therefore only 20 dandas 40 to the commencement of the next lunar day, or about 8^{hs} and 24 minutes, making the commencement of the 23 at 24^m past 8 in the evening. To this add difference of meridians, 4 hours, 54 minutes, makes at Ujein, 18^m past one in the morning, at which time the moon was a little past the middle of *Rohinī*.”

“The fabrication of the incarnation and birth of Krishna, was most undoubtedly meant to answer a particular purpose of the *Brahmins*, who probably were sorely vexed at the progress Christianity was making, and fearing, if not stopped in time, they would lose all their influence and emoluments. It is, therefore, not improbable but that they conceived, that by inventing the incarnation of a deity nearly similar in name to Christ, and making some parts of his history and precepts agree with those in the gospels used by the Eastern Chris-

tians, they would then be able to turn the tables on the Christians by representing to the common people, who might be disposed to turn Christians, that Christ and Krishna were but one and the same deity; and as a proof of it, that the Christians retained in their books some of the precepts of Krishna, but that they were wrong in the time they assigned to him; for that Krishna, or Christ, as the Christians called him, lived as far back as the time of Yudhishtira, and not at the time set forth by the Christians. Therefore, as Christ and Krishna were but one and the same deity, it would be ridiculous in them, being already of the true faith, to follow the imperfect doctrines of a set of outcasts, who had not only forgotten the religion of their forefathers, but the country from which they originally sprung.”—p. 109-112.

Leaving the Hindoo astronomy, we come to Mr. B's explanation of the *zodiacs* of Dendera, as they have been called; which he has degraded from their elevated title, and from a claim to antiquity carried much higher than the creation of man, to the humbler office of representations of the Roman calendar, and the unassuming date of the year of Rome 708. We shall conclude our review with Mr. B's unassuming account of this most interesting discovery. Before his work could pass through the press, he was removed to that state where human praise could no longer reach him; but it is no slight honour for a person, who evidently had not the advantage of a learned education, to have produced so singular, and, we believe, just an explanation of what had for some years attracted great attention amongst men of science in Europe, without their making any approach to the truth, as now developed by Mr. Bentley:—

“In consequence of the extraordinary high antiquity assigned by some of the French writers to those hieroglyphic sculptures called *zodiacs*, found in the temple of Dendera, or Tentyra, in Egypt, I was induced some years ago to examine them minutely, and found that, so far from their being *zodiacs*, as represented, or called, they were nothing more or less than the Roman calendar for the year 708 of Rome, translated into hieroglyphics. This circumstance gave me hopes that re-translating them would be useful in developing the Egyptian method of hieroglyphics, in representing things by their supposed images, particularly such articles as are generally inserted in calendars, which might ultimately lead to a more extensive knowledge of the subject.

“The circumstance which appears to have deceived the French writers into an idea of their being *zodiacs*, and of an antiquity of 15,000 years or more, is simply this. They found that they contained figures of the constellations, that is, outlines without stars; and that some of these figures were again repeated or represented at about the distance of six signs from the original ones of the same

name. The former figures they took for the constellations ; but the latter they assumed to be the signs, which, therefore, would require a space of time equal to 15,000 years to bring them into the positions they stand in at present.

"Thus they found that the constellation Aquarius, or the figure representing either it or the sign Aquarius, was in its proper place between Capricorn and Pisces. They found also another figure of it under Leo in the circular calendar, and another figure in a boat in the Calendar of the Portico, and from thence drew their conclusion of the extraordinary antiquity of these sculptured zodiacs as they conceived them to be.

"It is well known to astronomers, that the constellations appear to rise and set differently at different times of the year. Thus, when the sun is in the same part of the heavens with a zodiacal constellation, that constellation will then appear to rise or set with the sun ; and the time of such rising or setting would be recorded in the calendar, and all the risings or settings of the constellations with the sun, would follow each other in regular succession. But when the sun gets round to the opposite part of the heavens, then the same constellation would appear to rise at sunset, and to set at sunrise : the time of the year of such observation being inserted in the calendar, it will be found of course to differ about six months from the former. There are other risings and settings of the constellations which it is not necessary to mention, because their effect is to be considered in the same way. Now suppose this calendar is to be translated into hieroglyphics, with all the different risings or settings of the constellations sculptured on stone, according to the different times of the year at which they occurred, such translation would be made by putting the figure of the constellation in those very places where the name of the same is in writing ; consequently the figures of the same constellation would appear in different situations, and at six signs distant from the original. Thus the situation of Aquarius is between Capricorn and Pisces : but according to the Roman calendar, Aquarius sets on the 25th of July, about six signs distant from the situation of the original. Now this is the very figure given in the supposed Zodiac of Dendera, even with the very date attached to it, (see No. 56, in the Calendar of the Portico, Pl. vii ;) and all that was done in the translation into hieroglyphics, was to substitute the figure of the constellation in the room of the name, and attach the date to it ; which is represented by the figures 5. 5. 1. 1+8. 3. 1. 1=25th of July. There is another date which refers to the 13th of August, the time for which Aquarius is marked in the circular calendar as entirely setting, (see No. 50, Pl. viii.) He is there placed near the figure of Diana with her bow, whose day in the Roman calendar is the 13th of August, and accordingly so marked in the hieroglyphic circular calendar, by the figures 5 and 8=13. underneath, with another figure of Diana with the crescent on her head."

"Both the calendars, that is, of the portico, Pl. vii. and circular one of the interior of the temple, Pl. viii. begin with the date 708

(of Rome,) at the instant of midnight, and conjunction of the sun, and moon at Rome."

"The new and full moons and quarters are occasionally marked throughout that year by a variety of symbols denoting the moon."

"The day on which the sun enters the sign is sometimes marked by a figure of a man with a hawk's head, as a symbol of the sun; sometimes by a female figure, and sometimes by other figures intended to represent the sun."

"The festivals and agonalia (or sacrifices,) are generally marked by such figures as seem best to convey an idea of the thing intended; and the days of the month on which the same occur are always marked."

"The rising and setting of the constellations are simply marked by their figures, sometimes with dates, and sometimes not, the situation in most cases being sufficient to point out the time nearly, as well as the kind of rising or setting."

"The seasons are generally marked with the figures of Anubises, or figures of men or animals of any description, with dogs' heads or faces, or dogs' feet."

"In the Roman calendar the departure of the swallows is marked the 15th of September, and they continue to disappear for one month, or until the 15th of October. These circumstances are also marked in the circular calendar, plate viii. thus. On the 15th of September is the figure of a bird, No. 63, with expanded wings ready to depart; and in October, nearly under the figure No. 72, is that of a bird, No. 71, with one wing expanded; and just before it, the figure of a man sitting: the meaning of which, as will be hereafter shown, is, end, termination, cessation, pause, stop, &c. thereby indicating the last appearance of the swallows."—Appendix, p. 251-255.

ART. IX.—*The Original Greek of the New Testament Asserted and Vindicated: A Sermon Preached at Spalding, August 2, 1825, at the Triennial Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.* By Edward Maltby, D.D. F.R.S. F.S.A.; Preacher to the Learned and Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, and Vicar of Holbeach and Buckden. Cadell, 1825.

WERE the size of a book any criterion of its value, we certainly could not claim any great distinction for a single sermon of about twenty-four pages. We will not, indeed, be so splenetic as to maintain that in many modern publications the merit varies inversely as the magnitude of the work; but we will say that in these few pages so much learning and good sense are brought

to bear upon the subject, that they afford a most satisfactory refutation of the legitimate octavo, the *justum volumen*, to which they are meant as a reply.

That the author of the "*Palæoromaica*," was a man of learning and research it is impossible to deny; equally certain it is that he made that learning and research subservient to the establishment of a paradox more chimerical than any we recollect since the days of Harduin, and which we hardly conceive he would have ventured to broach, had not his retired habits withdrawn him from the society of scholars competent to discuss and refute it.

This is now so ably done in the sermon under our consideration, that, in preference to continuing our own observations, we shall permit Dr. Maltby to speak for himself:—

"After the Macedonian conquests, Syria became, as it were, naturalized to the language of the conqueror; and all the country encircling Palestine—every city to which the Jews were carried, or which they inhabited—spoke a dialect of Greece more or less pure, according as the country supplied the means of commerce or the advantages of education. That the Jewish settlers would adopt the language of the country where they resided, was only to be expected; and it is well known, that such was actually the case with those in Alexandria. Surely it cannot have been less the case in cities, more contiguous to the promised land.—Indeed, so far as we are enabled to procure accurate knowledge of the literature of those times; and of a people, about whom profane authors were neither well informed, nor solicitous to obtain information; the historical fact fully bears us out in asserting that, whatever knowledge of language was possessed by Jews, besides the dialects of Hebrew, was decidedly Greek, and Greek only;* nay, that the writers in Greek were more numerous, as well as distinguished, than those in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic.

"We may here first observe, that the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, containing very choice effusions of wisdom, and some

* "The following extract from Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, Rabbinicum*, p. 104, shows that there was a synagogue in Cæsarea, in which the service was performed in Greek. 'R. Levi ivit Cæsaream, audiensque eos legentes lectionem "audi Israel" (Deut. vi.) Hellenistice, voluit impedire ipsos. R. Jose id animadvertens irascebatur dicens, Qui non potest legere Hebraice, num omnino non leget?'

"I am indebted for the foregoing note, and for one in page 22, to that excellent theologian, my highly-esteemed friend, Bishop Marsh. The following extracts from the *Mischna* were pointed out by my learned friend and assistant, Mr. Raymond. 'Orto bello Titi, cautum de Coronis Sponsarum, et ne quis filium in *Græcanicis* erudiret.' Sota, ap. Surenhus. Tom. iii. p. 304. It may be worth while to observe, that the original word for *bello* in this citation is פולמוס, i. e. the Greek πόλεμος in Chaldee characters.

" 'Non est differentia inter libros, Tphillin ac Mesuasum, nisi quod libri scribi possunt in omni lingua, sed Tphillin et Mesusa non possunt scribi nisi Hebraice. Rabban Schimeon, filius Gamalielis, dicit, etiam de libris non permiserunt ut scriberentur nisi *Græce*.' Megilla, *ibid.* ii. p. 390."

interesting details of facts, were written in Greek, with the exception of Ecclesiasticus, and perhaps the first Book of Maccabees. We next appeal to the Greek version of all the ancient scriptures, made by Jews residing at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. A reasonable man would allow that this circumstance alone might explain why the writers of the New Testament, who did not write in Syro-Chaldaic, should adopt Greek in preference to every other language.

“Surely they would naturally, I might almost say necessarily, write in such terms as they were accustomed to hear in their intercourse with the natives and colonists of Greece; or to read in that version of the Old Testament, which was now become more intelligible to the majority of living Jews, than the language in which its books were originally consigned to writing. Hellenistic Greek, however, (or such Greek as was written with an infusion of the Oriental idiom,) was not only the language in which those, who did not use the Syro-Chaldaic, would more naturally express themselves; but it was the language and idiom consecrated to the service of religion.”—p. 11-13.

Dr. Maltby then proceeds to show that Greek literature was successfully cultivated among the Jews in the interval between the date of the writings which closed the old dispensation and those which ushered in the new:—that the Rabbis who were so fond of commenting upon the scriptures and their national antiquities, in their oriental language, after the time of our Saviour, have left no similar records, with the exception of the Targums, during this period; and that *still less is there proof of any one work having been written in Latin by any Jew*—that many Jewish writers during the same period, some under feigned names, and some under their own, attained a high degree of literary reputation for works composed in the Greek tongue—that Aristobulus, Aristæus, Cleodemus, Eupolemus, Hecataeus, were all Jews who assumed Greek names, as is shown by Valcknaer in his diatribe de Aristobulo, Jud. p. 24, that even tragedies were in good* iambic verse, by Ezechiel, a learned Jew, whom some place about a century before our Saviour, and others not till after the destruction of Jerusalem: the fragments of these are to be found in Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius. They are also, oddly enough, appended to the edition of Aristophanes in the Corpus Poetarum of Lectius, Colon. 1614. Dr. M. thus proceeds:—

“I have given the names of Jewish writers who successfully pursued the path of Grecian literature, and of whom, for the most part, fragments only remain to us. But what shall we say of Philo of Alexandria? a Jew certainly by birth and religion; whether he did or did not secretly espouse the cause of Christianity, in the latter part of his

* Not *over* good in the prologue to the Exagoge, which, however, is in a very corrupt state,

life, according to the hypothesis of a learned writer of the present day—of Philo? who has written in so exquisite a style, and so much in the manner of Plato, that it was said of him very elegantly, perhaps hyperbolically, ἡ Πλάτων φιλωνιζει, ἡ Φίλων πλατωνίζει.—*Either Plato writes in the style of Philo, or Philo in that of Plato.**

“What shall we say of Josephus, another Jew, whose supposed tendency to Christianity rests upon the same hypothesis? But whether that hypothesis be true or not, it affects not our present argument; which is, to show that Jews, whether born in Palestine or out of it, when they did not write in Hebrew, invariably wrote in Greek. There was a contemporary of Josephus also, Justus of Tiberias.† Did he write in Latin, or in any other language but Greek?”—p. 16-18.

Dr. M. then proceeds to examine some of the *reasons* by which the author of the “*Palæoromaïca*” defends his hypothesis of the Latin origin of our present New Testament. And, first, he uses very successfully the *argumentum ad hominem*, and shows from the very words of the author of the “*Palæoromaïca*,” that there was very little probability that the Greeks either would, or could, write in Latin, though there might be much greater that a Roman could write in Greek. He then proceeds:—

“But, secondly, this writer insists that it was peculiarly proper, and therefore probable, that St. Paul should have addressed his Epistle to the Romans in Latin.

“Not to repeat again my protest, as to any *a priori* reasoning in contradiction to the concurrent testimony and assent of ages, I would inquire upon what ground rests the assumption, that St. Paul understood the Latin language, at least so as to write it? For I cannot suppose that, with all his fondness for his favourite hypothesis, the writer of ‘*Palæoromaïca*’ will ever seriously maintain the genuineness of the well-known Apocryphal correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca. Setting that aside, we have no evidence of any kind to prove that St. Paul ever wrote in Latin.‡

* “‘V. Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. T. i. opp. p. 175. B. ed. Tribbechov. Frcf. 1684, fol. qui hanc vocem docet non ad sensuum tantum, verum etiam ad eloquii similitudinem esse referendam. Cf. Io. Alb. Fabric. Diss. de Platonismo Philonis Judæi, Lips. 1693, et in Opusculorum Sylloge, p. 147—160.’ For these references I am indebted to Sturz, in his valuable treatise, ‘De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina,’ which is reprinted in the improved edition of Stephens’s Thesaurus, Tom. i. p. clxvi.”

† “Notices of this author’s writings are far from scanty. See Diog. Lært. ii. 41.—Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 10.—Photii. Biblioth. xxxiii.—Steph. Byzant. v. Τιβερίας.—See moreover Saxii Onomast. T. i. p. 264.—Fabricii Biblioth. Gr. per Harles. T. v. p. 61. (where is an enumeration of various Jews who wrote in Greek.) Also, T. x. p. 691.

“The testimony of Josephus is decisive as to the language, in which his contemporary and rival wrote. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν, ἥ θαρρῶν ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν. T. ii. p. 5. Edit. Havercump. See also p. 31.”

‡ “The native language of St. Paul, who was born in a Greek colony, was certainly Greek. Being educated at Jerusalem he acquired a facility of speaking what was called Hebrew, though in reality Syro-Chaldee. Hence, when he addressed a Jerusalem audience, he addressed them τῇ Ἑβραϊδι διαλέκτῳ. (Act. xxi. 40.) The Roman

"Our author himself acknowledges, as we have already seen, that the Greeks, in general, among whom I include Hellenizing Jews, were averse to learning Latin; and, perhaps, succeeded very imperfectly in their attempts to master it. He states also more than once, that the Greeks were original writers, and by no means fond of the task of translation; but that the reverse was the case with the Romans. It is therefore not a little singular that, without a tittle of evidence to support the pretence of St. Paul writing in Latin, and in the teeth of his own repeated declaration, as to the taste and habit of the two nations, he should seek to dispossess the Greek Epistles of their character for originality, and make a Latin production, unknown to the contemporary age, and utterly lost to all succeeding ones, the prototype of what he is pleased to call our Vulgate Greek Testament.

"But further; why was it so peculiarly proper or necessary that St. Paul should employ the Latin language, and not Greek, when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans? To whom did he address himself? To Jews or Gentiles? To Hellenizing Jews I conceive; both as the first converts at Rome, and as a ready medium of communication between himself and the Gentile Christians. It will not fail to be observed that the names of those, whom he salutes in the close of his Epistle, are more generally Greek than Roman; and that the course of argument pursued in it is far more adapted to the feeling, knowledge, and prejudices of Jews than of Heathens. If, however, he addressed himself in any way to Hellenizing Jews, the Greek was the most natural and proper language for the Apostle to employ, as I have already sufficiently proved."—p. 22-24.

We may add, that those writings of the earliest fathers, which have any claim to authenticity, Clemens and Justin Martyr, though both bearing Roman names, and the former dated from Rome, are not in Latin, but Greek; and even should the genuineness of the epistle of Clemens be called in question, the argument will not be much, if at all weakened, unless it can be shown that it was originally written in Latin; for it is, unquestionably, of very high antiquity, and its appearing at all in Greek must at least show a desire to give it an air of authenticity, by conforming it to the language of the other scriptures.

We could farther observe, that the author of "*Palæoromaïca*," in his anxiety to prove that the original of our New Testament was written in Latin, (from the adaptation of certain Latin words and idioms,) proves too much; for on the same principle we

Chiliarch, who showed by the question, that he himself understood Greek, had previously asked, 'Ἑλληνιστὶ γινώσκεις; and St. Paul in his answer assigned the *reason* why he understood Greek, namely, that he came from Tarsus. St. Paul, therefore, could speak, as well Greek as Syro-Chaldee. He used the former, when writing to the inhabitants of Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi and other Greek cities; he used the latter, when writing to the Hebrews, or *Oriental* Jews. But we have no evidence that he ever wrote in Latin, as I have stated above."

could prove it to have been written in Syro-Chaldaic. The fact is, that St. Matthew, as a receiver of public taxes, must have known Greek, to be qualified for his office. St. Mark, who was sent by St. Peter to Alexandria, (of which place he was bishop,) was probably chosen to go among the Hellenizing Jews from the very circumstance of his understanding Greek, without which he could not have been qualified for his office. St. Luke, a native of Antioch, must necessarily have understood Greek. St. John, whose peculiar province was Asia, and who seems to have resided much at Ephesus, could not have been understood by the Greeks of that country in any other language than Greek. That St. Paul, at Tarsus, knew Greek we cannot doubt, and we have his own testimony to the fact, as Dr. Maltby very justly observes; and though he was able to speak in the Hebrew, that is the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, we have not the least ground for supposing that he could speak Latin. Of the knowledge which St. Peter and St. James might have of Greek, we have not such strong proofs; but we have none that they did *not* understand it, and any argument against their understanding that language, will apply with tenfold force against their knowledge of Latin. The name of Philip, one of the Apostles, was pure Greek; and though we cannot absolutely affirm that our Saviour spoke in Greek, when he alluded to the name of St. Peter, and said, “*Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,*” yet the probability seems in favour of this supposition, which would tend to show that the Greek language was familiar to the Jews even in conversation. Certain it is, that no *Latin* version now extant has *tu es saxum*, or *tu es rupes*, but *tu es Petrus et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*, and the use of the Greek word *petram*, in the Latin version, is a proof, on the very principles of the author of “*Palæoromaïca*,” that the original document was written in Greek. What shall we say then to the *Latin* word *Paracletus*?—a word so purely Greek, that, according to the same principles, it proves the document from which it is adopted to have been originally written in Greek. For if there had been an original Latin document in which the word was used, and which also had served for the basis of the present vulgate, we should have had that word restored,—at least, we should assuredly not have had *Paracletus*, but *adhortator*, *consolator*, or perhaps *advocatus*. We might pursue this train of reasoning to a greater extent; but we think enough has been said already on the subject to put the question beyond dispute.

The whole system teems with absurdities, and we will, therefore, take our leave of it in the words of its very learned and able opponent:—

"From what has been urged, I think it must appear, that this writer has called in question the title of our Greek original, upon very insufficient grounds.

"He has attempted to invalidate an opinion, which, after the fullest investigation, has received the sanction of ages: and, in aid of his attempt, has produced nothing seriously affecting the main question, but only suppositions and probabilities.

"I certainly cannot think that he has acted a part discreet towards himself, or kind towards others, in giving publicity to doubts, upon points long since admitted by the general consent of wise and good men. Such indulgence of an over-curious and restless spirit of research, may have a tendency to unsettle the minds of the young and inexperienced; and to furnish the scoffer with fresh topics of profane raillery or idle declamation."—pp. 30, 31.

The sermon is dedicated to the Bishop of Lincoln, at whose visitation it was preached, and at whose request, supported by that of his clergy, it is published. But we are happy to see, from the dedication, that "*it forms part of a series, designed to illustrate the original languages of scripture, particularly the Hellenistic Greek.*" A work on such a subject, from the pen of a scholar so eminent for learning, and so patient in research, must be hailed as a most valuable accession to the library of the theological student, and to those stores of sound biblical criticism, which always must tend "to establish the purity as well as genuineness of our sacred records;" we use the concluding words of Dr. Maltby's sermon, "on a still more solid and durable foundation."

ART. X.—*The Mission to Siam and Hué, the Capital of Cochin-China, in the years 1821-2. From the Journal of the late George Finlayson, Esq., Surgeon and Naturalist to the Mission, with a Memoir of the Author.* By Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. London. Murray. 1826. 8vo.

FEW portions of the globe present a wider field for new and instructive research, than the countries which lie between British India and the Chinese Sea. Placed either within, or upon the verge of the tropics, and containing extensive tracts of alluvial earth, which are merely the channels of vast streams poured from their mountains into the ocean, they possess a variety of soil, level, and temperature, hardly to be paralleled except in the tropical regions of South America; and even there it would be difficult to point out as large an area where the same peculiarities are so intimately combined. Nor is it to the naturalist only that this region presents an interesting subject of inquiry. The tribes,

by whom it is inhabited, form one or more branches of a variety of the human race, so distinct in feature, form, and character, from the rest of mankind, as for a moment to suggest the notion of their having sprung from a different stock. These nations are moreover far removed from the savage state; some of them, as the Chinese, for example, have for many ages possessed all the arts of civilized life: and all have embraced a singular combination of idolatry and mysticism, in some points approximating to certain forms of Christianity; in others, as widely departing from them all. A complete developement, therefore, of the productions of this tract, at present so little known, of the condition, character, and opinions, of its inhabitants, and of their civil and religious institutions, would fill up an important chasm in the circle of human knowledge, and furnish valuable materials for the speculations of the moralist as well as of the physiologist.

Every book, therefore, which gives any accurate information respecting this part of the world, deserves to be received, not only with gratitude, but with indulgence, as a solid accession to our knowledge, and the first effort to clear an unbeaten path. The work now before us has also a further claim on our forbearance in scanning its defects; as it is the unfinished production of a young and inexperienced writer, whose inquiries were checked by frequent attacks of illness, as well as by the jealousy of the natives among whom they were made. When it is added that he sunk an early victim of his zeal in the pursuit of science, criticism must be disarmed of all its severity, for it would be the height of injustice to dwell upon defects which the author's revisal would have removed. There are, however, scarcely any passages in the book which the reader would wish to expunge; and we are much indebted to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, under whose direction it appears, for having scrupulously preserved it in its original form: thus communicating to us the memorandums of an intelligent observer, with all the freshness and raciness of an immediate impression. To that excellent and distinguished person we are also indebted for a very pleasing and well-written memoir of the author, which is prefixed as an introduction to the book.

George Finlayson, he informs us, was a native of Thurso, near the north eastern extremity of the Highlands, and is one of the many instances of which Scotland may justly be proud, which prove "that knowledge and independence are within the reach of all" of her children, "who will labour for them, whatever be their condition or rank in life." (p. 22.) His parents moved in "a very humble sphere," but were "most respectable in their station;" (p. 9;) and Donald, one of their

elder sons, who had been recommended as a clerk to Dr. Somerville, superintendent of the medical department of the army in Scotland, conducted himself so much to his employer's satisfaction, that he was desired, when raised to a higher post, to name one of his brothers as his successor. "He said that George, whom he had taken great pains to educate, was, in every respect, a more able man than himself, and he therefore strongly recommended him." (p. 11.) The residence of Dr. Somerville at Edinburgh, enabled these deserving young men to pursue their academical studies at the same time that they were earning a subsistence by writing in his office; while the kindness of their patron, gave them an opportunity of gradually acquiring the habits and manners of a class in society above that in which they were born. In the account of the circumstances which thus raised these young men from obscurity, it is difficult to say which leaves the most pleasing impression on the mind, "the generous and disinterested friendship of the patron," or "the indefatigable exertions and upright conduct of the young men," by which they showed that his kindness had not been misplaced. In favour of the former, the fact already stated sufficiently speaks; and of both, Dr. Somerville says, (p. 21,) "I have seldom met with any young men more strongly impressed with the sense of rectitude; their conduct was in every case regulated by a feeling of duty and a desire to be useful to all around them." But neither was "doomed to lengthen out his days in peace!" Donald, the eldest, disappeared on the march of the British troops from Waterloo to Paris, and was probably cut off by some of the stragglers from the retreating army; and the friends of George, who also was then a surgeon in the army, obtained an appointment for him in the medical staff in Ceylon, that he might be withdrawn "from the scene of his sorrows;" for he was inconsolable for the loss of his brother, whose fate he had endeavoured without success to ascertain. In Ceylon, where he appears to have resided two years, he was unwearied in his "pursuit of botany, and other branches of natural history;" from thence he was sent in the summer of 1819, to join the 8th dragoons at Merut, having been appointed assistant-surgeon of that regiment; and on its returning to Europe in 1821, "he was detained for the purpose of attending the mission to Siam and Cochin-China, as medical officer and naturalist." (p. 14.) His health, which does not appear to have suffered previously, was soon impaired by his exertions in the course of that service. He returned in an alarming state to Bengal, and increasing symptoms of consumption rendered it absolutely necessary for him to return home. He therefore quitted India, but expired on his passage to England,

The date neither of his birth nor of his death is given, so that we are left to conjecture his age, but it could hardly be much under, or much above, thirty years, at the time of his decease in 1823. To his talents and acquirements his journal bears a very honourable testimony; and it would, to use his friend and *patron's words*, (p. 22,) "be superfluous to add how much he was esteemed, and how much his premature death has been regretted" by all who knew him.

The mission, to which Mr. Finlayson was attached, embarked at Calcutta, on the 21st of November, 1821, and on the 6th of December, came in sight of the coast of the eastern peninsula; having passed at a considerable distance, Narcondan, a solitary volcanic peak, rising, as far as they could judge, two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea. This leads the author to make some geological remarks, and we shall here give a summary of his observations on that subject. The eastern side of the vast bay formed by the two Indian peninsulas, is distinguished by a bulwark of island, spread along its shores, while on the opposite side there is scarcely a rock visible above the water's edge. The bold and elevated ridge in the centre, with the abrupt and rugged surface of the flanks of these islands, afford ample evidence of their primitive structure, and the forests of lofty trees which clothe their flanks, show that the soil which covers them is, in that climate, at least, not unfavourable to vegetation. The conjecture as to the nature of these rocks, derived from their outline, was confirmed on a nearer examination; they are composed of a coarse-grained grey, or reddish granite, the strata of which have an inclination from north-east to south-west. Primitive rocks are also found on the opposite side of the Bay of Siam, (p. 275,) but the quartz-rock and granular limestone are superincumbent on the horizontal surface of the granite. A little further down on that side there is a chain of mountains running north and south, the name of which, Sam-rayot, or the three hundred peaks, is expressive of its broken outline; and it is worthy of remark, that the declivity is more abrupt to the east than to the west. (p. 281.) In Pulo Condore, the rocks are composed of granite and sienite, both of extreme hardness; and the mountains on the main land which separate Camboja and Laos from Siam, are formed of the same materials, though differently aggregated and more brittle; and small veins of rich iron ore were there observed in both kinds of rock. (p. 295.) The abrupt, acuminate, and ridgy forms, sterile summits, and steep flanks of the internal chain, which runs parallel with the coast, through the whole distance from Cape St. James to the Bay of Turon, leave little room to doubt that the greater part of these mountains are granitic: but

about the middle of the chain less elevated and more rounded summits, as well as more appearance of fertility on their sides, indicate a change in their structure. Of the alluvial soil, formed by the great rivers, little is said; but the gradual descent of the mountains, and change in their component parts towards the termination of the Malayan peninsula was observed on approaching Malacca. Near Pulo Dinding, the great continental chain diminishes in altitude, and presents an undulating outline, such as is common in hills formed of sandstone or clayslate. Near Malacca, the substratum is generally a compact, nodular, iron-shot clay, which hardens on exposure to the atmosphere; and the change of structure becomes more striking as one advances southward. Hornstone, or flinty slate, replaces the clay just mentioned, and forms an angle of nearly 40° with the horizon dipping towards the east. This is intimately associated with porphyritic and splintery hornstone, so that they often pass into each other. In the former of these, granular limestone is often found imbedded. The masses of these rocks are of great thickness. (pp. 37. 44.) Of the geology of the islands of Singapore, it was the author's intention to speak "on another occasion;" (p. 77;) probably in a subsequent part of his work; which he unhappily did not live to prepare for the press.

Botany appears to have been Mr. Finlayson's favourite subject: and there are many valuable remarks on the vegetation of the countries which he visited, but the reader is often disappointed by reference to a botanical catalogue, which was either never drawn up, or left in too imperfect a state for publication. The most copious, and perhaps the most valuable, part of his observations, is that which relates to Pulo Penang and Singapore. He had on his first visit to those islands, health and opportunity to examine their physical treasures, and we should gladly dwell upon that part of his journal, if the limits which we must prescribe to ourselves did not restrict us to an abstract of what was more peculiarly the field proposed for his inquiries. The reader must therefore be referred to the book itself for a rapid, but very animated, sketch of the British settlements on the coast of Malacca, and the motley population of which those communities are composed.

Pulo Ubi, in $8^{\circ} 25'$ north, and $104^{\circ} 50'$ east, which the Mission reached on the 11th of March, 1822, was the first spot which afforded an opportunity of examining the eastern side of the Gulf of Siam. The change of vegetation was peculiarly striking, and can only be ascribed, as the author thinks, to a deficiency of soil and moisture. Low, scanty brushwood was here seen in the place of the lofty forests on the western shores; stunted

Erytherinas and Caryotas (mitis of Loureiro,) were among the loftiest trees, but abundance of wild plantains, (*musa sapientum*,) made some amends for the want of a richer harvest, by determining a very doubtful question among botanists—the origin of the cultivated varieties of that plant. It appears that they are not all derived, as Willdenow supposed, from the *Musa troglodytum*, for the leathery, pulpless sheathes of these indigenous plantains, “enclosed numerous series of large black seeds, attached to a pithy central stem, and immersed in a gummy substance.” (p. 86.) The island, as its name (Yam island) implies, abounds in yams; the tuberosities on the stems of which, are considered as a valuable medicine by the Chinese. The *Caryota mitis*, the only palm of Pulo Ubi well described by Loureiro (in the *Flora Cochinchinensis*,) is totally different from the *Urens*. The *Scævola* is also as common here as on the opposite coast. These trees were inhabited by pigeons of a large and beautiful species; their body being of a snow white, and their wings and tail tipped with black. Specimens of these birds were obtained in some of the neighbouring islands. The group to which Pulo Ubi belongs, appears to be formed by the summits of a range of mountains, in structure both of the primitive and secondary kind; their direction is from north to south, and their breadth considerable; but the neighbouring continent is here a flat and extensive tract of alluvial land, while many of the islands rise one thousand feet above the level of the sea. In the islands higher up in the gulf, the genuine intertropical forests are again seen (p. 91) springing from beds of potstone and claystone. At Fee, or Paw-kok, the southern extremity of which is in $9^{\circ} 58'$ north, and $104^{\circ} 14'$ east, many *Asteria*, *Medusæ*, Sea urchins and coral, were found. The soil of the island is rich, but it is inhabited only by a few wretched Chinese and Cochin-Chinese, who frequent it for the sake of the trepang, or holothuria, so much esteemed by their countrymen. The Haya of Mr. Brown, (see his paper on the *Asclepiadææ*,) and the *Casuarina equisetifolia* abound here; the latter is constantly dioecious: a fact not previously well established. It was on a small island, off the southern extremity of Fu-kok, on which they landed on the 15th of March, that a long exposure to the sun brought on an attack of fever, and laid the foundation of the illness by which the author was hurried to an untimely grave.

The result of his observations on the animal kingdom is thus briefly summed up, (p. 260.) “In speaking of the peninsula of Malacca, I have said, that its unfrequented forests seemed to contain zoological treasures yet unknown to us. A similar remark is no less applicable to the kingdom of Siam generally.

Restricted as we were from researches of this nature, we have discovered animals in the classes Mammalia, Aves, and Reptilia, which are either imperfectly, or altogether unknown to the European world." He then mentions the white elephant, a white monkey, and a white porpoise, which were all albinos; as well as buffalos and deer of that singular variety: the former is common in the Malayan Archipelago.

On the 21st of March, 1822, the vessel which conveyed the Mission cast anchor in the harbour of Siam, and on the 25th they crossed the bar, after lying some hours on a bank of mud. A native calling himself a Portuguese, but having the characteristic features of the Siamese, was on the following day sent on board as interpreter; he spoke Portuguese fluently, and English very imperfectly. The chief of Packnam, the village near which the ship was stationed, gave a dinner to the members of the Mission, and on the 28th, an order for the ship to proceed without any restriction to Bangkok, was received. On the morning of the 29th, they cast anchor nearly opposite to the middle of that town.

The river, as they approached the city, was all life and bustle. "The market hour was approaching: here one or more of the priests of Buddha were guiding their little canoe on its diurnal eleemosynary excursion. There an old woman hawked betel, plantains, and pumpkins. Here you saw canoes laden with cocoa-nuts,—there groups of natives were proceeding from house to house, on their various occupations. But the most singular feature in the busy scene was the appearance of the houses, floating on the water in rows about eight, ten, or more, in depth, from the bank. This novel appearance was peculiarly neat and striking. The houses were built of boards, of a neat oblong form, and towards the river provided with a covered platform, on which were displayed numerous articles of merchandise; fruit, rice, meat, &c. This was, in fact, a floating bazaar, in which all the various products of China, and of the country, were exposed for sale. At either end the houses were bound to long bamboos driven into the river. They are thus enabled to move from place to place according as convenience may demand. Every house is furnished with a small canoe, in which they visit, and go from place to place to transact business. Almost all those collected in this quarter, seem to be occupied by merchants, many of them very petty, no doubt, and by tradespeople, as shoemakers, tailors, &c. The latter occupations are followed almost exclusively by the Chinese. The houses are in general very small, consisting of a principal centre room, and one or two small ones, the centre being open in front, for the display of their wares.

The houses are from twenty to thirty feet in length, and about half that space in breadth. They consist of a single stage; the floor raised above the water about a foot, and the roof thatched with palm-leaves. At low water, when the stream is rapid, there appears to be but little business done in these shops. Their proprietors are then to be seen lolling or sleeping in front of their warehouses, or otherwise enjoying themselves at their ease. At all hours of the day, however, many boats are passing and repassing. They are so light and sharp in their form, that they mount rapidly against the stream. They are rowed with paddles, of which the long canoes have often eight or ten on each side. The number of Chinese appears to be very considerable; they display the same activity and industry here that they do wherever they are to be found. Their boats are generally larger and rowed by longer paddles. They have a sort of cabin made of basket-work, in the centre, which serves to contain their effects, and answers the purpose of a house. Many of them carry pieces of fresh pork up and down the river for sale.

“The river at Bankok is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, without including the space occupied on each side, by floating houses. It carries down a large body of water, and contains a large proportion of soft mud; its depth, even close to the bank, generally varies from six to ten fathoms, whilst its rapidity is about three miles an hour. As far as we could yet judge, not having been on shore, we suspected that by far the greater part of the population lived on the water, in floating houses, movable from place to place. The inconveniences of a city built in this manner must be numerous. The houses are small, the accommodations trifling, and the occupants must be ever on their guard against accidents. A trifling population must in this way occupy a vast extent of ground. You look in vain for any thing better than a small low hut, of one stage only in height. These little houses or huts, it is true, are generally handsome and neat, but they make on the whole a paltry, though, to us, a novel appearance. Their form is chiefly Chinese, as is also that of their temples.”—(p. 114-117.)

On the 8th of April, an audience was granted to Mr. Crawford, as agent of the governor-general, and on that occasion, the author, who accompanied him, had more opportunity of observing the town of Bankok, (p. 134.) The place at which they landed, though within a few paces of the outermost wall of the palace, was so dirty and incumbered with blocks of wood and canoes, that it might have been taken for a merchant's timber yard. The gates and walls of the royal residence, though lofty, were mean-looking, and not remarkable for compactness or thickness.

Though the Mission was detained at Bangkok upwards of six weeks after the audience, and the members of it were not then under any direct restraint, Mr. Finlayson could give very little account of its environs, as he was confined to the house during the greater part of the time, by an attack on the lungs, the consequence of the fever brought on in Pulo Ubi, and the forerunner of the consumption, which, in about fifteen months from that period, closed his meritorious life.

Bangkok, though not the capital till 1770, under the Chinese king Pi-ya-tak, was a populous town at least a century before, as may be seen by the draught of the river Mé-nam in Valenty's "*Beschryving van Post Indien*," (vol. iii.) It has been adorned since it became the royal residence with many palaces and temples; the buildings on which the greatest labour and expense are bestowed. The walls of the palace have here and there some indifferent looking bastions and numerous gates; it also contains the houses of several of the ministers as well as that of the king's waste ground, fruit gardens, and swamps occupy most of the remaining space included within the walls, and the dwellings of the attendants on the court, are wretched huts of palm-leaves. The city extends three or four miles on each bank of the river, but principally on the left side. There are scarcely any buildings of brick or mud, except the palace and the temples. Fires are of course frequent, but considered as accidents of little moment; such is the ease with which these slight sheds are replaced. The houses rarely extend two hundred yards from the river, and are all built on piles driven into the mud, being raised some feet above the soil, as a security during the inundations. The streets are passable on foot only in dry weather; every house therefore has its boat, and the arms of both men and women show that they are practised rowers. The houses are all uniform, and there is nothing ornamental in any of the public buildings except the spires, which here and there serve to enliven the view. The palaces are small, and covered "with a diminishing series of three or four tiled roofs, sometimes terminated by a small spire," being a mean imitation of the Chinese style of architecture. The temples are placed in elevated and favourable situations, surrounded by brick walls or bamboo hedges, and accompanied by straight rows of buildings. Tawdry ornaments, such as scraps of looking-glass and China bowls, with profusion of gilding, adorn the outside of each end of the lofty hall, which forms the principal temple. Within side, the extravagant fables of the Hindoos are rendered still more extravagant by the absurdity of the Siamese painters, of whose performances we have here rather contradictory accounts,

(pp. 217, 218.) Obscenities, never tolerated in the Buddhist temples in Ceylon, are exhibited in these daubs, and the images of the god are often disfigured by being covered with dirty rags, the memorials of their votaries' devotion, just as shreds and tatters are tied to the shrubs near the tomb of a Mussulman saint. Wāāt-thay-cham-ponn, one of the largest of these sacred enclosures, is described by Mr. Finlayson, (p. 219,) but the passage is too long to be transcribed. The neatest and most populous parts of the town are the floating bazaars, inhabited by the Chinese, who appear to form three-fourths of the whole population. They are not only the principal merchants, but the only artificers of the place. Their tin vessels, bright and well shaped; their leather curried, tanned, and dyed red, for covering cushions and mattresses; their cast-iron pots, made by a simple process and sold for almost nothing, are the goods most largely manufactured at Bankok, and the principal sources of emolument to these industrious emigrants. Pork and oil are their luxuries, while rice and balanchang are the diet of the Siamese. The latter is "a strange compound of things savoury and loathsome." (p. 215.)

The make and features of the Siamese, according to Mr. Finlayson, (p. 224,) clearly show that they belong to the Mongol race, to which he refers all the ultra-Gangetic tribes, including the Malays; though the latter are, for the most part, a mixed race, and have the least of the Mongol peculiarities of any of this extensive family. In stature the Siamese have no advantage over their neighbours;—their average height is five feet three inches. They are of a pale tawny hue, not black, and by the use of a yellow wash, their bodies often acquire a golden tint. All have a tendency to grow fat, and their muscularity is more apparent than real. Broad and flat faces; high and prominent, but rounded cheek bones; small, linear eyes; round diminutive noses; broad chins, wide mouths, and thick lips, with straggling beards, cylindrical heads, a flattened crown, and coarse lank hair are the leading characteristics of this race, most strikingly exemplified in the Tartars and Chinese, less obvious in the ultra-Gangetic tribes, and least of all in the Malays. "They have the frame, but not the energy of London porters;" and "the greater number of them are more distinguished for mechanical skill than for brightness of imagination, or mental capacity." (p. 230.) In appearance they are disgusting; hair cropped close, except a small tuft on the forehead combed back, black teeth, and lips dyed red with betel, are the grand characteristics of a Siamese dandy.

Like most of the followers of Buddha they usually burn the bodies of the dead: infants and pregnant women are, however,

buried, at least for a time. The consigning their bodies for food to birds and beasts of prey, is probably an act of charity according to the moral code of Buddha; for in many cases, the corpse is stripped of almost all its flesh, before it is committed to the flames; and the throng of dogs and vultures round the funeral piles, clearly indicates that something more savoury than ashes is to be found there. The body is often embalmed by a clumsy and offensive process, before it is laid on the pile, and after it has been burnt, the ashes are made into a paste with water, and moulded into a figure of Buddha, which is religiously preserved as a relique of the deceased.

Superstition of every kind prevails; especially the belief in astrology and necromancy. Solidified mercury is supposed to enable its possessor to transport himself instantly wherever he will; and a trunk of clay, fitted to the head, hands, and feet of a foetus, has the credit of revealing past, present, and future to its master.

Adultery is punished by a fine of from two to six catties of silver, (25*l.* to 75*l.*) according to the rank of the parties. Thieves are obliged to restore the stolen goods, and are also imprisoned for various periods, deriving subsistence during their confinement solely from alms;—these are freely given, as charity is a virtue strongly inculcated by Buddha, and much practised by the Siamese.

The government of Siam is a most absolute despotism; the religion is Buddhism, imported, according to the general belief of the priests, from Lankā, *i. e.* Ceylon: and like the doctrine of the Brahmans, whence it is derived, it inculcates the most abject subjection to the throne, but has not, like its parent, raised the sacerdotal above the royal order, so as to provide some check upon the excesses of the despot. Hence arises the wretched and debased condition of the people wherever this faith predominates; and no where are the mischiefs arising from it more manifest than in the kingdom of which we are speaking. This was especially impressed on the minds of our countrymen at the royal and ministerial audiences.

The Mission, which was evidently viewed with some degree of distrust, and treated very cavalierly, as coming only from a provincial governor, was notwithstanding admitted into the royal presence without being required to perform any humiliating act of obeisance: but the case was widely different with the subjects of his Siamese majesty. “The curtain placed before the throne was drawn aside,” says Mr. Finlayson, (p. 144,) “as we entered. The whole multitude present lay prostrate on the earth, their mouths almost touching the ground; not a body or

limb was observed to move, not an eye was directed towards us, not a whisper agitated the solemn and still air. It was the attitude, the silence, the solemnity of a multitude simultaneously addressing the great God of the universe, rather than the homage of even an enslaved people."—A similar homage is exacted by every great man from his household. In the presence of the Suri Wongmontrel, or prime minister, the attendants were prostrated at a distance, and when addressed, just raised their heads, and touching their foreheads with their hands in a supplicating attitude, whispered an answer in the most abject tone. When refreshments were brought, they dragged their bodies on the ground, "supported on the elbows and toes," and pushed the dishes on before them. Well might the author indignantly exclaim, (p. 126,) "How abominable! how revolting!"

It is very obvious that the substance of such crouching slaves must be at the beck of their master; yet there is scarcely the appearance of decency, much less any magnificence about the court of Siam. The hall of audience was a plain-looking building, at the entrance of which was placed a Chinese screen, ornamented with small plates of looking-glass, and concealing all the interior of the apartment. On passing round the screen, the gentlemen of the Mission "found themselves suddenly and rather unexpectedly in the presence of majesty." The hall was sixty or eighty feet long, and proportionately broad, lofty, and well aired. Various coloured wreaths and festoons were painted on the walls, the twenty pillars which supported the roof were covered with spiral bands of red and green; paltry mirrors, glass lustres, wall shades, and lanterns, not much better than our stable furniture, adorned the upper part of the chamber, while the floor was covered with carpets of different colours. At the further extremity of the room, a cloth curtain, covered with tinsel or gold leaf, concealed the throne. On each side of the curtain, there were five or six ornamental tablets, called *chatt*, consisting of a cone formed of small round tables, adorned with rich fringes, and suspended over each other. Except for about twenty feet square before the throne, the room was crowded with persons of all ranks, each stationed in his appointed place, but none splendidly drest. In a niche, twelve feet above the floor, was placed the throne, projecting a few feet from the wall. On it the king was seated, nearly in the attitude and with almost as little appearance of animation as a statue of Buddha. A close jacket of gold tissue, and something like a sceptre in his right hand, were the only indications of royalty. The throne was hung round with drapery like the curtain before it, and at the back there were two of the conical gold-fringed tablets mentioned above.

Attendants concealed by the curtain stood at the foot of the throne waving large and elegant fans.

In person the king "was remarkably stout, but not bloated or unwieldy. He appeared to be about sixty-five years of age." His questions were uttered with a firm, but not a loud voice, and repeated, first aloud by a person behind the curtain near the throne, and afterwards in whispers from one to another, till they reached the interpreter, who was prostrated close to Mr. Crawford, and communicated then in so low a tone as to be inaudible to a person just behind him. Betel served in silver vessels and gold cups, terminated the ceremony. As soon as the king rose and turned round to depart, the curtain was drawn in front of the throne, the company raised a loud shout, and, falling on their knees, made numerous salutations, touching the ground with their forehead alternately with both hands joined. The princes and ministers then placed themselves in a sitting posture, and the gentlemen of the Mission were allowed to retire without further ceremony.—(pp. 137. 149.)

There was no appearance of magnificence; no display of jewels, or even of the precious metals: every thing, in short, betrayed the poverty of the state, notwithstanding its abundant natural resources. Its revenue is drawn principally from a land-tax paid in kind; and also from licenses for fisheries and distilleries; every lucrative branch of commerce is likewise a royal monopoly. It is thus that the country is exhausted, and the total amount of the sums levied, of which no estimate has been here attempted, would, if ascertained, be doubtless very trifling when compared with the revenue of Hindostan or China. As Siam was the principal object of the Mission, and has been closed to Europeans for upwards of a century, a larger abstract has been given of what relates to it, than our limits, perhaps, would justify. We must, therefore, refer the reader to the book itself for some short, but useful, remarks on the religion, learning, and commerce of that country. The account also of Chantebond, though derived from the report of the natives, and not from personal observation, is deserving of notice; as that province, which long formed a part of Camboja,* is the richest part of the Siamese territory. It is necessary, also, to add a few words as to the issue of the Mission; after the audience was over, the agent of the governor-general had some interviews with the Pra-klang, or prime minister, and at first received assurances that the duties

* It appears, however, in Valentyn's enumeration, (*Beschr. van Post Indien*, iii. 59,) and in De Choisy's "*Voyage de Siam*," p. 5. It is written *San te Bon* in Mr. Crawford's map.

should be lowered two per cent. in favour of British merchants; but this promise was subsequently retracted, except on an inadmissible condition. At length, on the 12th of June, after many vexatious delays, letters were brought in Siamese, with a Portuguese translation, addressed to the secretary of government at Calcutta, by some of the inferior officers under Pra-klang, and intimating simply that British vessels might dispose of their cargoes at Bangkok, on paying the usual duties and submitting to the established regulations. (p. 206-208.) Mr. Finlayson, of course, knew only imperfectly what was the result of the negotiations; but it seems to be admitted that they were on the whole unsuccessful; as no treaty was concluded, nor any encouragement held out which could induce British merchants to risk the chance of making an unprofitable adventure, such as must be expected under a similar government, where the trader has not been previously secured by some specific stipulations.

Prince Chroma-chit, the favourite son of the king, and destined, as was believed, though illegitimate, to be his successor, was the only member of the royal family whom Mr. Crawford had an opportunity of seeing. He had the reputation of possessing considerable talents, and was, in effect, already the virtual sovereign, as all public measures were submitted to him, before they were referred to the king for his final approbation. The conversation of this prince "would lead us to infer," says Mr. Finlayson, (p. 197,) "that he is a man of more curiosity than talent, though in respect to the latter, he did not appear to be particularly defective." It seems to be a fortunate circumstance, that the curiosity of this prince prompted him to hold some intercourse with the gentlemen of the Mission; for the report of his chance of succeeding to the throne, soon proved to be well founded. On the 20th of July, 1824, his father died, after a few days' illness, having reigned for more than forty years—a period almost unexampled in the annals of Asiatic monarchies. Chroma-chit ascended the throne, without opposition, on the following day; and one of the first acts of his government, is said to have been the removal of the restrictions by which his subjects were in a manner cut off from foreign commerce. Just before the late king's demise, Captain Lowe, aide-de-camp to the governor of Penang, and author of a "Siamese Grammar," (laid before the Asiatic Society in 1822,) was, according to a Calcutta Gazette, ordered to proceed on a mission to the court of Siam, disembarking at Kedah, and to cross the Malayan peninsula; thus taking a route which would save much time and distance, and carry him over a tract untrodden by Europeans; but no account of his mission seems yet to have reached this country.

On the 18th of July, 1822, the ship conveying the Mission passed Packnam; and on the 24th, crossed the bar, notwithstanding the south-west monsoon was blowing directly in upon the mouth of the river. On the 4th of August, they cast anchor in a bay formed by the Se-chang, or Dutch islands, opposite to the entrance, in order to complete the ship's water, take in ballast, and prepare for sea. Coarse-grained granite forms the substratum, quartz-rock, and granular limestone, the superincumbent mass of these islands, which have little level ground, and few trees of any height or size. The plants observed, belonged principally to the natural families of the Apocynæ, Euphorbiæ, Aroidiæ, Tricoccæ, Caprifoliæ, and Sarmenacea. Among the latter were yams, and many genera closely allied to them, in great abundance; the most singular of which was a creeper, bearing an affinity both to Dioscorea, and to Manispermum, and hanging by its slender stems in festoons from tree to tree, but forming tuberous roots of a very extraordinary size, one of which weighed 474 lbs, and measured $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference; and others, still larger, were not uncommon. (p. 272.) These islands also furnished several new species of quadrupeds and birds; for a notice of which, the reader must be referred to the book itself, and to the author's collections now deposited in the East India Company's museum; where they are, to use the words of Sir T. S. Raffles, (Pref. viii,) laid open, by the liberal arrangements of the court of directors, to the inspection of all who are interested in these subjects, and who, we may add, will receive, from the kindness and intelligence of Dr. Horsfield, to whose care the museum is intrusted, every aid in the prosecution of their inquiries.

From Se-chang, the principal island in this group, which is in $13^{\circ} 12'$ north, and 155° east, the ship conveying the Mission stood over, on the 14th of August, to the other side of the gulf; which, as in the Bay of Bengal, is distinguished from that opposite to it, by the absence of islands near the shore. On the 17th, having again stood to the eastward, they got into the regular south-west monsoon; and on the 19th landed on Púlópanjang, (long island,) where they found some palms, of which there are none in the Sechang group, and a "terrestrial" Scolopendrium, the most remarkable production of the island, which has no secure port, and is ill supplied with water. On the 22d, they cast anchor in a spacious and beautiful bay, Púló Kóndór, (Heron island,) another mass of granite and sienite, and, like its neighbours, singularly destitute of grasses, (gramineæ;) a very unusual phenomenon in intertropical vegetation, owing, as Mr. Finlayson thinks, (p. 280,) to the hardness of the rock whence the soil is formed. The *Barringtonia speciosa* decorated the shore with its

splendid blossoms, and a Cochin-Chinese colony received the strangers with as much urbanity and disinterestedness, as was shown, by the inhabitants of the Leúcheú islands, to the officers of the *Alceste* and *Lyra*. Cape St. James, at the mouth of the Mé-káng, or Don-nai was passed on the 23d, and the powerful current which it occasions, did not escape the notice of Mr. Crawford's party. On the following evening they reached the village of Kandyer, (the Canjeo of White, p. 35,) between forty and fifty miles below Sai-gon. After waiting there four days for leave to visit it, they set out in three large and highly ornamented barges sent down for their accommodation, and reached that city in fifteen hours, much gratified by the order and decency every where observable. The governor gave them a polite and hospitable reception, and they had the satisfaction of meeting the French naturalist, M. Diard, a lively and well-educated man, of the medical profession, of great enterprise and acuteness, and admirably qualified for the arduous pursuit in which he is engaged. (p. 308.) The hospitality and politeness of the Chinese established in this town struck them as placing that people, with respect to civilisation, far above the other Asiatic nations. "We were absolute strangers," says Mr. Finlayson, (p. 315,) "who had come to pass a few hours only in the town; yet, in almost every street, we were invited by the more wealthy Chinese, to enter their houses and partake of refreshments."

Saigon and Bingeh, which are only a mile or two asunder, are each of them as large as the capital of Siam. Adjoining to the latter, there is a fortress regularly constructed according to the European system of fortification; but it was then unfinished, and had no guns mounted on the ramparts. No cultivation was observed on the banks of the river, till within a few miles of the city; nor was the number of boats and vessels such as indicated a large and wealthy population. This, however, was ascribed to the lateness of the season. The extent of Bingeh astonished them; they had already travelled through it for several miles, and were still far from its opposite extremity. Spacious, well-aired streets, neatly finished houses in straight lines, a well dressed, orderly, round-faced, cheerful populace, well furnished bazaars—abundance of luxuries—such as pork, alligators, dead dogs, and rotten eggs—together with fish, flesh, fowls, and fruits, more palatable to an European appetite, all reminded them of China, and formed a striking contrast to the filth, and misery, and degradation of Siam. A better reception, good lodgings, handsome entertainments, polite attentions, and a civil surveillance, also raised flattering hopes, which unhappily were soon to be blighted: for though their progress was not impeded, and the governor

of Turon, which they reached on the 15th of September, was equally civil, yet the request or injunction, that only ten of the party should proceed to Hué, the capital, unaccompanied by any of their sepoys, augured ill of the intentions of the court ;—and it subsequently appeared, that as the envoy came only from a viceroy, neither he nor his presents were deemed worthy of being personally noticed by his Annamitic majesty. Gifts, however, were ordered to be sent to the governor-general in return, and when Mr. Crawford refused to receive them, his conduct not only created surprise, but occasioned a manifest change of system. The few commercial privileges before granted were retracted, and much less attention was paid to the comforts and convenience of the Mission than before. They arrived at Hué, by water, on the 26th of September, and left it on the 17th of October : travelling partly by water, and partly over the mountains in hammocks of cotton network, which the author, it does not appear why, dignifies with the name of palanquins. On the 19th, they again reached the Bay of Turon, and embarked in order to return ; and, on that day, Mr. Finlayson's journal terminates. He was probably prevented by illness from continuing it longer ; for it appears, that on the way back to Turon, he was unable to leave his palanquin. (p. 409.)

Having thus briefly sketched the route of the Mission and its results, as far as they can be gathered from Mr. Finlayson's account, it remains for us to subjoin such an abstract of his observations on the country and people, as will give some notion of what his book contains, without carrying us beyond the bounds which reason prescribes.

The mountains which traverse Cochin-China, from north to south, are probably all primitive. Near Cape St. James, nothing but granite and sienite were found, and both were seamed with small veins of a rich iron ore ; neither were stratified. (p. 295.) An apparent change in their structure, towards the middle of the chain, has been already noticed. The soil in the lower districts appears to be very productive, and even the mountains, though little susceptible of culture, present a great luxuriance of vegetation. (p. 411.)

The scenery in Cochin-China does not appear to be so rich as in the islands of the Indian Archipelago.. “The Bay of Turon,” says Mr. Finlayson, (p. 329,) “fell short of our expectations. We had, in fact, passed beyond that favoured belt of the equatorial region, on which nature has so lavishly bestowed her richest and most striking beauties. A soil more than usually barren, supported more stunted forms of arborescent vegetation.” This, however, can apply only to the forests, for he adds soon afterwards, that the mountains surrounding the bay, “afford a field

for researches as interesting as it is inexhaustible. It would be difficult to specify any locality that produces a greater variety of plants than this." We have the less reason therefore to be surprised at the riches of Loureiro's Flora. On entering the river of Hué, the most beautiful and luxuriant scenery burst upon their sight, (p. 349,) and they were soon agreed that it presented the finest scenery of any river they had seen in Asia. Its beauties, however, are the gift of nature more than art. "A vast expanse of water, conveyed by a magnificent river through a fertile valley, not so wide but that the eye can compass its several parts; ridges of lofty and bold mountains in the distance; the cocoa-nut, the areca, the banana, the sugar-cane, hedges of bamboos, that wave their elegant tops in the air; rows of that beautiful plant, the hibiscus, are the principal materials, which, grouped in various forms, delight the eye of the spectator. From this we must not separate the no less interesting prospect of numerous, and, apparently, comfortable villages. In these the most remarkable circumstance is the neatness and cleanliness of the houses of the natives, and the cheerful, contented, and lively disposition of the people. The houses of the better sort are substantial and large, covered with tiles, the walls being partly made of brick and mortar, and partly of wood. Besides, they exercise considerable taste in adorning their grounds and little gardens with flowers and ornamental trees."

This picture of the neatness and decorations of the cottages, will prepare the reader for a favourable report of the industry and character of their inhabitants: and we find, accordingly, that the gentlemen of the Mission had no sooner set foot on the shores of Cochin-China, than they were struck with the politeness—perhaps, we should say, refinement of the people. (p. 298.) Though the curiosity of the natives was strongly excited by the appearance of the strangers, it was not expressed with any coarseness or troublesome familiarity. Their manners are agreeable, and they are generally lively, good-humoured, and much disposed to indulge in mirth: but they pass almost instantaneously from sport and gaiety, to grief, anger, revenge, or any of the more hateful passions. Their volatility is such, that they reminded the author of the monkies in their forests, who are perpetually springing from bough to bough, and never seem intent on the same object for ten minutes successively. Of their morals and religion the author was not able to form any decided opinion, and his statements are not only vague, but in some measure contradictory. In one page, (p. 380,) he says, "This nation may be said to be without any religion whatever," and in the next, he speaks of their excessive superstition, adding, that they are not

wholly without religion. He is probably nearer to the truth, when he remarks that their faith has little influence on their conduct, and is productive of scarcely any thing like a moral feeling. But in this perhaps he has gone too far; and the doctrines of Budd'ha, which are embraced by the majority of the Cochin-Chinese, cannot be charged with so entire a want of any moral influence. That a sort of philosophical scepticism, perfectly compatible with practical superstition, has infected the higher orders in this, as in the neighbouring country, cannot be doubted; and the natural levity of the people may be expected to betray itself in their religious, as well as in their ordinary, acts; but it must not thence be inferred that religion has no influence upon them at all. The despotism under which they have so long groaned, is, with reason, noticed as one of the most powerful agents by which their character has been modified. It has for ages entailed upon them the most abject slavery, condemning all, but a very small minority, to perpetual indigence, and debasing the mind, by repressing all desire of improvement, and stifling every generous sentiment. Such a system is necessarily the parent of cowardice, deceit, and falsehood; and those who are nurtured under it will be as overbearing and insolent, when uncontrolled, as they are mean and cringing under the lash of their task-masters. Yet their good qualities are very obvious, and, together with their acuteness and ingenuity, are such as if cultivated might "raise them to an elevated rank amongst nations." Though theft is common, murder is almost unknown. Adultery is also of very rare occurrence, though chastity seems hardly to be considered as a virtue in unmarried women. Their religion inculcates a veneration for their ancestors; and they are temperate and industrious, notwithstanding their industry is checked by a grievous conscription, which absorbs two-thirds of the male population. This throws the great burden of agricultural labour upon the women, who perform the work and receive the pay of men. It is they who generally follow the plough, or ply in boats upon the water. As in China, the country whence all the literature and institutions of its southern neighbours are derived, there is no hereditary rank, and all are liable to the most degrading corporal punishments, from the highest mandarin to the lowest beggar in the street.

Their amusements are also derived from the same quarter, plays, fireworks, &c., but not performed with the same skill as in China. At Saïgon, however, the Mission was treated with a spectacle, which we suspect the Chinese would have condemned as barbarous. It was a battle between a tiger and some elephants, (p. 321,) a most unequal contest, as the tiger had no chance of

escaping, for his mouth had been sewed up, and his claws torn out. The first elephant was with difficulty brought to the charge; but when near his opponent, he drove his tusks into the earth beneath him, and lifting him up, "gave him a clear cast to the distance of about thirty feet." The tiger soon recovered himself and wounded his adversary on the trunk or forehead:—an indication, it should seem, that he had not lost all his claws. Several more elephants were successively brought forward, and each gave the poor tiger one of these tremendous tosses, which, in due time, despatched him. After he was dead, another elephant was brought up, who raised the carcass with his trunk, not upon his tusks as before, and threw it to the distance of thirty feet. The Cochinchinese are as fond of quids and smoking as the Malays, and as much given to gormandizing as their northern prototypes. One of their delicacies ought to be named, as a caution to visitors at the court of Anam. Rotten eggs are so much esteemed, that they sell for thirty per cent. more than fresh ones; (p. 396;) and if the nascent chicken is half hatched, the egg is prized as a dainty dish fit for a king. The civil wars which so long desolated the country and were so unfavourable to the increase of population, (as the Mandarin, who had only fifty-four children, (p. 396,) observed,) were equally hostile to its commercial improvement.

The bazaars at Saïgon, though well supplied with the immediate necessities of life, had scarcely any European, and few home, manufactures. Most of the foreign productions were imported from China and the eastern isles. Silk, in all its different forms, is more frequently met with than either cotton or linen, and forms almost exclusively the clothing of the poorer as well as the richer classes; for dress "is with all ranks an object of great attention, and even the poorest are clothed from head to foot;" (p. 301;) a peculiarity which is alone sufficient to distinguish the Cochinchinese from most others of the southern Asiatics.*

The external characteristics of this people have been already noticed in our general abstract of Mr. Finlayson's physiological remarks; it may be here added that they are distinguished from the other branches of the same family, by a lower stature, rounder faces, and transverse eyes; but they have the squat square form, straggling beard, lank black hair, small dark eyes, and olive hue common to all the Mongol race. On this subject, which seems to have been a favourite one with the author, he has entered rather fully, but his observations, though highly deserving of attention, are not susceptible of abridgement, and could not be

* See p. 305. Dress of the soldiery, (p. 343,) of the other classes, (p. 378.) Bonnet and jacket of palm leaves as a protection against the rain, (p. 389.)

inserted here, for the same reason as has prevented the citation of some other passages.

But none of our readers, we trust, will quarrel with us for having given so copious an extract from Mr. Finlayson's narrative, and we feel confident that there are few who will not unite in thanking those eminent men, whose regard for the author occasioned its publication, for communicating to them the remarks of a faithful and intelligent observer, expressed in a style which does great honour to his ability as well as to his heart. That there should be some trifling blemishes in an unfinished performance, is a necessary consequence of its never having the author's revisal; the circumstance which, we suspect, will cause the greatest surprise in this book, is, that it contains so few. By those who are fond of natural history it will at all events be highly valued, and they will unite with us in hoping that one more tribute may be paid to the memory of the lamented author, —by the publication of his “ Botanical Journal.”

ART. XI.—1. *Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science.* By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. Longman and Co. London, 1825.

2.—*Evidence of J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the State of Ireland, 8th and 9th of June, 1825.*

No subject is more interesting and important as a study than political economy; and there is no one more mischievous, when ill understood, and improperly applied to the actual business of life. The phenomena, which it is the purpose of this science to examine, are, it has been observed, of an extent and magnitude sufficient to awaken in him who investigates them, an interest similar to that which must be felt by the physical astronomer while he directs his inquiry to the great and stupendous objects and movements in the natural world. The political economist contemplates the condition of mankind as it is presented to him upon the large scale of nations and empires; the ease and opulence, the knowledge and refinement, the greatness and power of some, the poverty, ignorance, and feebleness of others. He observes the revolutions to which the fortunes of the human race have been exposed, throughout extensive regions, and during the course of revolving centuries, their rise, their splendour, their

decline, and their destruction. About phenomena like these, and about the causes to which they may be referred, it is not possible to remain indifferent. Were the causes of these sublime and interesting events as far removed beyond the directing power of man as those causes are which determine the motions of the earth and the vicissitudes of the seasons ; which give salubrity to the atmosphere and fertility to the soil ; or which produce the wasting hurricane and the destroying earthquake ; still, the attempt to discover them would be a noble and pleasing exercise of our best powers ; and the labours and difficulty attending the research would be abundantly rewarded by the high satisfaction resulting from the enlargement of our knowledge, and from the gratification of a most natural and liberal curiosity.

But the interest which we take in these inquiries cannot fail to be unspeakably increased by the persuasion which we are well warranted to indulge, that, of the causes which affect the prosperity of nations, many, and these too of the most powerful influence, are placed within the sphere of human direction and control. When there is presented to us the striking spectacle of nations growing in power and opulence, or sinking into poverty and weakness, attentive reflection will generally enable us, not only to detect the leading causes of their rise or fall, but also to derive from the observation of them some of the most salutary and important lessons of practical policy. Such investigations will discover to us examples of wisdom which it is possible to imitate, and of error which it is possible to avoid. Other states are thus furnished with direction or with warning, by which they may conduct themselves in settling or changing the arrangements of their national economy ; and light is obtained, by the judicious use of which countries may be guided to the sure means of preserving and increasing their vigour and felicity.

It is true, indeed, that the prosperity attainable by nations, and the relative rank which each of them must hold in the great eye of the world, do not entirely depend upon human wisdom and policy, but are partly determined and limited by their geographical situation, and by the peculiar physical advantages which they severally possess. These advantages, it must be owned, are, by nature, allotted to countries in very different ways and in very unequal proportions. On some are bestowed a genial climate and a fertile soil ; a territory in a favourable situation, and of a convenient form, fenced, perhaps, by natural barriers from foreign assault, and profusely yielding whatever can gratify the senses of man, or minister to his love of ease and indulgence. From others all these envied blessings are rigorously withheld. In this case, too, the rule of distribution being determined by the

laws and constitution of the material universe, and therefore admitting of no essential change, we might be tempted to conclude, that the condition of nations is, from the beginning, fixed by an irreversible destiny ; that some are partially chosen for the enjoyment of unwearied affluence, while others are cruelly doomed to ill-rewarded toil and hopeless penury.

But experience and observation incontestibly prove, that the happiness of mankind depends much less on the number and importance of the advantages bestowed upon them by nature, than on the wisdom and industry which they themselves exert, in turning to the best account the favours of Providence, whatever they are which they actually possess. By the portion of external advantages which have fallen to the share of any nation, we can never estimate the degree of opulence that is within its reach, nor ascertain the place which it is to hold in the scale of political power and importance. The prosperity of nations is the result of a well-formed system of public government, of a system of laws and institutions emanating from wisdom and virtue in the legislature, and stimulating, aiding, and directing into the proper channels, the industry of the people. By a judicious scheme of national economy, the seeming partiality of fortune, in the allotment of her favours, may be almost completely corrected. This can awaken and invigorate the wonder-working powers of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by their intervention can furnish abundant provision for the support, the comfort, the refined and elegant enjoyments of a crowded population, in regions whose natural produce would have yielded but a scanty subsistence to a few miserable savages ; and can draw from every quarter of the globe whatever nature has anywhere supplied for the use and pleasure of the human race. For the want of such a system of public economy, no merely physical advantages can compensate. Without its vivifying influence, the inventive and active powers of man remain in a state of profound torpor, the most precious gifts of Providence are rendered void of utility and value, and the most highly-favoured countries under heaven continue the abodes of tribes, distinguished only by their ignorance, imbecility, and wretchedness.*

But the best things, when corrupted, are always the worst and most pernicious ; and accordingly, the science of which we now speak, as it has by its wise maxims turned the wilderness into a fruitful field, is also capable of being so far perverted as to make the fruitful field become once more a desert. In the evidence

* See Plan of a Course of Lectures on Political Economy. Glasgow, 1804,

given by Mr. M'Culloch, before a committee of the House of Commons, we have presented to us, in a form somewhat logical and scientific, one of the most pernicious doctrines that ever escaped from the lips of a political quack. We are assured, that it is no consequence whatever to a country whether the surplus produce of its land and labour be used at home or in a foreign land; that is, the prosperity of England would not be at all affected, though all the landholders of the kingdom were to spend their incomes at Paris, Rome, or Constantinople. But that the reader may have the subject fully before him, we shall give the evidence, which respects the point just stated, in Mr. M'Culloch's own words.

June 8, 1825. John Ramsay M'Culloch called in and examined—

“ ‘Have you devoted much of your time to the study of political economy, and to writing and lecturing on that science?’—‘I have devoted a good deal of time to these objects.’—‘Have you seen the returns that have been laid before parliament respecting the population of Ireland?’—‘I have.’—‘Supposing the absentee landlords were to return and reside upon their estates, is it your opinion that it would be productive of very decided advantage to the lower orders of the people?’—‘No, I am not aware that it would be productive of any advantage to them, in the way of increasing the general and average rate of wages all over the country.’—‘Would not the expenditure of their incomes amongst them be productive of a great deal of good?’—‘The income of a landlord, when he is an absentee, is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it.’—‘Will you have the goodness to explain that a little farther?’—‘When a landlord becomes an absentee, his rent must be remitted to him one way or another; it must be remitted to him either in money or commodities.’—‘I suppose it will be conceded that it cannot continue to be remitted to him from Ireland in money, there being no money to make the remittance; for if the rents of two or three estates were remitted in money, it would make a scarcity of money, and raise its value, so that its remittance would inevitably cease; it is clear, then, that the rents of absentees can only be remitted in commodities. And this, I think, would be the nature of the operation. When a landlord has an estate in Ireland, and goes to live in London or Paris, his agent gets his rent, and goes and buys a bill of exchange with it; now this bill of exchange is a draft drawn against equivalent commodities that are to be exported from Ireland; it is nothing more than an order to receive an equivalent amount in commodities, which must be sent from Ireland. The merchants who get ten thousand pounds, or any other sum, from the agent of an absentee landlord, go into the Irish market, and buy exactly the same amount of commodities as the landlord would have bought had he been at home: the only difference being that the landlord would eat them and wear them in London or Paris, and not in Dublin, or in his house in Ireland.’ ”

“ ‘Therefore, in proportion to the amount of rent remitted, will be the corresponding export of Irish commodities?’—‘Precisely: if the remittances to the absentee landlords amount to three millions a year, were the absentee landlords to return home to Ireland the foreign trade of Ireland would be diminished to that amount.’

“ ‘Would not there be a local effect created by the residence of Irish gentry now absent that would be very beneficial?’—‘If the question be confined to particular spots, the expenditure of considerable sums of money in them may, perhaps, be productive of some advantage to their inhabitants; but when a landlord goes abroad, the expenditure of his income, though not probably of advantage to that particular parish, or that particular part of the country where his estate lies, will certainly be proportionably advantageous to some other part of the country, inasmuch as the income must all be laid out, in the first instance, on Irish commodities.’

“ ‘The employment of the people is a great object: would not the residence of the gentry contribute to the employment of the people?’—‘If you lay out your revenue in labour you cannot lay it out in commodities; if you get ten thousand pounds, and lay out five thousand pounds in labour, you can, of course, only lay out five thousand pounds in commodities.’

“ ‘Would it not be better for the peasantry of Ireland that a large proportion of revenue should be laid out in employing them than in the purchase of commodities in the city of Dublin, many of which, perhaps, may have been of foreign produce?’—‘If it is laid out in commodities, it will give employment to the persons engaged in the producing of them.’

“ ‘If, however, a large proportion of the commodities which you consider as the means of producing rent, or of producing that which is to enable a remittance to be made for the payment of rent, are not of a nature that employ the poor in their production to that extent, are not the people prejudiced by the want of employment?’—‘Yes, if that description of commodities that are alluded to can exist. This, however, I do not believe can ever be the case to any extent worth mentioning; because the value of almost all commodities, whatever they may be, are determined by the quantity of labour employed in their production, so that whatever may be the species of commodities, whether they be velvet cloaks or potatoes, there will be the same quantity of labour employed to produce equivalent values of them.’

“ ‘Supposing that the largest export from Ireland was neither in velvet cloaks nor potatoes, but in live cattle, and that a considerable proportion of rent, to use your own phrase, has been remitted in that manner, does not such a mode of producing the means of paying rent contribute less to the improvement of the people than any extensive employment of them in labour would produce?’—‘To answer this question, I must know in what, had the absentee landlords remained in Ireland, would this rent have been paid to them, or what would their farmers have raised in order to obtain the means of paying

them : unless the means of paying rent are changed when the landlord goes home, his residence can have no effect whatever.'

" ' Would not the population of the country be benefited by the expenditure among them of a certain portion of the rent which has been remitted ? '—' No : I do not see how it could be benefited in the least. If you have a certain value laid out against Irish commodities in the one case, you will have a certain value laid out against them in the other. The cattle are either exported to England or they stay at home ; if they are exported the landlord will obtain an equivalent for them in English commodities ; if they are not, he will receive an equivalent for them in Irish commodities ; so that in both cases the landlord lives on the cattle or on the value of the cattle : and whether he lives in Ireland or England, there is obviously just the very same amount of commodities for the people of Ireland to subsist upon ; for by the supposition which is made, the raising of cattle is the most advantageous mode in which the farmers can pay their rent.'

" ' Would it result from the principles laid down by you that, confining the question to those considerations which have been adverted to, it would be the same thing, in point of fact, to Ireland, whether the whole gentry of the country were absentees or not, as far as those considerations go ? '—' I think very nearly the same thing. If I may be allowed to explain, I will state one point in which I think there would be a small difference. I think so far as regards the purchase of all sorts of labour, except that of mere menial servants, absentee expenditure is never injurious to a country. The only injury, as it appears to me, that a country can ever sustain, with reference to wealth, from absentee expenditure, is that there may be a few menial servants thrown out of employment when landlords leave the country, unless they take their servants along with them ; but to whatever extent menials may be thrown out of employment, if they have the effect to reduce the rate of wages they will increase the rate of profits. In a country, however, where absenteeism has been so long prevalent as in Ireland, I should say that this circumstance cannot have any perceptible effect.

" ' When an agent wishes to remit, suppose one thousand pounds of Irish rent, to a landlord not resident in the country, and buys a bill of exchange in Dublin, has not that bill of exchange been actually sold, and does it not actually represent at the time a previous exportation of Irish produce ? '—' It may not represent a previous exportation of Irish produce ; but it will either represent a previous or a subsequent exportation.'

" ' Then in every instance in which a demand arises for a bill of exchange to remit rents, it is, in point of fact, a demand for exportation of Irish produce that would not otherwise have existed ? '—' Undoubtedly.'

" ' Then in raising that quantity of produce that has so become necessary, must there not be the same quantity of labour employed in the whole as if the landlord resided upon his own estate, and expended

his income upon it ?"—'There is no reason why the quantity of labour should vary.'

" 'A value being remitted equivalent to the rent, will not that value find its way through the various operations of occasioning production by the employment of the poor to the extent that the landlord himself could employ them if he remained at home ?'—'I think so.'

" 'You have stated your view of the effects of absenteeism with respect to the employment of the poor, and the expenditure of such funds as may be derived from the resources of the country, have you considered at all the effects of absenteeism in other points of view, both moral and political, other than those connected with the expenditure of the capital produce ?'—'I have bestowed some attention on it in these points of view.'

" 'Will you have the kindness to state what your view of it is, as a great moral and political question as applicable to Ireland ?'—'From all the information that I have been able to obtain from reading books on the state of Ireland, and conversing with such Irish gentlemen as I have met with, I should think that, in a moral point of view, Ireland did not lose much by the want of the absentee landlords !' "

We say nothing of the compliment which is here paid to the gentlemen of Ireland ; for, we find, in a subsequent part of the evidence, that Mr. M'Culloch's opinion of our own landholders is not more flattering :—

" 'Do you conceive England sustains any injury from the number of absentees in France ?'—'No, I do not : England would have them to feed and clothe were they in England ; and whether she feeds or clothes them in England or France, is a matter of perfect indifference to England.'

" 'Do you think that if seven-eighths of the landed proprietors of England were to go abroad, leaving their estates in the hands of agents to manage them, the general concerns of this country would go on as well as they do now ?'—'I think if the agents or persons selected to manage the estates of absentees, were men of as good character and as intelligent as those who manage the estates of Scotch absentees, England would rather gain by the absence of the great proportion of the landed proprietors !' "

When speculation leads to such results as these, we may satisfy ourselves that it proceeds on wrong principles. And yet Mr. M'Culloch is a topping economist ; and though never in Ireland, was selected by a committee of parliament to lighten their darkness as to the affairs of that unhappy country. Like his patron, the late Mr. Ricardo, his talent lies in making simple things obscure, and in wrapping up received truths in the form of enigmas and paradoxes : and it admits not of doubt, we

apprehend, that he really succeeded in mystifying the greater number of the honourable members who either put questions to him or listened to his answers.

In the first place, he appears to have satisfied them that giving away produce every year to the amount of three millions sterling, without getting any thing in return, is not only *trade*, but a profitable trade. So far, however, is this kind of transaction from having any resemblance to commerce,—which always implies reciprocity and mutual advantage,—that it can be compared to nothing but *tribute*, as the Irish themselves have been used to consider it. It is a portion of national wealth surrendered without any equivalent; and as far as the separate interests of Ireland are concerned, it would make hardly any difference were the three millions paid annually to the subjects of the Grand Turk. No man of sense can imagine that any country will be benefited by the exportation of its produce, when no return is received beyond that of a stamped receipt; and yet this is all the return that can be expected from an absentee landlord.

In the next place, Mr. M'Culloch puzzles his catechists by requesting them to believe that the export of three millions annually would not have taken place had landowners, entitled to that amount of rent, not been absentees. He could hardly fail to know that this opinion is quite erroneous. Great Britain requires corn, beef, pork, and linen, from Ireland, and would have presented nearly an equal demand for these articles though none of the gentry belonging to the latter country had ever sailed across St. George's Channel: and in this case the three millions, instead of being paid and spent in England, would have been remitted to Ireland to stimulate and reward her industry, both in agriculture and manufactures. Were the Irish landlords to spend their incomes in their own country, not only would the three millions sterling, which are sent yearly, in some form or other, to the sister island, be retained and expended among merchants, labourers, and manufacturers at home; but the demand in England for Irish produce would continue nearly undiminished, because that demand does not arise from any circumstance peculiar to the habits and manner of life pursued by the absentees. It is not true, therefore, either that the "income of a landlord, when he is an absentee, is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it;" or that, "were the absentee landlords to return home to Ireland, the foreign trade of Ireland would be diminished to the amount" of the remittances made to them in the name of rent.

In fact, the trade between Ireland and England is already

in activity when the landlord's agent goes to purchase a bill of exchange ; which document, in the natural order of things, represents a previous exportation of Irish produce, and not one which is to be afterwards made. " But," says Mr. M'Culloch, " granting that the exports from Ireland are not augmented in consequence of remittances on account of absentees, it is on this hypothesis easy to demonstrate, that the *imports* that would otherwise take place of English and foreign produce into Ireland, must be diminished by the whole amount of the bills drawn in favour of the absentees. If, then, the absentees were to return home," he proceeds, " and the same amount of Irish produce to continue to be exported, all the English and foreign commodities on which the absentees had subsisted when abroad would henceforth be *imported* into Ireland ; and there could not " he concludes, " under such circumstances, be any increased demand in consequence of their return, for the smallest additional quantity of Irish produce."

It is most true that, upon the return of the absentees, the imports to Ireland would increase to the full extent of the export trade, and that instead of sending away their produce as tribute to a foreign country, the Irish people would only exchange it for commodities more suited to their wants and desires. But we believe that Mr. M'Culloch is the only man on earth who is so far enthralled by hypothetical views, as to maintain that all the English and foreign commodities on which the absentees subsisted while abroad, would, upon their return home, be regularly sent after them to Ireland, and that, consequently, there would " not be an increased demand for the smallest additional quantity of Irish produce !" In other words, the beef, bread, vegetables, shoes, saddles, hats, stockings, smith-work, coaches, cars, waggons, bricks, tiles, soap, candles, brushes, tables, chairs, curtains, and all the other necessities and furniture of a gentleman's establishment, must be shipped from England for Ireland, to meet the wants of the absentee the moment he returns to his own country ! Even whiskey, pork, and potatoes, must be sent from the shores of Britain to the green isle ; for, according to Mr. M'Culloch, not an ounce,—not the " smallest quantity,"—of Irish produce would be used by the landlord from the instant he should find himself in the kingdom from whence he derives his fortune. This sage philosopher desires us to believe that noblemen and gentlemen, drawing from the soil of Ireland a rental of more than three million pounds *per annum*, might live and spend their income in that country, and yet not consume one shilling's worth of its produce !

Mr. M'Culloch is very much out of humour with certain

Irish writers who have laughed at his evidence, and continue to assert that the payment of rents to an absentee landlord differs nothing in its effect upon the wealth and industry of Ireland from a tribute to the same amount paid to a foreign state. He gets rid of the difficulty in the following masterly style, equally creditable to his ingenuity and candour. "If," says he, "the remittances to absentees from Ireland were put a stop to, those who now receive them would return to Ireland and consume them there. But if the same remittances were made as a tribute to a foreign country, and if this tribute were to cease, there would be no one to return to Ireland; and there would, in consequence, be so much additional wealth left in the pockets of the existing inhabitants of the country."

How dexterously he changes the terms of the proposition! The Hibernian logician says, that *as long* as we pay rent to a non-resident landlord, who spends his fortune abroad, we suffer the same practical evil that would be entailed upon us by being compelled to give as much of our produce to a foreign sovereign in the name of tribute: the Caledonian economist exclaims in reply, that Pat is a fool, inasmuch as he does not perceive that *when the payment of tribute ceases*, there is all the difference in the world between the two cases. The landlord may come to Ireland and consume his rent there; whereas, when the exactor of tribute is defunct, there is "no one to return to Ireland."* Precious reasoning, it must be granted! And yet the author of this stuff is the person made choice of by the legislators of this mighty empire, to be a lamp to their feet in the government of Ireland!

Thirdly, there is another odd species of sophism by which Mr. M'Culloch attempts to confuse the ideas of the honourable committee founded on the assumption, no where indeed plainly expressed, that the Irish landlord devours the whole produce which is due to him in the shape of rent, either with his own mouth alone, or at the most with those of his household. Several conclusions are made to rest on this hypothesis. A member of the committee asked, whether the "population of the country would not be benefited by the expenditure amongst them of a certain portion of the rent which has been remitted." Mr. M'Culloch returned for answer that he did not see how the people could be benefited in the least, by having the landlord's income spent among them; and mark the reason, which implies, we think, that the said landlord and his domestics were to devour

* See Edinburgh Review, No. lxxxv. p. 59.

the whole rent, corn and cattle, with their own proper jaws, and not to leave a single morsel for the employment of any other kind of labour. "The cattle ;" says he, "are either exported to England, or they stay at home; if they are exported, the landlord will obtain an equivalent for them in English commodities; if they are not, he will receive an equivalent for them in Irish commodities; so that in both cases the landlord lives on the cattle, or on the value of the cattle; and whether he lives in Ireland or England, *there is obviously just the very same amount of commodities for the people of Ireland to subsist upon.*"

Now, to show the utter absurdity of this conclusion, let us apply the principle on which it rests to any given case. Lord Hertford's Irish property amounts, we shall suppose, to one hundred thousand pounds a year, payable in corn and cattle. Were he to reside constantly in Ireland, the produce now described, or their equivalents in other kinds of necessities and luxuries, would be expended in that country: whereas if he continue an absentee, the cattle and corn must be exported to the place of his residence, in some form or other, and be laid out there, in maintaining his establishment. On the latter supposition, a hundred thousand pounds' worth of wheat and oxen are consumed in England which would otherwise have been retained and used in Ireland; and yet we are taught to believe that, in both cases, there is evidently just "the same amount of commodities for the people of Ireland to subsist upon!" "Is it not a matter of consummate indifference to Ireland whether his Lordship consumes annually one hundred thousand pounds' worth of Irish commodities at his seat in Ireland, or has an *equivalent amount* of them sent to a London merchant on his account?"* If his lordship consume the whole in his own person, we must confess that it is a matter of little consequence whether he swallow the one hundred thousand pounds' worth of corn and cattle, in England or Ireland; but as a hundred thousand pounds a year cannot be spent any where, without employing a great deal of industrious labour, and so far increasing national wealth and comfort, we deny that it is an affair of "consummate indifference" to any country, whether between three and four millions of its annual income shall be disbursed within its own boundaries, or be expended year after year in a foreign land.

Fourthly, Mr. M'Culloch labours to confound his parliamen-

* See "Edinburgh Review" as above. We have no hesitation in identifying Mr. M'Culloch with the author of the article here referred to; because the sentiments, opinions, and language are the same with those in his acknowledged tracts.

tary auditors by making a forced distinction between capital and revenue, assuring them that a nation cannot be injured by having the latter spent abroad, provided the former be not removed out of the country. That his distinction is inaccurate and calculated to mislead, we shall prove from his own writings : meantime it is sufficient for this purpose to observe that, as all capital must arise from the savings of the annual produce of land and labour, it is obvious that, if the greater part of the said produce which remains after the payment of labour and stock, be exported for the maintenance of absentees, the accumulation of capital in the exporting country is so far prevented. Mr. M'Culloch himself defines capital to be "that portion of the produce of industry existing in it, which can be made DIRECTLY available, either to the support of human existence, or to the facilitating of production." He even questions the ground of the distinction formerly made by economists between capital and revenue. According to these older writers "the whole produce of industry belonging to a country is said to form its *stock* : and its capital is supposed to consist of that portion only of its stock which is employed in the view of producing some species of commodities : the other portion of the stock of a country, or that which is employed to maintain its inhabitants, without any immediate view to production, has been denominated its *revenue*, and is not supposed to contribute any thing to the increase of its wealth." "These distinctions," says he, "rest on no good foundation. It is extremely difficult to say when any portion of stock is, or is not productively employed ; and any definition of capital which involves the determination of this point, can serve only to embarrass and obscure a subject that is otherwise abundantly simple." "*In our view of the matter,*" he continues, "*it is enough to constitute an article capital, if it can either directly contribute to the support of man, or assist him in appropriating or producing commodities.*" (Principles of Political Economy, pp. 92, 93.)

Capital, therefore, according to this authority, consists of every article which contributes to the support of man, or assists him in producing commodities : and he tells us, in the same section, that "it is evident, on the slightest reflection, that the possession and employment of capital are indispensable to the successful prosecution of almost every species of industry. Without it no sort of labour could be undertaken which did not promise an almost immediate return, and which might not be carried on by the hand only." "Capital," he adds, "comprises all the food and other articles applicable to the subsistence of man, and it also comprises all the lower animals, and all the instru-

ments and machines, which either are, or may be, made to assist in production."

Is it not amazing that, with this definition of capital before his eyes, written by himself, and published in his principal work, that Mr. M'Culloch should maintain that though three million pounds' worth of corn and cattle is exported every year from Ireland to be consumed abroad by absentees who make no return beyond a simple discharge, the capital and wealth of that country are not thereby checked and impeded! The Irish people, it is acknowledged, are obliged to send away every year, to the amount of between three and four millions sterling, commodities which contribute to the subsistence of man, and assist him in following out all the branches of productive labour: and yet the Parliament of the United Kingdom is desired to receive the assurance, as a first principle of legislative wisdom, that a country so circumstanced suffers no inconvenience or diminution of prosperity. Let the reader peruse the following quotation from Mr. M'Culloch's "*Principles of Political Economy*," and then let him weigh the value and consistency of the evidence given by that gentleman before the committee:—

"It is quite obvious, that is by the amount of the circulating capital of a country, or of *the food and other articles applicable to the subsistence of man*, in its possession at any given period, that its power to support population must be measured; and it is also obvious that the productiveness of its industry must very much depend upon the efficacy of the fixed capital, or of the tools and engines used in facilitating production. The possession and employment of both these descriptions of capital are equally essential; and it is only by their conjoined operation that wealth can be largely produced and universally diffused."

Every body knows that one of the greatest evils with which Ireland is afflicted, arises from want of capital to employ his redundant population. Wages in that country do not exceed one-fourth of the usual rate in England and Scotland, and many of the poor who are willing to labour even for that paltry remuneration cannot find employment; what amount of good, then, might not result to the lower class of the people, from the expenditure amongst them of three millions and five hundred thousand pounds annually? If Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Hertford expended their Irish fortunes in Ireland, and did not actually devour with their own mouths, the one, his seventy thousand, and the other his one hundred thousand pounds' worth of corn and cattle, there can be no doubt, notwithstanding the high authority of Mr. M'Culloch, that the labourers in that country, would "have more commodities to subsist upon," than they have at present.

Fifthly, another gross error by means of which he seems to have imposed upon the committee, is that all commodities which bear the same exchangeable value in the market, must have had engrossed in them the same quantity of human labour. For example, he maintains that cattle to the amount of one thousand pounds must have had as much manual or other labour spent upon their production, as a thousand pounds' worth of watches, velvet, or mathematical instruments. An honourable member, who appears by the way to have a much sounder head than the economist, put to him the following question:—"If a large proportion of the commodities which you consider as the means of producing rent, or of producing that which is to enable a remittance to be made for the payment of rent, are not of a nature to employ the poor in their production to that extent, are not the people prejudiced by the want of employment?"

This is a very sensible query indeed; and it obviously bears a reference to the different effects produced upon the industry of a country, by exporting raw or unwrought materials, compared with those which attend the exportation of manufactured articles. The latter evidently employ the poor to the full extent of their production: the former, such as cattle, wool, hides, and timber, give comparatively very little employment to any class: and, at all events, in a country where manufacturers are carried on, the one description of employment is added to the other. To every man of common sense it is perfectly clear that if the produce of the country be sent away in a raw state, the industrious inhabitants must be deprived of a great deal of work and wages. But what does the political economist say? He is pleased to doubt whether the production of any one species of articles can give more employment to the poor than would be afforded by the production of any other: And mark the reason. "*Because the value of almost all commodities, whatever they may be, is determined by the quantity of labour employed in their production: so that whatever may be the species of commodities, whether they be velvet cloaks or potatoes, there will be the same quantity of labour employed to produce equivalent values of them.*"

All other writers on political economy, with the exception of a few half-witted disciples of the Ricardo school, maintain the doctrine which all the world knows to be true, that commodities brought to market have their exchangeable value measured or determined by the quantity of corn, labour, or other standard articles (reduced of course to money,) which can be obtained for them, and not at all by the quantity of labour which was expended upon their production. It was not till this paradoxical author put forth his riddles that mankind were asked to believe that an

ox worth twenty-five pounds, and a gold watch worth twenty-five pounds, and an oak tree worth twenty-five pounds, must have had invested in their production the selfsame quantity of human labour! On the basis, however, of this most absurd position, were the members of the committee assured that it was the same thing to the people of Ireland, whether they exported oxen or velvet, flax or linen, pig-iron or burnished steel, hides or saddles, rough planks or coaches, organs, tables, and chairs. He desired them to rest perfectly satisfied that a thousand pounds' worth of black cattle from the mountains of Wicklow represents the same quantity of human labour, as a musical instrument of the same value—that there is, in fact, the same amount of manual exertion, of the toil of sinews, bones, nerves, and brain in the one, as in the other; and, moreover, that the value of the cattle is determined by the quantity of that very labour.

That we are not taking undue advantage of Mr. M'Culloch, by drawing inferences from statements and reasonings which must have been to a considerable degree extemporaneous, we shall prove to the satisfaction of all our readers by extracting from his "Principles of Political Economy" the following case:—"Let us suppose, that a tree which is now worth twenty-five or thirty pounds was planted a hundred years ago at the expense of one shilling, it may be easily shown that the *present value of the tree is owing entirely to the quantity of human labour laid out upon it*. A tree is at once a piece of timber, and a machine for manufacturing timber; and though the original cost of this machine be but small, yet, as it is not liable to waste or decay, the capital vested in it will at the end of a distant period, have operated a considerable effect, or in other words, have produced a considerable value. If we suppose that a machine which cost only one shilling had been invented a hundred years since; that this machine was indestructible, and, consequently, needed no repairs; and that it had all the while been employed in the weaving of a quantity of yarn, gratuitously produced by nature, which was only now finished, this cloth might now be worth twenty-five or thirty pounds; but whatever value it may be possessed of, it is evident it must have derived it entirely from the continued agency of the machine, or, in other words, to the quantity of labour expended on its production. This, however, is just the same case, in point of principle, as that of the tree. The capital employed in the timber-making machine was small: but the great length of time during which it was employed, enabled it to produce a powerful effect, and has therefore given a high value to its produce."

A plain man would think that there is as much capital and labour expended when a person sticks into the ground a walking staff which cost a shilling, as when he insert into the soil a young oak plant. The capital is the same, and the labour cannot be much different: and yet at the end of a hundred years the staff is no longer visible, whereas the plant has become a tree worth twenty-five or thirty pounds. "But," says Mr. M'Culloch, "the present value of the tree is entirely owing to the quantity of labour laid out upon it." It is contrary to his system to allow any thing for the gifts of nature—the vegetative properties of the earth, or the *timber-making* qualities of the plant: these are totally disregarded; and the whole value of the oak is to be ascribed to the labour expended upon it, at the moment when it was thrust into a little hole in the ground, and the soil pressed round its roots! The illustration of the shilling-machine, which, during a hundred years, employs itself upon yarn "gratuitously produced by nature," and at the end of that period exhibits a web worth twenty-five or thirty pounds, is perfectly worthy of the case to which it is applied;—it is the impossible adduced to expound the absurd.

But the most ingenious philosopher of the Ricardo Institution proceeds even further than this; he undertakes to establish that the improvement made upon new wine, by being kept a year or two in a cellar, is entirely the effect of human labour; as much so as the change produced upon leather is the effect of human labour, when a shoemaker converts it into boots or shoes. Mr. Ricardo was inclined to modify his general principle so far as to allow that the additional exchangeable value that is sometimes given to commodities by keeping them, after they have been purchased or produced, until they become fit to be used, was not to be considered as the effect of labour, but as an equivalent for the profits which the capital laid out in the commodities would have yielded, had it been actually employed. But his learned commentator will not allow that there is any ground for this exception. Suppose a cask of new wine which cost fifty pounds, is put into a cellar, and that, at the end of twelve months, it is worth fifty-five pounds, it is clear, he maintains, that the additional value given to the wine "is to be considered as the value of additional labour actually laid out on the wine!" He illustrates this doctrine in his usual happy way, by imagining first, that a dealer in shoes puts a certain quantity of leather into the hands of workmen, which for a stated remuneration they convert into saleable goods; and next, that a wine merchant places a given quantity of new wine under the

charge of those active transmuters, Fermentation, Physical Processes, and Company, who, for a fixed sum, being the usual rate of profits, render his article pleasant and wholesome. We give the conclusion in his own words. "It is clear, therefore, that no greater quantity of labour was required to produce the shoes than to produce (*improve*, he means,) the wine. Different *agents* were *employed* to convert the capital into the finished produce, but that was all. The quantity of capital which sets these agents in motion, and on which they operated effects was, in both cases, exactly the same ; consequently, both products were brought into existence by the same quantity of labour."

This little flight of imagination might answer very well for an Arabian tale. The labours of Fermentation and Company inside the cask, recall to our minds the sedulous and benevolent exertions of those invisible friends of the human race, who, in days of yore, were accustomed to spend the hours that men pass in sleep, in preparing food or in mending cloths. The only difference is that, in these more mercenary times, even the processes of nature refuse to work gratuitously ; for as Mr. M'Culloch has found out that there is as much labour expended in improving (by fermentation, and deposition of salts and earths in the natural way) one thousand pounds' worth of wine as there is expended in converting nine hundred pounds of leather into shoes, the Physical Processes have threatened to strike, unless they be allowed the ordinary profit on the capitals which pass through their hands. The additional value given to the leather and to the wine has been produced "by the operation of agents, which it required equal capitals to set in motion, and furnish with materials whereon to operate, *and, consequently, both shoes and wine are the result of equal quantities of labour.*" !

This may be fun to us who live on the banks of the Thames, but it will be death to the poor fellows who exist on the banks of the Shannon, if Mr. M'Culloch's nonsense has had any effect in determining the policy of our legislators in regard to Ireland. It will be a miserable affair, indeed, if the political economists in the House of Commons, shall allow themselves to be persuaded that a hundred pounds' worth of beeves from the wilds of Ulster, which were never under a roof, nor ever received a handful of food from the care of man, are as much the production of human labour as the same amount of value in hard-ware, or fine linen ; or that a tree, never touched by knife or file from the hour it was planted embodies in itself as much human labour as a case of mathematical instruments, merely because they are each worth the same sum of money. It is on this ground, we believe, that Mr. M'Culloch attempts to obviate the objection to

absenteeism implied in the question of an honourable member, as to whether the people of Ireland were not injured by so large a proportion of the rents being remitted in a species of commodity, the production of which did not afford the poor employment. No : says Mr. M'Culloch, the poor cannot be thereby injured, because all commodities having the same exchangeable value, must have been produced by the same quantity of human labour.

This most absurd reply, we are glad to perceive, did not give satisfaction. An honourable member proposed a second question on the same point, the answer to which is so vague and destitute of meaning, as to convince every one that the Ricardo lecturer felt himself foundering. The question is to this effect : Supposing that a considerable proportion of the rents of absentee landlords is remitted to them in the shape of black cattle, does not such a mode of producing the means of paying rent contribute less to the improvement of the poor, than any extensive employment of them in labour would produce ? Instead of saying in reply, that it is always more beneficial for a country to export the produce of manufacturing labour than the raw produce of its land, and consequently that the working class in Ireland must be injured by the constant and extensive exportation of the latter to pay rent, he observes, that he cannot answer the question until he know in what commodities the landlords would have been paid, had they remained at home. Now, it is obvious to the most unreflecting that the point on which his opinion was requested, was not whether it was of any consequence in what form the farmers should pay their rents to resident landlords, in money, corn, or cattle ; but whether, as in actual circumstance, the rents must be remitted in produce of some kind, it would not be more beneficial for the poor of Ireland to export goods on which their labour had been employed as artizans and manufacturers, than to send out of the country for that purpose, large quantities of unwrought produce, and more especially, of animal and vegetable food ? In a word, the learned economist blinks the question, and substitutes very slyly the discussion of topics which have no immediate connection with it.

It is perfectly clear, we apprehend, that the relative circumstances of England and Ireland, decide the question as to the nature of the exportations from the latter into the former. We require beef and corn, but have hardly any occasion for Irish manufactures, a small portion of linen excepted ; on which account the friends of Ireland have no choice in regard to the species of produce in which the rents of absentees shall continue to be paid. But viewing the matter on general grounds, there

is no room for doubt that the prosperity of Ireland would be greatly promoted were all her corn and cattle to be used at home, and the claims upon her soil regularly met by a copious export of manufactured articles. In this way the rents of the landlords would have made *one circulation* through the channels of national industry, before being remitted; and that one circulation could not fail to increase wealth, to raise wages, and diffuse comfort.

But of all the errors with which Mr. M'Culloch is chargeable, the greatest and the most pernicious is that the export trade of Ireland, at least to the amount of the rents remitted, is *created* by the non-residence of the landlords. This opinion could only be correct on the supposition, that the landlords themselves consumed in their establishments in England all the commodities exported on their account; it being perfectly obvious, that on no other principle could their residence in this country lead to a demand for Irish produce equal to the amount of their rents. Now, every one knows that Lord Hertford, and Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Duke of Devonshire, consume in their families no larger share of Irish commodities than other English noblemen, who draw no revenue from that country. The trade, in fact, existed before a single bill could be brought in Dublin by the agent of an absentee; and it would continue to exist, though all the proprietors of land were to live on their estates. There would be one point of difference, indeed, and that highly favourable to Ireland; the produce exported would then be paid for in English commodities, or in commodities purchased abroad by English labour, and no longer in a mere stamped receipt transmitted to the tenant.

The circumstance now stated ought not to be overlooked in estimating the effects of non-residence upon the prosperity of a country. When Mr. M'Culloch assured the committee, that England would sustain no injury, though her landed gentry should all reside abroad, he rested his opinion on the groundless assumption, that the increase of English exports to the foreign land, where the absentees had taken up their abode, would fully compensate for the diminished consumption of commodities at home. It is the same view, in short, which pervades all his assertions respecting Ireland, and which leads him to maintain that the annual abstraction of surplus produce to the amount of three millions five hundred thousand pounds, does not affect the welfare of that country.

His reasoning on this head is extremely plausible; and seems not only to have deceived himself, but also to have confused very materially the conceptions of others. He states, for instance, the

unquestionable fact, that if twenty million pounds were to be remitted yearly to France, in the name of rent to English absentees, the transaction must be accomplished by means of goods, manufactured or purchased by English labour, inasmuch as no such payment could be made in specie; and then he asks his readers, whether it can make any possible difference to this country, in what place a gentleman may choose to consume his rents, provided these have been expended on British manufactures, and actually sent abroad in that form? Is it not a matter of consummate indifference, whether a Gloucestershire landlord shall consume a thousand pounds' worth of English produce at Bath, or at Tours; it being self-evident that, if he prefer living at the latter place, his rents must be remitted to him in the productions of his native country?

The fallacy here is founded on the notion that, if English landlords drawing from our soil twenty million of pounds *per annum*, were to reside in France, the export trade to the latter country, would be *increased* by an addition equal to the full amount of the remittances; in other words, that it would receive an increase of twenty million of pounds a year. But, it is plain, that the effect now stated could come to pass, only on the incredible supposition that the English themselves consumed all the commodities in which their rents were invested—that they used in their own establishments the whole twenty million of pounds; and did not dispose of a single ounce in exchange for French bread, beef, wine, clothing, shoes, labour, or lodging. We must not forget, that the people of France are understood to have been supplied with all the British manufactures, which they had the will and power to purchase, before our absentees went amongst them; and, of course, the only addition that could be made to the demand for our commodities, must be limited to the consumption created by our own countrymen resident there. It follows, therefore, that, were English absenteeism increased to a great extent, our landholders living abroad would, in their intercourse with this country, supersede in a certain degree the functions of the foreign merchants; and import into the several nations where they resided, a quantity of British goods equivalent to the amount of their rental. In fact, they might at length supersede entirely the business of the native importer; and meet, by the remittances made to them from this country, the whole of the demand existing in their new residence for English productions. Whence it becomes apparent that the power of remitting rents to absentees, is limited by the extent of the trade carried on between this country, and that in which they have taken up their residence.

It is monstrously absurd, therefore, in Mr. M'Culloch to main-

tain that our export trade to every country, must be in proportion to the amount of rents which we have to remit thither to absentee landlords: for, in truth, the power of remitting to them depends on the extent of the trade previously established. Suppose our landed proprietors were to be seized with the fancy of living at Grand Cairo or Ispahan, and that rents due to them amounting to five million of pounds a year, were paid to their agents in London, with the view of being forwarded to those ancient capitals—how could it be done? According to Mr. M'Culloch, the export trade to Persia and Egypt, would forthwith enlarge five million of pounds annually, whatever want or desire the inhabitants might feel for our productions; the necessity of remitting would, if our economist be in the right, create the means of remitting; and in the twinkling of an eye we should see our wharfs covered with cottons and hardware, consigned to the swarthy factors of the Nile, and to the rude traffickers on the Persian Gulph. But our old-fashioned notions lead us to assert that the rental could not be remitted at all, in the actual circumstances of the countries just specified; and generally that, in all cases, a trade must exist and be in a flourishing state, before it can be used as the medium of extensive money transactions. In a word, we deny most positively that absenteeism ever originates a commercial intercourse between two countries; and maintain that, in the particular case of Ireland, the exportation of its produce to other parts of the empire, would not be diminished in any sensible degree by the return of all the non-residents to their native soil.

The opinions supported by the author now before us, on the subject of absenteeism, are not less pernicious than they are absurd. In reference, indeed, to Ireland, the matter does not assume so serious an aspect, for that which is lost by one portion of the United Kingdom is gained by another; but if once it were believed that half the income of England might be spent abroad, without affecting the employment of labour and the increase of wealth at home, it is impossible to calculate what might be the amount of the practical mischief. We have taken the more pains, too, to expose the absurdity in question, because Mr. M'Culloch, as the leading disciple of the Ricardo school, has obtained a name, and a degree of influence over the public mind, to which he is not, on any account, entitled. For reasons which it is impossible to conjecture, he was, as we have seen, selected by a committee of the Commons to give them information respecting the state of Ireland, though it was known that he had never set a foot in that country; had no interests or connections in it, and, in short, had no other knowledge about it than what he had

gathered "from reading books and conversing with gentlemen!" It augurs not well to see such an authority consulted in such a quarter!

We have not left ourselves room to enter into a particular examination of his principles of political economy. We may remark, however, that they contain nothing new, and, of course, nothing that is extremely paradoxical. He has modified his views considerably on the "Circumstances which determine the rate of Profit;" and by receding from Mr. Ricardo's doctrines, he has made a nearer approach to common sense than he had formerly attained. We may venture to predict, that, in proportion as he shall inspect with care the intricate mechanism of human society, he will change his opinions on other points of equal importance; and in particular, cease to support the very untenable position that the exchangeable value of all commodities is at every moment determined by the amount of toil and exertion expended on their production, and that a tree and a telescope, worth equal sums of money, have embodied in them equal quantities of human labour. He will likewise, in due time, disburden himself of his nonsense on the subject of "Gluts," and "Wages;" and no longer attempt to prove that our manufacturers, in proportion as they pay larger wages to their men, will find themselves in so much better a condition for competing with foreigners in the great market of the world. Such an opinion deserves no other name than that of a silly and contemptible paradox: it is equivalent to saying that men will prosper the faster the less they gain, and sell cheaper the more their commodities cost them.

We cannot conclude without observing, that having read the substance of this volume in three different forms,—first, in the "Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica;" secondly, in the "Discourse on the Science of Political Economy;" and lastly, in its present shape, as "Principles of Political Economy;"—we were at a loss to discover a reason for this thrift, until we learned that as man is a "machine," and a portion of "capital," his productions ought to be made available in every possible way, so as to secure the ordinary rate of profit. "In this respect," says Mr. M'Culloch, "there is no difference between labourers and any other species of machines. A labourer himself is a portion of the national capital; and is to be considered in all investigations of this sort, merely as a machine which it has required a certain quantity of labour to construct: the wages earned by the labourer are no more than a fair remuneration for the labour performed by him, or if I may so speak, they yield only the common and ordinary rate of profit to the proprietors of the machine called man, exclusive of a sum to replace the tear and wear of the ma-

chines, or which is the same thing, to supply the place of the old and decayed labourers with new ones. There is, in truth, no essential difference between the labour of man and of machinery. Men are themselves capital ;—they are the product of anterior labour, just as must as the tools or engines with which they perform their tasks : and to say that the exchangeable value of commodities depends on the quantities of capital expended on their production, is not to contradict, but is, in fact, only another way of expressing the identical proposition I have been endeavouring to illustrate."

Not knowing precisely how to estimate the amount of human labour embodied in one of those machines which write on political economy, nor what is the exact extent of the "tear and wear" which is to be compensated for, at the end of any given period, we are necessarily at a loss to appreciate the remuneration due to the instrument which produced the article now before us. To Mr. M'Culloch, as a "portion of the national capital," or to the person who owns him, in the capacity of "a proprietor of the machine called man," we are unquestionably desirous that a fair return should be made for the service done to the public ; but we doubt the propriety of presenting the same commodity three several times, and demanding payment for it, as if it were the result of a fresh expenditure of wealth and power. We are aware that, over and above the ordinary profits of stock, there must be formed a species of sinking fund to replace the man-machine, which, though in point of durability, it may rank as numbers 9, 10, or 11, (see *Political Economy* p. 320,) yet cannot be expected to last for ever ; but being ignorant, as we have already said, both of the *real* value, the *exchangeable* value, and the *necessary price* of such a machine as Mr. M'Culloch, we know not what extra allowance should be granted. Perhaps, if we were to take the estimate of an Irish contractor, we should find the rate rather moderate ; for Pat, as he thinks nothing of the human labour necessary to produce such a machine, values still less the commodity which it is employed to manufacture. In this opinion, we cannot say that our Irish friends are singular.

In serious truth, we tremble for the reputation of this valuable and favourite science, now that it has most unhappily fallen into the hands of men, who reason about trade and commerce as if they were mere metaphysical abstractions ; and who treat the various questions which respect population, wages, profit, value, and price, as if they were investigating the mathematical properties of figure and body, without any reference to the actual condition of things, or to the experience of ages. If the refinements and paradoxes of the Ricardo school, be not soon succeeded by

a system at once more intelligible and practical, no earthly means will be able to prevent political economy from being overwhelmed with a load of contempt and derision.

ART. XII.—*The Origin, Progress, and Existing Circumstances of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. An Historical Inquiry.* By the Rev. H. H. Norris, A M. Perpetual Curate of St. John's Chapel, Hackney; Prebendary of Llandaff; and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury. 8vo. pp. 691. Mawman, 1825.

LORD BACON has observed,* that “all works are overcome by amplitude of reward, by soundness of direction, and by the conjunction of labours. The first multiplieth endeavour, the second preventeth error, and the third supplieth the frailty of man; but the principal of these is direction:” and he might have added, that, without this, the other two are of little profit. The experience of our own day will furnish many an instance in proof of this position; but, on the present occasion, we will not travel out of the record. Mr. Norris's volume will be sufficient for our purpose; for this will show, that “amplitude of reward,” such as Lord Bacon never dreamt of, and “conjunction of labours,” unparalleled at least in his day, failing “in the invention, or election of the mean,” have left no “wonder and acts” behind them, but such as are rather “matters of magnificence and memory, than of progression and proficiencie.” The future historian of the religious proceedings of the nineteenth century, will doubtless make honourable mention of the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. He will enlarge, perhaps, upon the “amplitude of reward,” that munificent subscription of one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, which was so efficacious in “multiplying endeavours.” He will not forget to state the marvellous “conjunction of labours” which the records of the society exhibit; where princes and nobles, clergy and laity, churchmen of every rank, and dissenters of every denomination, united their efforts, with a countless host of rabbies, and doctors, and missionaries, of every grade and character, to “supply the frailty of man.” And, for the benefit of the zealous and the charitable, he will not conceal the mortifying,

* Advancement of Learning, Book 2.

but instructive fact, that all this money was expended, and all these persons employed, as one of their own advocates has emphatically declared, in "gathering untimely fruit," and "setting their teeth on edge by sour grapes," because no "soundness of direction had prevented error."

Seven years have now elapsed since we endeavoured to call the attention of our readers to the proceedings of this society. The opinion which we then expressed was not hastily formed: it was the result of a careful investigation of documents, furnished by the society itself, and of the different facts which had been brought to light by a controversy among its own members. The sphere of its operations has been, since that time, greatly enlarged, and Mr. Norris's volume has enabled us to follow it through every stage of its progress; but nothing has occurred to induce us to reverse the judgment which we then ventured to pronounce. The principles on which the society was then conducted have suffered no alteration; the same persons continue to direct its labours, and their only reward is mortification and disappointment.

We still contend, then, that its advocates have failed to make out any case which can encourage a reasonable man to give it support. It may furnish employment for itinerant orators, and lavish its funds on every needy enthusiast, who mistakes a zeal in making proselytes for religion; but the conversion of the Jews can never be effected by such means, or such agents.

Mr. Norris has carefully traced the proceedings of the society, from its first conception to its present state. He has detailed the throes of its parents, the wailings of its cradled infancy, the vagaries of its childhood, the alternations of lassitude and vigour, of strength and weakness, which marked its progress from youth to maturity, and the state of mere decrepitude and utter childishness to which it is now reduced; an object of vain solicitude, and costly service to those, whose best triumph is to conceal its failures, and palliate its imbecilities. It may, perhaps, be asked, if such be now the state of the society, why not let it sink quietly into its grave? The answer may be this. It must first be exhibited in its real character, to those who are now induced to pamper its dotage, and prolong its existence. The gorgeous drapery must be stripped away which now conceals its helplessness, and dignifies its uselessness. The material and machinery of the idol must be exposed, that the world may cease to worship it; and when this is done, and the volume before us performs this useful service, then it signifies little, whether it be thrown with contempt to the moles and the bats by the detectors of its vanity, or respectfully consigned to the tomb, amidst the decent lamentations of its votaries. In either case, charity will cast a veil over its

follies and its failures, its financial manœuvres, and its unavailing expenditure. But now, though in reality dead to every useful purpose, still it has a name among the living; and this nominal existence, with all the parade of official grandeur that surrounds it, is somewhat too dearly purchased at an annual charge of twelve thousand pounds, wrung from the pockets of men who would, perhaps, otherwise become the zealous supporters of four different undertakings, which, more wisely designed, and more ably conducted, are now fostering genuine religion at home, and carrying the glad tidings of salvation to the ends of the world.

Unless it be admitted, that every society, formed ostensibly for the pursuit of a religious object, deserves support, for the sake of that object, without any regard to the means it has adopted, the agents it has employed, the principles it has acted on, or the success it has obtained, it will not be deemed unreasonable to require, that its claim to patronage should be established on some better foundation, than the abstract benevolence, or utility of its objects. Nor will that investigation be characterised as unprofitable, though it may be invidious, which has proved, by a careful induction of particulars, and a scrupulous examination of documents, that any society, so formed, is not deserving of the support it seeks. The alms and contributions of the charitable and pious are a sacred fund, consecrated by the intentions of the donors to the service of religion, and the honour of God. Whenever they are diverted from their proper channels by party craft, or ill-instructed zeal, a serious wound is inflicted on the truth, by the very weapons devoted to its support; and the fabric of the church is despoiled, to furnish materials for the altars of fanaticism. After a very careful examination of the mass of evidence collected by Mr. Norris, we have no hesitation in expressing our conviction that such is no exaggerated statement of the case before us. When we look through the list of the subscribers to the London Society for converting the Jews, we see it graced with the names of persons distinguished for piety and charity, and incapable of being influenced by any but the purest motives. They are ever foremost among the friends of every institution which promises to advance the interests and influence of religion in the world. They are ready to give, and glad to distribute, and are as incapable of preferring the cause of a party to the interests of truth, as they are slow to believe that others would meditate the evil they would scorn to defend, and tremble to advance. Every guinea, then, which such men have been induced to bestow upon a society, engendered by the hypocrisy of a worthless, and now detected individual, upon credulity and enthusiasm, we regard as a loss to the cause of real charity. And while we fully admit,

and are prepared conscientiously to defend, the purity of their motives, our indignation is more strongly excited against those who have taken advantage of their confidence, and of that want of time to scrutinize pretensions, which ever renders those who are devoted to the cares and labours of exalted stations, either in church or state, liable to be misled by high-coloured statements, and apparent fervour in the pursuit of plausible objects. When men sincerely devote their own time and money to the promotion of such schemes, we are always ready to applaud their zeal, though we may lament its misapplication. But, when we see persons coolly and deliberately contriving means to beguile unwary goodness into the maintenance of their falling cause, by garbling the statements of their proceedings, by deliberately concealing the follies, and failures, and vices of their agents; by holding out prospects of success which the most sanguine among them could scarcely expect to realize; and stimulating the benevolent passions, in order more effectually to lay the judgment to sleep; we consider them in no other light than as the interested directors of a jobbing joint stock company of religious imposture: and we hail the endeavours of him who seeks to burst the bubble, as eminently calculated to serve the cause of truth, to uphold the credit of religious associations, and, by checking the madness of speculation, to render the funds of the charitable available to the promotion of these excellent designs, which they ever wish to advance.

If this language be considered by any to be stronger than the occasion requires, we request of such a person that he will withhold his judgment until he has carefully perused the volume before us. And if the facts which are there brought forward, and supported by evidence taken altogether from the authentic publications of the society itself, will not justify our opinion; if they fail to prove that we have expressed that opinion in words not more severe than the truth demanded, let the shame fall upon our own heads. We would say with Cicero, "*cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem:*" but we must add, also, "*cupio in tantis ecclesiæ periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed jam me ipse inertię nequitięque condemno.*" For, when we regard the force of the evidence before us, and the extent of the injury which that evidence details, we feel that our voices should have been raised more frequently and more loudly against this growing evil. In a former volume of our Review, we traced the history of this society, from its first institution up to the publication of its tenth report; but, as Mr. Norris has added many curious particulars to the information which we were then able to produce, it may not, perhaps, be useless to sketch again, as rapidly as

possible, the history of the early years of the society, filling up our outline, as we proceed, with some of those characteristic touches which Mr. Norris's more elaborate and finished portrait has afforded us.

The origin of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews is to be traced to a dream; and, perhaps, before our readers have accompanied us through half the details of its proceedings which Mr. Norris has accumulated, they may be inclined to think, that no source could have been more appropriate; nor will they hesitate to believe, that such a dream, if indeed the dream itself partake not of some of the characteristics of the association which it produced, could have proceeded only from that gate,—

“Candenti perfecta nitens Elephanto,
Qua falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia manes.”

Mr. Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey, a converted Jew, destined by the London Missionary Society to sow the seeds of the gospel in the stony soil of Southern Africa, landed at Gravesend from Berlin, on the 15th of September, 1801, to present himself to his patrons, before his departure for his mission; and he employed himself, on the first night of his landing, in dreaming this singular, and to him not unprofitable, dream:—

“Dream—I read in a paper, that the two brethren, Palm and Ulbricht, (missionaries imported with him) as well as myself, were to preach in London: that the Jews in particular were (in a most affectionate manner) invited to the discourse which I was to deliver. The appointed day approached; an immense crowd collected, and I was enabled to preach to them with great freedom, and to lift up my voice *like a trumpet*. I thought that the effect of this discourse was, that I was afterwards desired to stay in London, to preach both to Jews and Christians; to which I replied, that I could not possibly part with my dear brethren, Palm and Ulbricht, and let them go alone; but that if the directors would send for another missionary to accompany those brethren, I would consent: and with which the directors having complied, I resolved to remain in England.”—*Frey's Narrative*, pp. 75, 76.

This was not Mr. Frey's first essay as a dreamer; and, indeed, it is evident from his skill, that he could be no novice in the art. But, we shall pass over Mr. Norris's account of the dreamer's other exploits, as well as the observations and the prayer which Mr. Frey, doubtless for reasons of sufficient weight, prefixed to this vision in his journal; because, as we shall shortly find a key to the true interpretation of the dream, in the subsequent narrative of the dreamer's conduct, we are unwilling, without necessity, to introduce so much offensive matter. It is sufficient to say, that

Mr. Frey appears to have formed a just estimate of the character of those with whom he was to deal. His dream passed with the London Missionary Society, as an extraordinary destination of himself to the conversion of his own nation: and he had the satisfaction of being promoted from the laborious and uninviting duties of an African mission, to the more solid comforts of an establishment in London, where the good things of this world were plentifully scattered in his path, and a plenteous harvest for the labourer in the work of spiritual delusion was prepared for his sickle. After three years of preparatory instruction in the dissenting academy of Dr. Bogue, at Gosport, where he was fitted for "the singularly interesting and important work of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ to the natural, the unbelieving descendants of the patriarch Abraham," (p. 8,) "Mr. Frey opened the Jewish mission on the 6th of July, 1805, at Mr. Ball's meeting-house, in Jewry-street, where he began 'a course of lectures to the posterity of Abraham.' He also commenced weekly prayer-meetings for the conversion of the Jews; and at the expiration of a year and a half, he undertook the weekly catechising of the Jewish children, for whom the Missionary Society, in further prosecution of its purpose, had opened a free-school." (p. 9.) The London missionary report of 1806, gave no very encouraging account of his success. The utmost his employers could say was, that after the first impulse of curiosity had ceased, a few Jews persevered in their attendance on the lecture, and some came privately. And it appeared that Mr. Frey's ministry was fruitful only *among the Gentiles*, of whom several were converted; and others, who were before wavering, were established in the truth as it is in Jesus. In January, 1807, a free-school was opened, and twelve or thirteen Jewish children were admitted. But this was decidedly opposed from the first by the leading Jews; and the presiding rabbi of the great synagogue, formally prohibited the attendance of the children. When, therefore, after an experiment of three years, the London Missionary Society abandoned the project, its results are thus stated: "notwithstanding the gospel has been preached three years, and is now preached four times a week professedly to the Jews, yet there are not *five* of them that attend regularly; and though a free-school has been opened for nearly two years, there are only *six children* that receive instruction."* (p. 12.) We pass over the circumstances of the dispute which now arose between the London Missionary Society, and their wily protégé. It seems, that both had some inconvenient disclosures to make and to apprehend;

* "Frey's Narrative, p. 203."

and a negotiation took place between them. But Mr. Frey, being a dexterous diplomatist, while he held the society in correspondence, contrived to secure a retreat, by forming a party in his favour; and, when his plans were all arranged, having offered terms of reconciliation which could not be accepted, he set the society at defiance, published his narrative, and betook himself to new, and more liberal and confiding patrons, with these parting words to his duped, intimidated, and discarded employers; "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." * (p. 20.)

Thus ended, what Mr. Norris quaintly styles, "the embryo state" of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.

We certainly shall not contend, that the experiments had now been fairly tried; or that any further endeavours to convert the Jews were inexpedient or unwise, because the London Missionary Society and their dreaming instrument had completely failed. But, much as we are disposed to make allowance for the credulity of religious projectors, we think that the character of Mr. Frey's proceedings had been sufficiently developed, to put the most unsuspecting on their guard. There seems, however, to be a peculiar affinity between knavery and folly. Mr. Frey knew that the harvest of dupes was not yet gathered in; and he proceeded boldly, selecting his victims with admirable tact, and adapting his fascinations to their particular temperaments, with a versatility and perseverance worthy of a better cause. Thus he succeeded in establishing the "London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews," upon that "broad," and, as it is miscalled, "*catholic*" foundation which has ever been found the best support of error. The new association was avowedly formed upon the model of the Bible Society; and, as that had flourished by the simplicity of its assumed object, the circulation of the Bible without note or comment, so the supporters of this institution proposed to limit themselves to the simple object of teaching the Jews—"that *Jesus is the Messiah, the Saviour of the world*;"† leaving them, when thus instructed, to search the scriptures and judge for themselves respecting all inferior points on

* "Frey's Narrative, p. 219."

† "Of this *simple object*, or rather of the 'historical conviction' which it wrought in him, Rev. B. N. Solomon, (an élève of the society, to be chronicled hereafter) remarks, in his 'Narrative of his own Conversion,' 'that *experienced Christians* know it was but a poor cottage built upon the sand, and little capable of standing the winds of Satan, the world and the flesh;' that it had 'lulled him into a false peace,' and proved so insufficient to make him 'able to stand,' that he lapsed back again into 'unbelief,' and actually denied both his 'Saviour' and his 'God.'"—*Eighth Report, Appendix*, p. 54.

which Christians themselves were not agreed ; * such being ‘the catholic spirit’ indulged amongst them, ‘that they should equally rejoice in the conversion of a Jew, *whether within or without the pale of their own peculiar establishment.*’ ” † Their plan of operation for attaining the object was, “ ‘a sabbath-day lecture to the Jews’—a week-day lecture and prayer meeting, either exclusively or generally, as might be deemed expedient—a general free-school, upon Mr. Lancaster’s plan, and a charity school ; the former for children of *all denominations*, including Jews, and the latter for *Jewish children only*, to be selected out of the *former*—employment for those Jews who may suffer expulsion or penury for embracing Christianity—and the distribution of tracts.” (p.27.) And, in their appeals to the religious public for support, they declared it to be “the feeling of the parties engaged,” that there should be “a complete union of *prayers, talents, and exertions* ;” and as their “earnest desire, that the word *denominations* should be lost in that of *Christianity*, in support of an institution of such great importance ;” ‡ since “Christianity would be best recommended to the consideration of the Jews by a cordiality and union among Christians themselves, who, although differing in minor points of doctrine or discipline, were all equally agreed in one sentiment—that *Jesus Christ was the true Messiah.*” §

* “Third Report, p. 13.”

† “First Report, p. 5.”

‡ “London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, First Report, p. 7. In all future references, when *Report* stands alone, it is to be taken as the report of this society.”

§ “Second Report, p. 2.—The unity of principle between the committee in London, and their country propagandists, as exhibited in the ensuing specimens, is no less admirable than is the ingenuity so conspicuous in diversifying the phraseology and varying the illustrations,

“This society. . has but one object in view. . simply, to point out to the Jews, Jesus of Nazareth, their king ; there is a *bottom* here sufficiently *broad*, upon which *all* can stand without *jostling one another*. Did this society interfere, in the slightest degree, with the sentiments of religion which the Jew might adopt when he embraced Christianity, *I, for one*, would cease to be a member of it ; but being fully convinced from observation, that it takes *no part* in endeavouring to persuade the Jews to join *one or other society of Christians*—that it leaves that matter entirely to themselves, I can cordially as a *churchman* unite with this society.” *Rev. G. B. Mitchell, Anniversary, 1813. Jewish Repository*, vol. i. p. 282.

“Considering the Jew to be the common property of the *whole church* of God. . they invited the zealous cooperation of *every denomination*, in this labour of love.” *Ibid. T. S. Grimshaw, Manchester Auxiliary, Sept. 16, 1813. Jewish Repository*, vol. i. p. 538.

“If the Episcopalian, by his outward and visible sign, can cause the poor Jew to see the need he has to be clothed with the inward and spiritual grace—if the Baptist, by his water, can cause the Jew to see the need he has of being washed in the laver of regeneration—if we, by our internal light, can bring them to the knowledge, that the Lord’s ear is ever open to the cry of the poor and destitute, to revive the spirit of

We hope and believe, that it is scarcely necessary, at this time, to point out the danger and mischief of this notable plan, which professes to seek an object of no very clear advantage, and of most improbable attainment, by beating down every barrier between truth and error; depriving Christianity of all its characteristics, one only excepted, in order to make that one more acceptable to them; who, for eighteen centuries, had pertinaciously rejected it.

But, the plan was put forth during the paroxysm of that religious mania which wasted the zeal, and perverted the talents and wealth of England, for twenty years. The stream ran violently; and every channel opened for it was filled at once, by a torrent which swept away every barrier that prudence or principle could erect. When we look back upon the barren waste which its track exhibits; and reflect how long a time must elapse, ere the exhaustion can be supplied by fresh resources, and the soil will return to its original fertility, our only consolation is found in the belief, that the lesson which has been inculcated by the work of destruction, is too deeply impressed to be easily effaced; and that, when the zeal of the religious public is once more excited, it will be guided by that best of all knowledge which is the offspring of experience.

Upon this plan, however, the new institution was established. The London Society put forth "their simple object;" professing themselves "to conceive that no jealousy or suspicion of each other could possibly exist in the minds of good men, when the views of the society were thus distinctly stated, and its object properly understood." (p. 27.) They tried their scheme under every advantage of patronage and leisure. But it failed; though much ingenuity was exhibited by its promoters, in attempting to remove the difficulties which beset its execution, and to reconcile the jarring principles which it set in motion. The conductors of the society were men of unwearied activity, and their invention was taxed to the uttermost—at one time, to devise means of spending money—at another, to replenish their exhausted treasury. A Jews chapel was opened in Spitalfields, which was appropriated to the ministrations of Mr. Frey, who was there to exhort and lecture his brethren "every Wednesday, and Friday, and sabbath evening," if they could be persuaded to come and hear him. Several clergymen were found to volunteer their service for a monthly sermon at Ely chapel, then in the hands

the humble—if by any means, and by any instrument, they are brought to the haven of rest, we do rejoice, and we will rejoice." *Mr. Brown, of Huntingdon, a Quaker, Anniversary, 1814. Jewish Repository, vol. ii. p. 258.*

of Mr. Wilson, who permitted them to occupy his pulpit. A free-school was opened, for between three and four hundred boys, in Mr. Frey's chapel ; where children of all persuasions, and of any denomination were indiscriminately admitted, in the hope that some Jews might be found among them. And a second school was opened for Jews only, who were to be clothed and boarded ; for the committee had already begun to understand the character of those whom they had undertaken to convert ; and were convinced, that "scarcely any Jew would send a child to be taught the principles of Christianity, merely for the sake of education." (p. 38.)

How far these schools succeeded ; how many of those who were decoyed into the first, or bribed into the second, could be reckoned among the proselytes of the society, we know not. We read indeed of "five hopeful youths," who were placed under the tuition of Mr. Fry of the Lock Hospital, to be educated as missionaries ; but whether the hopes which the society felt of their future well-doing arose from any previous trial of their conduct, in either of these schools, or from knowledge otherwise obtained, we are not informed. To complete the system of conversational education, an adult Sunday School was opened ; and a house of industry established for the reception of poor Jews ; who, being either converted, or likely to become converts, were liable to persecution from their more bigoted brethren. In addition to these schemes of education, tracts were prepared and circulated to a great extent, both at home, and on the continent : the New Testament was translated into Hebrew, or something like Hebrew ; for various opinions were entertained, even among the friends of the society, about the merits of the version ; and a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, from the text of Vander Hooght, was commenced under the editorial care of Mr. Frey. How far this latter expedient might have been justifiable, as a bookselling speculation, we are little concerned to inquire ; but, as a means of converting the Jews, it was assuredly most absurd. Was it supposed, that they did not possess the Old Testament in Hebrew ? was it imagined, that they rejected Christianity, because they had no opportunity of universal access to their own scriptures ? or did the wise directors of this society conceive, that, although they had possessed them, and had read them unconverted for eighteen hundred years, there would be some secret charm in the republished text of Vander Hooght, or in the name of the new editor, which would at once remove the veil that had so long remained on the hearts of this blinded people, while Moses was read in their synagogues every sabbath day ? Such, however, and so many, were the modes which this society adopted ; and in these

operations they expended 15,860*l.* in something less, we believe, than five years. Large, however, as this sum appears, it was actually raised by the committee: and certainly the financial expedients, by which "a few persons almost unknown," as they describe themselves, obtained such a revenue would deserve to be "chronicled," if it were not well known, that pretenders of every sort can raise money in this wealthy and credulous nation; and that the success of any candidate for pecuniary support, whether he be a vender of stimulants for the body or the mind; a manufacturer of joint stock companies, or of patent blacking; will depend rather upon the boldness of his assertions, and the perseverance of his applications, than on the excellence of his character, or the validity of his claims. The usual machinery of reports, and meetings, and speeches, and itinerancy was unsparingly used; the high wrought language of excitement and panegyric was employed; now as well understood, and we hope as powerless as a lottery puff; but then, bearing all the gloss of novelty, and all the charm of apparent enthusiasm. And, to crown the whole, in despite of a canon of the society, which had bound them to suffer no hope of other benefits derivable from his convertible talents, to seduce them into interrupting Mr. Frey's exhortations to the remnant of his despised people, who might still linger about his haunts in Spitalfields; this great enchanter, the missionary, the editor, the lecturer, the schoolmaster, the universal agent, and the disinterested founder of the society;

—— Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes

Augur, Schœnobates, Medicus, Magus—

was deputed to represent its interests, and advocate its cause, on a *shearing* commission throughout the United Kingdom. The deviation from its laws was not unprofitable: the fleeces fell thick and heavy under the shears of the magician; and "it appears from the collection tables, that Mr. Frey raised in the first year, by thirty-eight preachments, 603*l.* 10*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; in the second year, by one hundred and forty-three preachments, 2707*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*; and in the third year, by two hundred and seventy-nine preachments, 4239*l.* 2*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* making a total of 7550*l.* 2*s.*"

We pass over the instances which the author gives in abundance, of the stimulating potions administered by the society to its different patients, until the public was wrought up to the temperament of subscription and donation. The details exhibit no bad specimen of the "*curiosa felicitas*" in selection which Mr. Norris possesses; and they will well repay the reader who wishes to form an accurate estimate of the patience with which the religious public can submit to depletion, or the worse than Sangrado system upheld by the self-graduated spiritual physi-

cians of the day. The success of the committee seems, however, to have been limited to their plans for raising and expending money. The results of all their expenditure, and of the diversified modes they adopted to convert the hardened race, whose spiritual welfare they had undertaken to promote, were scarcely producible, after all their efforts to make out a case. And it would be amusing to review the expedients which were employed to hide discomfiture, and magnify every petty incident which offered even a momentary promise of success; did not the revolting spectacle of alternate self-deception and fallacy which the narrative presents, excite very different feelings. Every artful knave who offered himself to the society as a convert, or a candidate for instruction, was readily received. Its funds were inconsiderately wasted upon infidels and profligates; and the same page that records one instance of gross imposition upon its credulity, registers its rash adoption of another impostor, with whom it was to run again the miserable round of unfounded confidence, exaggerated prospects of success, and reluctant admissions of failure. Mr. Frey's lectures were at first, it seems, numerous attended; but, as the novelty wore off, the auditors silently retired; and, in their second report, the best that the committee can say on the subject is, that the Jews had *not wholly absented* themselves. The results of the schools are not stated: but, whether from these, or from the adult institution, or from the house of industry, or as the fruit of Mr. Frey's lectures, or the preachings at Ely chapel we know not; forty-one persons are said to have received baptism; of whom in the fourth report it is observed, that, with three exceptions only, they have walked worthy of their profession. A few children also were apprenticed. Whether these were baptised at all; or whether, if so they are to be numbered among the forty-one above-mentioned; or whether they, or any of them, have remained in the profession to which they were thus admitted, is left unknown. We will hope that some may have been sincere and steadfast; and a single authenticated instance of this kind would be a better apology, than any the reports of the society now contain, for the means by which all its money was raised, and the manner in which it was expended. We cannot here omit two curious instances of the expedients to which the directors of this society were reduced, by the *liberal* principles on which they set out.

When converts were to be baptised, the question would of course arise, into what denomination of Christians shall they be received? Shall the honour of the new convert rest with the church, or the dissenters? For, if any process was adopted, to enable the convert himself to decide between the conflicting

candidates, the society must have abandoned its fundamental rule to teach only one truth, that Jesus is the Messiah; and have initiated the bewildered catechumen into all the peculiarities of every sect which differs from the church, and all the claims of the church herself, that he might be enabled to decide his own fate. We are left in the dark, as to the mode adopted to influence the decision of the convert; but the following extract gives the result:—"It having pleased God very early to bless the efforts of the institution, in convincing some of the children of Israel that Jesus is the Messiah, it consequently became necessary that the rite of baptism should be administered to them. A part of the converts accordingly received baptism in the church of England, agreeably to the rites of that church; and others were baptised at the Jews chapel, by a minister of the presbyterian and national church of Scotland, and according to the forms of that national church." (p. 58.) Another difficulty suggested, in the prosecution of that *very useful and necessary work*, the translation of the New Testament into biblical Hebrew, was thus ingeniously removed. The "select committee of literary men, of all denominations, having *no party spirit, or narrow views of separate communion*;" who gave "their cordial assistance to the accomplishment of this great undertaking;" being unable to agree on the translation of the word *Βαπτισμ*; and all, we presume, equally determined to maintain their own sense, adopted, as a last resource, the following exquisite device:—"Βαπτισμ has been used in *Hebrew* letters to express baptism, from a wish on the part of the translators to avoid entering into the controversy respecting the mode of administering that ordinance." (p. 46.)

In defiance, however, of accumulating obstacles, and impending financial distress, the society proceeded on its course, enlarging its views, and increasing its expenses.

The first stone of a new chapel, and an asylum, and manufactory to be attached to it, was laid with all the pomp and circumstance which the invention of the committee could supply. Persons of high rank in church and state, and authorities civil and military, were induced to mix with a motley assemblage of different sects and callings, for the purpose of giving eclat to the proceedings, and adding to the friends and supporters of the society. In the peculiar phraseology of the party, "the nobility and gentry of the land, the prelates of the national establishments," (i. e. one bishop,) "and ministers of every denomination of protestant dissenters, all strove together in one harmonious plan of beneficence, to raise up the fallen and disconsolate daughter of Zion, and restore her pleasant places." (p.

71, note.) But, a much more important event, as far as the future plans and energies of the society were concerned, than could have been contemplated, even by the contrivers of so imposing a spectacle, marked the proceedings of this day. A gentleman of great wealth, unwearied zeal, and magnificent liberality, then first connected himself with the association: and the singleness of heart with which he adhered to it in all its subsequent changes of fortune and character, through evil report and good report, the active promoter of its most extended projects, the unhesitating contributor to the restoration of its dilapidated finances, its champion, and its missionary,—sufficiently prove his sincerity, and ought to exempt him from all share in those censures which may perhaps justly apply to the conduct of some, with whom, in an unhappy hour, a man so benevolent and so zealous as Mr. Way, was induced to unite. If the accession of illustrious patronage, the support of noble and distinguished characters, an increased, and increasing list of subscribers, and a continually growing fund could be regarded as evidences of prosperity, the institution was now most prosperous. Thirty-one thousand three hundred and six pounds, seven shillings, were collected in three years, from 1813 to 1815. And such was the unceasing activity of its advocates, in recommending the objects and measures of the society, that it attracted a considerable portion of public favour; and many were interested in its concerns, who did not usually connect themselves with the individuals to whose guidance it was intrusted. If then the plan was wisely laid, or discreetly carried into execution; if it was reasonably to be expected, that any considerable effect would be produced on Jewish infidelity by such combined exertions, it might have been presumed that this desirable object was now on the point of being accomplished. But, according to Mr. Norris:—

“This is the account which they put forth of their three years’ exertions—that the lecturing establishment by Mr. Frey and other ministers at the Jews chapel, Ely chapel, Chatham and Sheerness, has been maintained in full efficiency*—that the boys have been removed from ‘the house adjoining the chapel in Brick-lane to a situation where they have the advantage of a better air and exercise’—and the girls to the larger premises in Church-street, formerly occupied as the printing-office, ‘having no ground adjoining for their recreation;’ a desideratum which, it is hoped, ‘the benevolent and liberal exertions of ladies’ societies’ will shortly supply;—that ‘measures have been taken for the establishment of the intended asylum for Jewesses; and, in the mean time, a house provided where four are instructed in

* “Fifth Report, p. 10.”

the *satin stitch*, and child-bed linen work’*—that the cotton manufactory for making candle-wicks has been abandoned; and, in its room, a basket manufactory set up, conducted by a person, favourably thought of by the committee for his ‘*piety*, who considers it a part of his duty to converse with the Jews upon *religious* subjects’†—that ‘that *valuable* appendage to the society,’ the printing-office, has been carried on with increased benefit, and extended‡—that the translation of the ‘New Testament into pure Biblical Hebrew’ has been ‘completed as far as the Galatians,’ and the two first Gospels published§—that two thousand five hundred copies of the prophesies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in Hebrew, have been printed at an expense of four hundred pounds, to ‘be principally distributed *gratis* among the Jews’||—that ‘the distribution of tracts has been continued,’ with the *peculiarly satisfactory* effect of an ‘increasing demand for them both in town and country’¶—that ‘the whole remaining stock of publications, from the late Callenburg institution for the conversion of the Jews,’ has been purchased, ‘by which they are put in possession of the best means of spreading amongst the Jews the doctrines of Christianity’**—and that ‘the Episcopal chapel has been opened; the first place of worship erected for the peculiar use of the descendants of Abraham, since the period of their dispersion among all nations, on the final destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.’††

“Such is the committee’s own account of the application of the thirty-one thousand pounds placed at their disposal. The results of this expenditure, according to their own statement also, are to the following effect—that ‘the attendance of the Jews upon Mr. Frey’s lecture has evidently increased;’ and, in conjunction with ‘other measures adopted by the society, unquestionably produced an increased degree of interest and inquiry amongst the Jews themselves,’ and ‘a much more decided and unequivocal character’ in ‘the numerous applications daily made to the committee, than belonged to some which occurred in the infancy of the society.’ This the committee characterise as ‘the *best test* of the success of their exertions;’‡‡ and in truth so it is: for the other results enumerated are—that ‘several approving and applauding letters have been received even from those Jews who do not yet feel the necessity of uniting themselves to the institution’§§—

* “Sixth Report, p. 10.”

† “Ibid. p. 17.”

‡ “Fifth Report, p. 12. Sixth Report, p. 18. ‘A pretty appendage! exclaims Mr. Goakman, if their printing before cost them one thousand pounds, it now costs them double. I soon found myself surrounded by Jews, all of whom were to be made printers. I had apprentices sent me from the age of fourteen to *fifty*; but as there were frequently some *running away* or leaving, vacancies were made for *new converts*.’ *London Society Examined*, p. 54.”

§ “Sixth Report, p. 12. Seventh Report, p. 10.”

|| “Fifth Report, p. 14. Sixth Report, p. 12.”

¶ “Fifth Report, p. 14.”

** “Ibid. p. 20”

†† “Seventh Report, p. 10.”

‡‡ “Fifth Report, p. 10.”

§§ “Fifth Report, p. 10. Two specimens of these letters are given. The first enclosing three shillings, to be expended upon a Testament ‘for one of our beloved brethren,’ and stated to be ‘evidently written by a man of education,’ regrets that family connections prevent the writer from *avowing* christian principles, but desires Mr. Frey to

that both ‘adults and children have been received into the christian church by baptism,’ in such numbers as to ‘afford a pleasing evidence that the society’s labours continue to receive the *divine countenance* ;’* that with regard to the success of ‘the female asylum, the ladies’ committee are not enabled to speak with any degree of confidence’†—and to that of ‘the printing-office, that its greatest obstacle is the want of work’‡—but that ‘the business of basket-making has already been the means of bringing more than one Jew, *whose names*, the committee humbly trust, are *written in Heaven*’§—and that ‘the chapel, there is reason to believe, has proved very useful to the *christian* inhabitants, although the committee cannot state that many unconverted *Jews* usually attend it.’ ”||—p. 80-84.

It is evident, that the committee were not disposed to depreciate their own character, or the fruit of their labours ; it may therefore be believed, that they made the best case they could : and yet, there is throughout so cautious an adherence to general modes of expression, to wishes, and hopes, and expectations, and anticipations of future benefit, that the particular good actually done by the society is not very easy to be discovered. It seems to have been admitted, that the chapel, that great undertaking, that serious drain on their finances, was a total failure. It was built as a centre of attraction to the Jews ; but all that can be said in its favour is, that “it has proved very useful to the christian inhabitants.” !!! We pass over the prayer-meeting of the forty Jews, a co-fraternity, perhaps without a parallel since the days of Cogia Hassan and his oil jars. We can readily suppose, that the society will not wish to blazon forth this, as an instance of its efficiency ; and we are not sorry to leave Mr. Moses Marcus, Mr. Josephson, and their associates, to the obscurity in which time has already enveloped them, and many other such characters. We wish that we could as easily part with Mr. Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey, their reverend chairman ; but he will challenge our notice as we proceed. For, perhaps, the dissolution of this most catholic association, the durability of which Dr. C. Buchanan had so confidently prophesied, may be greatly attributed to the infatuated obstinacy, with which the managers of the society continued to countenance this unworthy man ; and the inconsiderate profusion, with which they supported him, in all his foolish or knavish expenditure. The

believe him a *true penitent*. The second from a person whose *body* is confined in *prison*, but his *soul at liberty* to put faith in Christ, glories over the victory which the writer has gotten, notwithstanding all the temptations of the Jews—but complains of one inconvenience, all his clothes *being in pledge*, &c. *Ibid.* p. 11, 12.”

* “Sixth Report, p. 9.” † “Seventh Report, p. 15.” ‡ “*Ibid.* p. 21.”
§ “*Ibid.* p. 21.” || “*Ibid.* p. 10.”

immediate cause, however, of the downfall which is now to be recorded, seems to have been this. The creditors of the institution had less faith in its solvency, than the public seem to have had in its efficiency as an instrument of conversion. They were clamorous for money, actions were commenced, more were threatened, and a cessio bonorum seemed to be the only resource. Pressed thus on all sides by financial embarrassments, the zeal of the dissenting portion of this catholic body seems to have suddenly cooled, and discretion, the better part of valour, came to their aid, just time enough to suggest a safe and honourable retreat. They discovered that the church members of the society had reasons of their own for wishing still to support it. Of this feeling they knew how to avail themselves; a conference took place, "between the dissenting and the conforming partners in the concern, when the following colloquy passed between them, which cannot be better given than in Mr. Simeon's recitative. 'The dissenting part of the managers' opened the interlocutories, and 'said to those of the establishment, *We see that we are all, churchmen and dissenters, sinking together: do you think that if the management of the concern be wholly given up into your hands, you could redeem it from destruction?* The churchmen replied, *We think that if the energies of the Church of England be called forth, there is yet power to save the society; and we will do our utmost to that end.*' Upon this the bargain is struck; and, as Mr. Simeon's exquisite figure illustrates the issue, 'The dissenting part of the managers took to the long boat, and the churchmen set to work at the pumps.'" (pp. 102, 103.)

A more unfortunate appropriation of metaphor was never hazarded by the most reckless wit, than this which the reverend advocate adopted. That he was perfectly serious we cannot doubt, but surely the most wanton scorner could not have placed the separating partners of this bankrupt establishment in a more ludicrous point of view. Of the crew of the long boat we hear but little. They quitted the sinking vessel, with all the pomp and ceremony of a defeated garrison, marching out with the honours of war. They carried off their titles with them; and well satisfied with the dignity of HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS, they seem to have abandoned the wreck with becoming complacency, and left the safety of their quondam associates to depend on their own activity, and the power of the pumps.

The facility with which the whole of this dissolution of partnership, and change of firm was effected, is not the least amusing part of the transaction. On the one hand, we see dissenters who had eulogized the society to the skies, who had consented to act

under the sanction of a presumed divine obligation, which had impelled them to sink all religious differences in one united effort to convert the Jews, quietly retiring from the society, without an effort to uphold it; without a thought, as far as their thoughts are recorded, of aught but the financial quicksands, on which the vessel was stranded, and the twelve thousand pounds of debt which weighed it down. On the other hand, we find the church members of the society renouncing their former *catholic* propensities with equal ease, suddenly discovering, that the "complete union of prayers, talents, and exertions," of which they had formerly made their boast, (p. 24,) was not the best mode of association; and that the Bible Society, the *μεγα θάρρα* of the religious world, the paragon of all fraternities, the perfect specimen of religious amalgamation, was not the best model for a society, "where all the points of church discipline must of necessity form, at no distant period, a bone of contention among the managers." (p. 104.) To us it is not at all astonishing to see this admission. Facts are stubborn things, and even prejudices must yield to them. The *catholic* basis has been a little overloaded; and the best foundation, under such pressure, will give way. Unless we have been much misinformed, it has been found not quite adequate to bear the superstructure originally raised upon it; and some unseemly rents, and portentous settlements, seem to have denoted something like unsoundness in the fabric even of the Bible Society. But let that pass. If, to use Mr. Mitchell's significant figure, "the bottom of that society is not found sufficiently broad, that all can stand upon it without jostling one another;" (p. 106, note;) it is not surprising that the bottom of the Jew Society was too narrow for the purpose; and we know not which to admire most, the prudence which retired from ground so insecure, or the courage which remained. One thing, however, seems certain, that the different conduct of each party was suggested by the same motive; and that the conversion of the Jews was not the real object either of the rowers in the long boat, or the pumpers in the vessel. That object Mr. Simeon has most distinctly expressed, when he said, "if it" (the London Society) "had fallen, it would have brought great discredit on all other societies." (p. 102.) The whole coalition of religionists would have been affected; a spirit of investigation might have been roused; the unsoundness of the whole system might have been discovered; public confidence withdrawn; and the goodly temple of discord and confusion shaken from its foundations. If so, what would have been the fate of its presiding ministers? What would have become of the rank, the power, the influence, the popularity of the various leaders, whether patrons or vice-

patrons, presidents or vice-presidents, treasurers, or secretaries, by whom the vast machine was wielded ; and to whose direction so large a portion of the inhabitants of this most credulous empire had been so long willing to submit implicitly the direction of their religious and charitable feelings, their intellects, and their purses ! The very anticipation of such a calamity might well awaken the sleeping energies of the party ; and justify all the sacrifice of crew, and all the labours of the pump, by which a vessel so preciously freighted could be saved from sinking.

Navis quæ tibi creditum
 Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis
 Reddas incolumem, precor,
 Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.

It is evident, then, that the Jew Society was saved from ruin, not for its own sake, not from any prevailing opinion of the necessity for such an institution, or any honest conviction of the good it had done, or might do under better management ; but, because the system of which it formed a part, was to be upheld at all events. Its weak places were to be strengthened, its breaches were to be repaired, or the whole fabric might fall.

Upon similar principles, we suppose, it was determined to support and shield the prime founder of the institution, Mr. Frey ; though his character laboured under something more than suspicion of immorality, and his conduct had been any thing but that of a single-hearted and honourable man. When we read the language held by the advocates of the society, respecting this unhappy individual ; when we find Mr. Grimshaw, who had been connected with the society in its former state, declaring that Mr. Frey “ enjoyed the undiminished confidence of all parties connected with the society,” and that “ he considered the character of this gentleman so identified with that of the institution, that the one could not be assailed without injury to the other,” (p. 120,) we confess we are grieved as well as astonished. No right-minded man can record such a transaction without concern. Either Mr. Grimshaw knew the charges which had been brought against Mr. Frey, and the evidence in support of them, or he did not. If he did not, what shall we say of the managers, who thus permitted him ignorantly to commit himself and them, on so perilous a declaration ? If he did, what shall we think of the orator himself ?

In less than sixteen months afterwards, this man, who enjoyed the undiminished confidence of the society, whose character was identified with it, is thus spoken of :—

“ ‘Shortly after the last anniversary meeting, reports were circulated of very improper conduct in a person who till then had *acted a prominent part* in the institution ;’ that, ‘on an investigation of the foundation of these rumours, *facts* were disclosed, and afterwards *confessed* by the individual referred to, which rendered it the duty of the committee to inform him that his connection with the society must cease ;’ and that ‘he has since left this country, and is gone to America.’ It is in this very guarded manner that the committee make the disclosure, keeping the culprit and his delinquency wholly out of sight, and only further satisfying their constituents that their own trust-worthiness as the society’s cashiers, is not implicated in the offence, by an appended note, which assures them that ‘the improper conduct alluded to was not of a *fraudulent* nature.’* ”

“ There is, it must be admitted, much worldly-wisdom in the committee’s forbearance and delicacy of detail on this occasion ; for the plain English, *smothered* in the committee’s circumlocution, is, that no less a personage than the REV. JOSEPH SAMUEL CHRISTIAN FREDERICK FREY is the *delinquent*, and his crime *adultery*, not committed *once only*, but *voraciously* pursued and persisted in *in the face of detection*, from the first commencement of his hypocritical career, to the very moment that the ‘*facts*’ were so fixed upon him, that there was no way to escape, and he was goaded into a *confession*.”—pp. 145, 146.

With this one unfortunate exception, the committee of the regenerated society left no means untried to recover the good opinion of the public, and to repair the wanton waste of their predecessors. They did not attempt to conceal this waste ; on the contrary, they confessed the errors into which the society had been led ; and declared their anxiety to pursue measures of exact prudence, in their future conduct. The usual expedients for raising money were of course resorted to ; and those who see no harm in the whole system of Bible Society finances, will not object to the itinerant preachers, and orators ; to the penny societies, and the female collectors. Our own opinion on the subject has been often recorded, and need not be repeated. It is only necessary therefore to observe, that, within two years, the sum of fourteen thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds, eleven shillings, and fourpence, appears to have been collected : and as the debt of the society had been discharged, chiefly through the unexampled liberality of Mr. Way, the committee were once more in the possession of ample funds. Their operations were commenced by measures of retrenchment and reform. The basket manufactory was discontinued : the female penitentiary given up : the temporal aid branch was placed under restrictions : the printing-office reduced to the bounds within which it

* “ Ninth Report, p. 22.”

could be carried on without loss to the society. On the other hand, the schools were continued on their old footing; great efforts were made to complete the Hebrew Testaments; and the theological seminary was removed to Mr. Way's residence at Stanstead. Here he had ample leisure and sufficient reason to deplore this inconsiderate step, which brought the aspirants after conversion from Judaism to Christianity, under his hospitable roof; and enabled them soon to prove that, in their zeal to renounce the law of Moses, they had released their consciences from the yoke of more than one of the ten commandments. That the various establishments thus reduced or discontinued, were expensive beyond the means of the society, is confessed; that they were inefficient, is scarcely denied; and the first results of the newly organized plan of operations were not much more encouraging. The adult converts, stated to have been upwards of fifty in number, not being found quite obedient to the new regulations which had closed the door of the conventicle, where they had hitherto assembled for the purposes of worship, and had transferred them to the episcopal chapel at Bethnal Green; were, according to their own account, "discharged from the employ of the society, and left without its assistance." (p. 143, note.) "Three of *'the four promising youths,'* 'who had for some years been studying with a view to the ministry, at the *expense* of the society,' amounting to upwards of *seven hundred pounds*, 'one of whom, of his *own accord*, had quitted the institution'—'another had voluntarily acknowledged that he had no desire to be a missionary'—and 'the third was in a state of health so enfeebled, as to render it impossible that he should be employed in a ministerial capacity, except in a tropical climate,'* And, to close the whole sad catalogue of their discouragements, must be added Mr. Frey's confessed delinquency, and consequent dismissal. But, the managers were not to be disheartened. Though much of their machinery had been abandoned in despair; though the fruits of those parts of it which were still upheld, were thus described by their preacher, "that they had been smitten with blasting and mildew in the labour of their hands; that when their gardens and their vineyards increased, the palmer-worm had devoured them, and the locust and the caterpillar had eaten them up;" (p. 153;) still the society was to be supported at all events; for the credit of other institutions was at stake, and the experiment, in spite of failures, was yet to be considered as undecided, because the cause required that no symptom of the fallibility of the party should be exhi-

* "Ninth Report, p. 22."

bited. There remained, however, little hope of being able to maintain the credit of the institution, while its operations were carried on at home, under the vigilant eye of those, who might deem it a duty to investigate and expose imposture. And the managers determined to transfer the scene of their principal labour to countries, where inquiry was not so easy, and detection not so much to be apprehended. It appears indeed, that, very early in their progress, they had been convinced, that it would be advantageous to choose a foreign field for their exertions. Not that they supposed that foreign Jews would be found more ready for conversion, or that the residents in distant countries would be more liberal patrons than their friends at home: but they knew, that the prosecution of their experiments here, would "expose them to many objections, from which those who are engaged in missions to the heathen, are in great measure exempt." (p. 157.) The objections thus hinted at, seem, in plain language, to be these. They could not with safety make up so attractive a narrative of domestic, as of foreign occurrences. Because, at home, the facts to be alleged would be easily investigated; and exaggerations could scarcely escape exposure, or failures detection. But as Mr. Way well observed, "*distance* alters the case; a fairer estimate is made—the *favourable* side of the question is presented to view, and *transient impression* is often more productive in its influence, than the result of *near* and *deliberate investigation*." (p. 158, note.) This is not mere matter of inference; the directors of the original association have spoken for themselves; they have recorded their own crooked policy; and no language can describe or expose it more forcibly than that which, in a moment of hardihood or infatuation, they adopted to recommend it. "Missions to the *heathen* are conducted, *not under the eye of a discerning christian community*, but *at a distance from immediate inspection*. The missionaries *abroad* have opportunities and leisure for *selecting* and arranging the information to be communicated to the society *at home* by whom they are employed; and the directors of these institutions are enabled *again to select what part* of that information they deem *most fit for the public eye*. Your committee are placed in very different circumstances. *Every step they take is exposed to the eyes of enemies as well as friends*." (pp. 157, 158.)

On this policy, then, the regenerated society chose to proceed; though the foreign labours of their committee did not offer them much encouragement.

"Past experience had thoroughly convinced these discerning and

indefatigable men, that 'paddling about in a little pond *at home*' * (to adopt imagery imputed to Mr. Cunningham) was the great mistake of their predecessors, to which their several near approaches to foundering were wholly to be attributed. The 'navigating the waters of the great ocean' † was therefore, they knew, their only ground of hope of better success; and though the experiments upon a small scale already made were not very promising, yet a confidence in their own energies derived from what they had themselves accomplished beyond all reasonable calculation in *other* societies, determined them to attempt the enterprise; and, whilst they were engaged in closing the several channels of *home*-expenditure, the employment which occupied them during the last period of the history, the design was gradually opened, and, respect being had to the mental *temperament* of their constituents, the most influential considerations were suggested for forcing forward the tide of their proselyting zeal into the most distant regions.

"Facts were collected from Bible Society reports and other sources, of Jews of London, of Frankfort, of Poland, of the Crimea, and of the northern part of Africa,' some 'subscribing for Bibles',‡ others obtaining copies of the two first Gospels in Hebrew, and reading them; § others publishing the Old Testament in German, with explanatory 'notes'; || others 'scattered here and there, believing in the Messiah-ship of our Lord, but deterred by the fear of man from making an open profession'; ¶ and others again 'becoming christian missionaries:' ** and from these facts it was argued that though, 'whilst contemplated in an insulated form,' they would not warrant 'any general conclusion'; yet, 'concentrated in a common focus,' they did exhibit such a 'combination of favourable events'—such 'a movement taking place in the Jewish mind at one and the same time in different parts of the world'—as 'strengthened the presumption that an important era in the history of that people was near at hand,' and 'surely ought to animate the society to persevere with renewed zeal and redoubled energy in behalf of the house of Israel.' ††

"This foundation being laid, occasion was taken to cast disparaging reflections upon the past 'operations of the society,' all of which, 'with the exception of the Hebrew translation of the New Testament, were represented as 'of too limited a nature,' producing little effect upon the general body of the Jews even in this country, who were but a handful compared with the great body of the nation.' ‡‡ The result of all this evidence and argumentation followed. 'It is the decided opinion of your committee, that if this society is to be the instrument

* "Speech at Suffolk Bible Society Auxiliary, Oct. 20, 1812."

† "Ibid."

‡ "Ninth Report, p. 26."

§ "Ibid. p. 28."

|| "Eighth Report, p. 33."

¶ "Ibid. p. 32."

** "Ninth Report, p. 29."

†† "Eighth Report, p. 32. Ninth Report, pp. 26, 28, 29."

‡‡ "Ninth Report, p. 29."

of any extensive good to the house of Israel, the great field of its operations must be *abroad*.” * ‘Its efforts ought to be at once directed to the east, the west, the north, and the south, wherever there is a Jew in a state of unbelief and spiritual darkness.’” †—p. 161-164.

Having traced the society up to this point, we might perhaps dismiss it from further notice, to the shades in which it seems to delight; if justice to Mr. Norris did not urge us to bring the result of his meritorious labours more fully before our readers. For the future proceedings of the committee and its agents can only be ascertained from its own reports, which were doubly guarded; first, by the missionaries abroad, who it appears were encouraged to communicate only *selected* information; and then by the directors at home, who could extract from this *selected* information such facts only as they might consider to be most fit for the public eye. We leave our readers to suppose, what facts they would be; and what reliance might be placed on them, as affording a fair and impartial statement of the progress of the grand experiment. It is obvious, that the same spirit which animated the committee to undertake the arduous task of navigating a sinking ship, would continue to influence their relation of her voyage; and the credit of other institutions would not be forgotten, in any statement of the progress of their own which they might choose to submit to public scrutiny. Mr. Norris, however, has followed the society through all its operations with indefatigable perseverance; and more than three hundred pages of his work are devoted to the task of examination and exposure. We regret that we can only give a very imperfect sketch of the remainder of his curious and interesting volume.

He first explores and develops the new manager's plan of finance, “the produce of which, from the commencement of the period in 1818 to the present time, has been nearly seventy thousand pounds.” (p. 256.) To those who are unacquainted with the exactions of these new mendicant orders, we recommend the perusal of the section of this volume now open before us. ‡ The exposition it contains is complete; and whatever may be said of the system, and its effect upon the minds and morals of its agents and its victims, at least it must be allowed to be admirably fitted to its object; and to show that its contrivers were not unacquainted with human nature, and neither unable nor unwilling to take advantage of its frailties and its follies.

The missionaries employed by the society are next brought before the reader, that he may judge of their fitness for the task

* “Ninth Report.”

† “Eighth Report, p. 30.”

‡ Ch. 5. sect. 2.

they undertook. The author's own convictions on the subject are thus expressed, and severe as they may seem, we confess they do not appear to us to be unjust.

"Such are the instruments chosen by the committee, to achieve their conversional enterprise; upon whom this passing observation may for the present suffice, that viewed either as a whole or as distinct specimens, they display to admiration the committee's *competence* for discharging themselves of their self-assumed responsibility, if they can be supposed to be *in earnest*, in the object of their association; and at the same time, incomparably illustrate their *Church of England* predilections." (p. 285.)

It was not, perhaps, to be expected, that no persons should be selected as missionaries for foreign purposes, unless they were members of the Church of England. But certainly men so qualified should have been carefully sought out, and always preferred; and, in every case, a scrupulous inquiry should have been made into the previous conduct and character of the individuals, and especial caution should have been used in discriminating between religious motives, and mere enthusiasm or hypocrisy. The researches of Mr. Norris give us little reason to commend the diligence and prudence of the society in these respects. Mr. Solomon, the first on his list, was appointed to Poland. But, after dallying in England for a twelvemonth, where he succeeded in obtaining priest's orders; when, at last, he embarked for the continent to proceed to the scene of his mission; the first tale which the committee have to tell of him is, that, "*like the companion of Paul and Barnabas of old*, he had turned aside from his work, and relinquished for the present his missionary exertions: '* having, unlike the evangelist here profanely alluded to, first availed himself of his '*letter of credit*,' to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds, 'of which,' '*one hundred pounds*,' he says, are destined to keep him for a time, and *fifty pounds* for his poor family: *twenty-five pounds* being, as he states, *due to them on the first of the following July*.'†

* "Jewish Expositor, vol. vi. p. 440."

† "This communication is made in a letter to Mr. Hawtrej, dated Frankfort, about three days after his escape, in which he tells that gentleman that he is going to Warsaw, where he intends to stay some time, and may be addressed '*Poste restante*, Warsaw, which he will be sure to attend to.' *Jewish Expositor*, vol. vi. p. 442. Accordingly 'to Warsaw Mr. M'Caul proceeded, but' (says the editor in a note) 'he had not been there.' Again, at a subsequent period, Mr. Becker writes word, 'M'Caul took his way by post through Galicia, to make inquiries after our poor friend Solomon, at Lemberg and Brody.' *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 378. Nothing, however, has been suffered to transpire of Mr. M'Caul's communications to the committee; which is the more remarkable with respect to his first pursuit, as an extract from the letter in which the

“With this roguery staring him in the face, and with the purloined money actually in his pocket, he still affects to be *religious*, and takes leave of his old associates with ‘*prayer*,’ both for *God’s guidance* and for a future meeting, ‘if not here,’ ‘*before their God and Saviour in heaven*.’”*

Our limits will not allow us to follow out the long catalogue of disappointments which ensued: or we might tell of Mr. Freidenburg’s defection, (p. 294;) of Mr. Tschoudi’s sudden disappearance from the journals of the committee, with two hundred pounds of the fund, (p. 296;) of the mysterious silence preserved respecting Mr. Simon, (p. 303, note;) of Mr. Gericke’s † despair, (p. 314;) and of Mr. Marc’s unostentatious activity, as the chamber counsel of conversion, (p. 317.)

The various proceedings of the foreign auxiliaries, next take their place in the *Acta sanctorum* of Mr. Norris. Though differing as much in character and conduct, as in local habitation, they seem to have agreed admirably in their drafts upon the society’s purse; and hundreds and fifties were scattered with most laudable profusion, among seminaries for young Jews, (p. 315;) congregations of baptized Jews, (p. 318;) societies at Berlin, (p. 325;) at Posen, (p. 330;) at Dresden, (p. 332;) and at Malta, (p. 333.) The facility, indeed, with which money was poured forth from the treasury of the society, to cherish its foreign objects, forms a remarkable contrast with its reformation of the home expenditure; and might have been a little checked, if they had attended to the hints, even of some of their own missionaries. For they were not sparing in their representations of the real character of the Jews, to whom they were sent; and the distinguishing property of the nation, “that it will do almost any thing for money,” (p. 344,) was not forgotten or omitted in their statements.

The prospect in truth was melancholy enough.

“Of the Jews *generally* then, the following is a sketch of what remains to be produced from the society’s missionary representations—that ‘most of those who live in villages and small towns,’ and indeed, ‘all *poor* Jews,’ ‘are too ignorant in religious matters to be willing to enter into any religious conversation’ ‡—that ‘among the *busy* Jews you may generally hear excuses similar to those in the gospel—I have

subject must have been detailed, is given in immediate sequence to the letters of Mr. Solomon, and yet all reference to Mr. Solomon, the immediate object of his journey, is suppressed.”

* “Jewish Expositor, vol. vi. p. 440.”

† Mr. Gericke was a missionary deputed by the Edinburgh Auxiliary Society.

‡ “Mr. Moritz, Twelfth Report, p. 85. Mr. M’Caul, Jewish Records, No. 8. p. 3.”

no time to attend—I must first provide for my family’*—that ‘the most learned explain every thing in a carnal sense, and have little idea of any thing above this world’†—that ‘pride and self-sufficiency are the common vices of the *Talmudists*’‡—that ‘the greater part of the Jews spend much of the sabbath in sleep, the better to enjoy the rest of *that day*,’§ and ‘calling this lethargy their *paradise*’||—that ‘many thousands of them are reduced so low as not to wish the coming of Christ, because then the world will be destroyed’||—that ‘they are *universally* sunk in worldly prospects, body, soul, and spirit enslaved and fettered to earth’¶—will do almost any thing to ‘gain *money*’**—and are ‘dry bones still,’ ‘that want to be shaken more effectually,’ and ‘to be blown upon by the spirit to make them again spiritually and temporally alive.’”††

After all that could be said on the other side, even by the most sanguine of their agents, still so little can be gleaned in the shape of fact, or actual progress, that Mr. Norris may well say “In such a state of mental degradation, an ordinary understanding would not discover that *special* call for conversational exertions which should give the character of ‘*corban*’†† to all that can be *wrung* from the indigent, or *canted* out of the pockets of the wealthy; and should render it a *sacred duty* to overlook the wants of *our own* spiritual household for the sake of such an alienation.” (p. 354.)

It appears, also, that a marvellous confusion of opinions soon arose in the society itself, as to the proper plans to be followed. Mr. Simeon thought, that, “in comparison of translating the New Testament into Hebrew, all other means were of little worth.” (p. 358.) Mr. Friedenberg pronounces “the Hebrew German Testament more useful than the Hebrew, in at least a tenfold ratio.” (p. 359.) The Madras Committee insist on the greater claims of the Old Testament. (*ibid.*) Mr. Thelwall prefers a scriptural tract, or a scriptural exhortation to either. (p. 361.) Mr. Smith wishes to “publish the whole Bible in the form of tracts, with a short clear commentary.” (*ibid.*) Mr. Treschow recommends “a merely biblical catechism.” (*ibid.*) Dr. Bogue and Mr. Marc build their hopes on preaching; and Mr. M’Caul on public worship. (p. 362.) Some were for assailing individuals, others

* “B. N. Solomon. Twelfth Report, p. 80.”

† “J. Christian Moritz. Eleventh Report, p. 48.”

‡ “G. G. Friedenberg. Twelfth Report, p. 96.”

§ “G. Petri. *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 26.”

|| “*Ibid.* *Ibid.* p. 24.”

¶ “A. S. Thelwall. *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 329.”

** “Lieutenant Bailey. *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 436.”

†† “J. Christian Moritz. *Ibid.* p. 410. J. D. Marc. *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 76.”

†† “Mark vii. 11.”

for conversion *en masse*. (p. 363.) Some advocated the utility of conferences and disputations; while others pronounced arguments to be inapplicable to the Jewish case. (*ibid.*) We are weary of enumeration. Babel was never worse confounded, than this committee must have been with the suggestions of their members, and their friends; where every man had "a psalm, a doctrine, a tongue, a revelation, an interpretation." And surely, if one unlearned in its mysteries, or an unbeliever in the efficacy of its conversional labours, had ventured into its conclave, he would have been justified in saying, "Ye are mad."

Mr. Norris next sets forth the nature of the evidence, by which the society endeavoured to satisfy its members, that the grand work of conversion was going successfully forwards.

It is chiefly curious as a specimen of the various forms of language, in which vague hopes and wishes and expectations may be so expressed, as to supply the place of actual and specific information. It is also to be observed, that the names of all the converts in expectancy, or in fact, are studiously suppressed; and the reason for this suppression will be, of course, admitted at once, as all sufficient.

" 'I make no doubt,' says Mr. Thelwall, 'but the rash mention of names, (which has always the effect of inducing us too much to *glory in men*,) has been one great cause of the *lamentable disappointments* we have experienced. I have observed in the course of my own ministry, how *the Lord* takes care to visit me for all my *human confidences*, and *regularly*, the individuals whom I have been the *most inclined to make mention of*, have afterwards proved those over whom, for one cause or other, I have had *the most reason to mourn and weep*, even if I were not obliged to stand *in doubt of them altogether*.' This is most conclusive. 'It has been a lesson,' Mr. T. says, 'to himself, about publishing the names of Jews he converses with, which, he trusts, he shall never forget,' and most certainly it ought to have the effect on '*his friends* which he wishes to impress upon them, *that of repressing their so natural curiosity*.'"—p. 343, note.

We must not venture to follow Mr. Norris through his investigation of the utter inefficacy of every means adopted by the missionaries for the accomplishment of their avowed object, or the instances he produces of the miserable consequences resulting from an incautious administration of baptism, (p. 409;) of the intrinsic worthlessness of the Hebrew Testament, (pp. 311, 312;) the little reason there is to believe, that the Jews were either able to understand, or willing to receive the books and tracts so profusely scattered among them, (p. 413;) and the detail of failures and disappointments which he has collected, from the reports of the "seventeen missionary agents, under the direction

of, or in connection with, the London Society, now labouring among God's people in different parts of the world." (pp. 421, 422.)

While the society was thus accumulating evidence from abroad, of the hopeless nature of its undertaking; and selecting and arranging from that evidence such parts as seemed best calculated to keep up the hopes of the subscribers, without subjecting the committee to the chance of inconvenient scrutiny; the directors did not altogether abstain from that "paddling about in a little pond at home," (p. 161,) which had been the mistake of their predecessors. Their fresh water excursions do not seem indeed to have been very frequent or very productive. The utmost they could do was, "to allege 'several facts' demonstrative of a *mild* and *temperate* spirit in 'the rabbies' in discussing 'points of controversy,' and of 'a much more lively interest' taken by Jews and Jewesses in provincial meetings, anniversary sermons, and monthly lectures on the Old Testament types," which, though they are far from amounting to a proof of *conversion*, certainly evidence, as the committee say, a diminution at least of 'rancour and hostility;' and then they proceed 'to *allude* to the baptism of three Jews,' on the evenings of the 'monthly lectures' at the Episcopal Chapel—of a fourth at Chichester—and of a fifth at Manchester—winding up the whole with a certificate of 'good reason to hope well of the sincerity of all these converts.'"* (p. 476.)

Even the school for the education of Jewish children, maintained at the annual cost of upwards of two thousand three hundred pounds, seems to have been utterly powerless, as an instrument for "evangelizing the Jewish people." "For with such an asylum thrown open to the Jews, and within half an hour's walk of that part of the metropolis where thousands of them reside, the children of *mixed* marriages are of *necessity* made eligible, and *even then*, not more than *five children* annually, upon an average of the whole term of years, can be got to complete the course of their education." (p. 482.)

"Such then," to adopt the author's words, "is the account which the London Society has to render of the one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds which it has received, and such the nature of its pretensions to the continued favour of the British public, and of its especial claim upon the members of the establishment for their countenance and support; and yet to that extent does infatuation prevail that, whilst other genuine church institutions, fraught with *tangible* benefits, are *pinning for sup-*

* "Sixteenth Report, pp. 5, 6."

port,* the committee sum up their last year's exploits with 'rejoicing in the conviction that the society is steadily making its advances amongst all classes of Christians, and more especially amongst the *clergy of the established church*, and feel assured that the cause of Israel is daily becoming more recognised as *the cause of the Bible*, and *identified with the best interests of the church of Christ.*' "†

Mr. Norris has been accused of inaccuracy and misrepresentations, of low scurrility, of charging delinquency without proof, of partiality, of suppressing facts, and mutilating documents. These are grievous faults, if they can be proved; and the accuser, in the plenitude of his confidence that he shall obtain a verdict, may well address him as dead by anticipation, whom he hopes thus to leave—

“ With twenty trenched gashes on his head,
The least a death to nature.”

But, Mr. Norris's friends may dismiss all apprehensions on his account. Even his antagonist seems to have some alarm lest his attack should fail; and Mr. Norris, not knowing when he ought to consider himself as dead, should still continue to perform the functions of a living man.

The accuser may, perhaps, find his fears prophetic; he may wish, that Mr. Norris had been in that state of silence, to which he would willingly consign him; and that, instead of unwisely disturbing his ashes, he had left him with a charitable requiescat

* “The institutions here referred to are those for encouraging the BUILDING AND ENLARGEMENT OF CHURCHES, and for the PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS. The former society has, since its formation in 1818, assisted three hundred and seventy-six parishes in *lessening* the want of church room to the amount of 108,812 sittings, and has now two hundred and thirty-seven applications under consideration with a fund *reduced below* five thousand pounds; and the latter society, after having *successfully* laboured for upwards of a century, in our North American colonies, where it is now actively engaged in diffusing the christian faith, and administering spiritual instruction and consolation to many thousands who would otherwise be without a teacher, by means of one hundred and three missionaries and one hundred schools, has, within the last *three years*, been obliged to *sink twenty-three thousand pounds of its capital from want of due support*; whilst claims upon it are increasing both in the East Indies and in New South Wales as well as in America; to which latter dependency of the empire *alone* there is now a call for forty nine *additional missionaries* and forty-three schools, if means can be found to support them.”

† “*Jewish Expositor*, vol. ix. p. 438.—‘With what good grounds this boast is made, the Itinerary of Messrs. C. Simeon, E. Jacob, D. Ruel, and W. A. Evanson, upon which it is the commentary, will too painfully exhibit; and to what degree the infatuation is become dominant, will appear under the head of Cambridge, where ‘*the Vice Chancellor*’ is stated to have taken *the chair* on the anniversary.—The above Itinerary will be found in the Appendix, No. xix. and will show how appositely Mr. Bushe singles out and expatiates upon ‘*journeying*,’ as the *religious characteristic* by which ‘those Christians,’ of whom he is the panegyrist, are ‘*exactly described*.’ See p. 370, note j.”

in pace inscribed upon his monument. Whether he will descend to a formal refutation of the charges thus brought against him, we know not. If he does, we have no fear of the result. But, even if accidental inaccuracies could be proved against him in some few instances, which we doubt, and we are confident that no case of wilful misrepresentation can be produced, let it be remembered, that his charge against the society does not rest on any one fact, or any one argument, or any one inference ; but on an overpowering mass of admissions, extracted totidem verbis from the society's records ; on arguments built upon their own documents ; on the result of an inquiry into the whole of their proceedings, for the long period of twenty years. Such a case is not to be met by sweeping charges of inaccuracy, or misrepresentation, or scurrility. The question, after all, is not between Mr. Norris and the society ; but between the society and the public. It is not, whether he has been occasionally betrayed into mistakes ; and, perhaps, if it was so, *opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum* ; but whether after all that can be deducted under these pretexts, there is not proof *ex abundante* yet remaining, that this society, thus confessedly upheld for the credit of other institutions, can reflect no credit on them, or on its supporters ; and whether for the sake of the abused cause of charity, nay, for the sake of the Jews themselves, whose conversion ought to be in abler and worthier hands, if it is an object attainable, or to be attempted ; this society should not be quietly consigned to oblivion, with the other bubbles financial, commercial, or political, which have so long agitated the spirits, and absorbed the funds of a nation, whose activity never tires, whose benevolence never cools ? Such is the real question ; and Mr. Norris has most usefully and industriously contributed the documents on which it may be decided. Let them speak for themselves.

We hope the book will be read, and all the statements it contains fairly examined, and their value justly estimated. The result will be as honourable to the author, as it will be beneficial to the cause of genuine charity, and true religion.

In his concluding chapter, the author points out, we think with much force and justice, the causes which have operated to render the efforts of this society unavailing. He traces its failure, first to the state of Christianity in those foreign countries which it has chosen as the principal field of its exertions : a state but little calculated, as he truly argues, to conciliate the reverence of the Jew. He then shows, that the converts who have been already made, or are supposed to be made, are such as are not likely to recommend Christianity by their example. By the admission of the missionaries themselves,

“They are either ‘persons who understand nothing but *hawking*,’ or ‘*petty schoolmasters*, who teach ten or a dozen *ragged children* to read out of a *ragged Talmud*,’ or ‘Jews who apply for baptism to be *more successful in their trade*;’ the very refuse and off-scouring of the Jewish community, upon whom it is distinctly stated that reasoning is thrown away: and is it possible to excite a greater disgust and repugnance at conversion in the minds of *reputable* Israelites, than by encouraging, *as the first-fruits* of an attempt to evangelize that nation, such proselytes as these?”—pp. 498, 499.

The inconsiderate conduct of the society itself and its missionaries towards persons of more respectability among the Jews and to their rabbies, is mentioned as another probable cause of failure. These men were irritated and insulted instead of conciliated, until the very work of conversion became “a by-word, and an object of scorn and ridicule amongst them, being scoffed at as ‘the English madness’ which has infected many persons in Germany.” (p. 502.) At home, where Christianity is known, we trust, by better fruit, and the considerate Jew may yet find enough of the beauty of holiness to attract his attention, and excite his admiration; instead of presenting him with the religion of Christ in all its fair proportions, the first object of the society was to strip it of its characteristics, till it was reduced to that which every varying sect and party could agree in teaching. But Christianity is not to be taught by first subjecting it to such a lowering process, as leaves it without its spirit or its power; but by a plain, clear statement of its evidences and its doctrines; and by an appeal to its effects on the hearts and conduct of its professors; to their unanimity in profession, and their purity in practice. A corrupted Christianity is ill adapted, as has been well shown, to propagate itself; and they who will submit to cancel the essential doctrines of their religion, or to symbolize with the mass of those whom they address, whether Jews or Heathens, will never be successful preachers of the gospel. The annals of the Roman church sufficiently prove the latter proposition, as the efforts of this society have established the former. If the Jews are to be converted by human means, these means must be selected with more judgment, and applied in a better spirit. That the attempt to convert them is a Christian duty, no disciple of Christ will deny: that the follies and failures of this society have not diminished our obligations, and should not quench our zeal, is equally certain.

“The conversion of the Jews remains just as much an object of christian interest, equally within the compass of christian means, and equally fraught with encouragement to employ those means in

promoting it, as when that body undertook the enterprise by methods of its own, and charged itself with its *awful* responsibility."—p. 507.

But for this purpose the church of England should raise her voice, and exhibit her example. Let her doctrines be fairly set before the misguided Israelite; let his attention be properly directed to the decent solemnities of her worship; let her members illustrate their faith and their devotion by the sanctity of their lives; and then we may lift up the standard of Christianity under better auspices, and with well-founded hopes of the divine blessing; and make it our earnest endeavour, as well as our continual prayer to God for Israel, that they may be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.

ART. XIII.—*The Introduction to the Greek Tongue; printed for the Use of Schools; with English Notes, intended to explain the Principles on which many of the Rules were established* By the Rev. P. Homer, B. D., upwards of thirty years one of the Masters in Rugby School. London. Smith, Elder, & Co 1825.

THE very much improved edition of the "*Græcæ Grammatices Rudimenta in usum Regiæ Scholæ Etonensis*" now before us, proceeds on the same general acceptance of the old *rudimenta* from *Gaza*, *Lascaris*, &c. which, in the great schools of this kingdom, has so long directed the teaching of that admirable tongue. Thus limited and viewed in this light, the observations of the editor are full of ingenious reasoning, not always demonstrative, perhaps, but for the most part original, curious, and acute. The book itself altogether, in its present form, deserves very sincere and cordial recommendation to such of our masters as still prefer the clear and fixed brevity of Latin rules (and why not for GREEK grammar, at least?) to the loose verbiage which, in drawing up English rules, it is found so difficult to avoid.

"In every work regard the writer's end;
For none need compass more than they intend."

Let Mr. Homer, then, from his own preface, speak for himself:—"It appeared to him a defect in almost all grammars, to lay down a great variety of rules, and scarcely ever to assign a reason for any one of them. Such a plan, at the same time that

it makes the learning of rules extremely dry and uninteresting, leaves the scholar entirely ignorant of all the principles upon which the language was originally constructed. After the lapse of so many ages, the editor is well aware how difficult it must be, in many instances, to ascertain the reasons that led to the adoption of any general rules in the construction of a language, or to particular departures from those rules."

"He feels confident," however, "that much benefit must accrue to the learner from every inquiry of this nature. The cause why rules are so difficultly acquired by boys, and so easily forgotten, appears to be because the reasons upon which they were constructed have seldom been explained to them."

Again: "The editor, in attempting to illustrate this subject, always thought it necessary to keep in view the writings of the poets of Greece, more than its prose authors. It is in the poets that we must trace the origin and progress of the Greek language; and it would be of great importance to be able to ascertain which was the earliest dialect of that language. Though the writings of Homer are the oldest that we now possess, and are chiefly written in the Ionic dialect, yet it is probable that both the Doric and Æolic are older than the Ionic; and it is certain that the Attic was the latest of all. As Quintilian says that the Latin language was constructed upon the Æolic dialect of the Greek, it is reasonable to believe, from the known antiquity of the Latin language, that it existed before the earliest dialect of the Greek had fallen into disuse. In grammars, the Attic dialect is generally represented as the standard of the Greek language; and every departure from that dialect, boys are apt to regard as an exception to the general rules on which the language was originally constructed. The contrary to this is, however, evidently the fact. The Ionic, Doric, and Æolic forms of words are not to be deemed substitutes for the Attic, but the Attic for them. It is allowable to consider the Attic dialect as the last refinement of the Greek language; but a knowledge of the original construction of that language must be sought in the earlier dialects."

We were delighted with the promise of boldness in this last declaration: had it been more freely pursued, we should have liked it still better. But a vast improvement in the scholastic creed has found its way into general acceptance, we hope, within the last thirty years. More than that time has elapsed since Mr. Porson stamped with the sanction of his name a golden remark of Mr. Payne Knight's: it was given in the first edition of his *Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet*.

The scholars and critics, or if you will, "the writers who suc-

ceeded the Macedonian conquest, and considered the later Attic as the universal dialect and standard for purity, were not likely to form very accurate notions of the style of Homer; for instead of considering their own grammatical flexions as *corruptions* of his," say rather, as *polished contractions*, "they considered his as licentious or poetical *deviations* from their own; wherefore they began their researches at the wrong end, and consequently, the farther they pursued them the farther they were from the truth."

And now let us recommend to our readers the whole of Mr. Homer's preface, as being singularly candid and ingenuous. We shall give one more extract, because it lays an awful responsibility on the *Syndics* of the press at Eton, by whatever name called; which they will do well to consider and turn to good account. One of these days, perhaps, we may take a little pains to aid the operation. Beyond a doubt, "eminent scholars at our most famous school" (and we grudge not the praise which their own Porson has bestowed) owe to all the academies in England, which adopt the books and profess the system of Eton, an immense debt of justice for volumes of incorrect learning every year published by their authority, and known by themselves to be incorrect. *Hinc lucem et pocula sacra!*

Mr. Homer is only too indulgent to these privileged dispensers of classical literature. "The editor," he says, "has made the Eton Greek Grammar the basis of his own observations; because, from the justly established repute in which that celebrated seminary has always stood, its grammar is more generally adopted in schools than any other."

It is now time to give a few specimens of the editor's talent and success in the execution of his task.

"When Homer uses the *prepositive article*," afterwards so called, "for the *relative* $\delta\iota$," afterwards called so, "he often adds the enclitic $\tau\epsilon$, as $\acute{o} \tau\epsilon$, and *he*. But is not the relative $\delta\iota$ the very same thing? Does it not combine in itself the meaning of the prepositive article with the connecting particle $\tau\epsilon$? It is probable, that the relative owes its origin to the article altogether, and was intended to convey the sense of the article and the connecting article in one word."—p. 6.

In other words, $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ and $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ of early Greek correspond to *cujus* (masc.) and *quem* in the Latin language. How then, it may be asked, came the simple pronouns, $\acute{o}\iota$, and $\delta\iota$, at a later period, to take the place of their own compounds? How came the compounds to accept an office so much inferior to their natural rank?

P. 22, a plain but very powerful remark:—

"Much learning might have been spared in vindicating the metre of Homer, if it had been allowed that it is often regulated by the ear of the poet," in his own day, "rather than by any fixed rules of prosody," i. e. fixed long after his time.

"What author uses δεινατοι and δεινατι? They are not noticed in Hederic's or Scapula's '*Lexicon*,' or Matthiæ's '*Grammar*.' If they exist, they are the genitive and dative from δεινα, as δεινοι and δεινι are from the old nominative δεις. Δεινα is called indeclinable; but is it ever used for the genitive and dative case? Matthiæ gives the plural of this word οἱ δεινες, τῶν δεινων."—p. 36.

"One form in a Greek word is often the parent of many others, which spring from it in a variety of ways; sometimes by contraction, sometimes by syncope, sometimes by apocope, and at others by a mere commutation or a balance of quantity."—p. 59.

We like exceedingly the idea and phrase—*balance of quantity*; it expresses very happily the line of ingenious remark by which Mr. Homer accounts for several changes in the flexions of words, and in particular for the well-known different modifications of the infinitive mood *εμεναι*.

The analogy itself without the name Dr. Samuel Clarke, perhaps, first pointed out in his note, Iliad. A. 265. when comparing—

"Πηληιοι, Πηληῖ, with Πηλεωι, Πηλεῖ,
Κρονίωνοι with Κρονίωνοι, μεμῆστος with
μεμῆστος, &c."

But on v. 193, of that book,

"Ἐωι ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,

there appears a confusion in Clarke's note, very unlike his general style as a critic, which is eminently clear and precise.

"Ἐωι ὁ.] pronuntiabatur raptim legentibus, ac si scriptum fuisset, ὥσω vel ὥσεο.

Professor *Porson* (as reported by Mr. Kidd in the minor *Tracts*, p. 206) settled the matter at once, on the very ground which Clarke should have taken as being his own.

In Il. A. 193. *ἔωι* est trochæus, quâ analogiâ *λεῶι* et *λαὸς* et multa alia. [P. P. Dobree.]

After thus placing Mr. Homer's Greek Grammar fairly in the sight of our readers, we hasten to indulge a speculation of our own. To advance the landmarks of science in that language, and not merely to cultivate what is already enclosed, may be forgiven as an object of just ambition, if it should fail in the attempt to be realized. Every thing, then, which learning and

research might effect within the limits of the Greek tongue itself, we verily believe, is nearly if not altogether exhausted. A vast field, however, yet remains for the exploring eye in a more ancient language ; which demonstrably is mother, or very like it, both to the Latin and Greek.

The great resemblance of Sanskrit words to those of Greek and Latin, Mr. Halhed was the first to detect : and though he made his discovery known to oriental scholars, so long ago as the year 1778, it does not appear that he ever pursued the investigation of that similitude himself, or inspired any kindred mind with zeal in the cause.

Even Sir William Jones, who corroborated in 1786 Mr. Halhed's judgment on the beauties of the Sanskrit, and on its wonderful coincidences with the Greek and Latin, never seems to have practically traced the Asiatic tongue in a line with the European, or to have thrown the light of his fine intellect on the birth and parentage of the latter.

The first opening of this interesting task in detail, was reserved for the acute and ingenious writer (Edinburgh Review, No. xxvi. for January, 1809) of an article on *Wilkins's Grammar of the Sanskrita language*. He professed to run the parallel only with the Latin, having but a slender knowledge of the Greek ; and his demonstration of the identity of numerous *words* in the languages as well as of their *structure*, also, has been considered perfectly successful. Singularly enough that writer, without being aware of it, was quite lucky in beginning with the Latin ; which, being either the child or the sister of Æolic Greek, in the very same degree more faithfully preserves the flexions of the Sanskrit. The deviations of the Ionic and Attic from the Æolic forms, of course present a very curious subject for disquisition.

One or two specimens may suffice, at present, to show the nature of this remark. Every scholar knows, that in the small remains of Æolic composition, verbs in μ so called occur very strikingly. Now, the Sanskrit employs the very same elements (*mi*) in constituting the first person of its verb : its pronoun separately is *aham*, while the Teutonic is *ich*, and the common Greek is $\epsilon\gamma\omega$. Hence, $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ the Æolic differs from $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ the common form : with the Sanskrit *Pà mi*, I reign, it evidently agrees. Again, the elements *s* and *tha* mark the second persons singular and plural in Sanskrit : the peculiar endings of $\omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha$ from $\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha$, &c., always called Æolic, and of the Latin, *novisti* and *nostī*, &c., exhibit the same identical pronoun.

With all our obligations, however, to the writer in the "Edinburgh Review," we have to acknowledge a far deeper and more

extensive work on the very same argument. The title is full of promise; and the execution, as far as we have seen of it, abundantly makes good the expectation held out.

In the *Annals of Oriental Literature*, (Part i. June, 1820,) the very first article (pp. 1. 65.) is this:—

Analytical Comparison of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages, showing the original identity of their grammatical structure. By F. Bopp.

This *Analytical Comparison*, justly so called, (but never continued beyond the first number,) embraces the *verbs* and *participles* only. It is admirable as far as it goes: but dwelling perhaps too long in detail, its effect is rather lost in the multitude of small particulars. The reader, new to such a subject, (and who is not?) requires to be refreshed every now and then by stopping at short stages where he may be invited to recapitulate and review what is already done.

We could have wished also for reasons which will appear by and by, that the author had proceeded in the same acute manner to illustrate the similitude of the *nouns* and *pronouns* in Sanskrit and Greek. He deserves our best thanks, however, for the light which he has so far thrown on the *comparative anatomy* of those tongues: and we shall be most happy to profit, when we know where and how, by the continuance of his labours in a field of such curious and instructive discovery.

For the present, let us frankly and briefly confess what is one definite object at least of these suggested inquiries. We are devotedly attached to the language and literature of Athens: our old friend, Dr. Parr, the Nestor of Greece, was hardly more so. And it struck us at an early period of life, that the whole rationale of Greek syntax hinged, and must of necessity hinge, on the analysis and signification when discovered of the several Greek cases.

Here, we still think, lies the Gordian knot of grammar. It has been distantly touched, it has been clumsily cut: has it ever yet been fairly untied and developed? To speak plainly, then, we want to know the constituent parts of a Greek case so called. Shall we look for “metaphysical aid,” and investigate in the genitive, dative, and accusative cases, “the three chief circumstances of relation or connection in human life, *possession*, *interchange*, and *action*?” That has been done with the most pleasing ingenuity, (sixty years ago,) by Professor Moor of Glasgow, in his *Introductory Essay on the Greek Prepositions*.

If dissatisfied with abstract and logical bases for this gram-

matical structure, shall we venture to fix a "*local habitation*" for the *name*? May we not then suppose, that since of all relations the first and most striking are those of sensible objects, the *material* world in this, as in other departments, lent its language to the *moral*? Or to declare at once what we honestly believe, let our own hypothesis, under that modest name, be avowed without farther excuse or apology.

The Greek NOMINATIVE case then was the noun itself, not in its *crude state*, (according to the phrase of Sanskrit grammar,) but combined with the simple pronoun, *he*, *she*, or *it*.

The GENITIVE case was the noun so formed, with a word besides, or part of word, indicating the local term *of*, or *from* :

The DATIVE in like manner, with some indication of *in*, or *at* ;

And the ACCUSATIVE with some final syllable, signifying *to*.

This scheme for the primitive formation of the cases, (drawn up in a brief essay five and twenty years ago, and communicated to a few eminent scholars, but never printed,) if taken as a whole, and particularly in the simple elements so distinctly stated, we believe to be entirely original. That in parts, some approaches had been made to it, though much too loosely to touch the matter to the quick, must be candidly acknowledged ; and may, indeed, be fairly urged, as preluding to its discovery, and now favouring its truth, in the very same degree. We do not intend at present to bring forward in detail the grammatical facts which support this hypothesis : but the nature of the argument will be seen in a few specimens.

In the parisyllabic declensions, then, $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ and $\omicron\iota\kappa \sigma \varsigma$, compared with $\delta\omicron\delta\lambda \sigma \iota$ and $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda \eta$, sufficiently show the pronouns, *he*, and *she*, in the NOMINATIVE. $\textcircled{\text{O}}\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu \acute{o} \theta \epsilon \nu$, an old form of the GENITIVE, with $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu \acute{o} \theta \iota$ (from $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu \acute{o} \sigma \iota$) for the DATIVE, may serve to illustrate those cases as part of the system. And as old forms of the ACCUSATIVE, let $\pi\epsilon\delta\iota \sigma \nu \delta \epsilon$, $\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha \delta \epsilon$, $\chi\alpha\mu \acute{\alpha} \zeta \epsilon$, $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu \acute{o} \sigma \epsilon$, be produced to complete the set.

On attempting to carry this idea into the third or imparisyllabic declension, we had to encounter an evident change in the pronoun concerned, and found the difficulties increase accordingly. Yet in that declension, supposing, as we do, the local term ($\iota \nu$ or ι) to be the original ending *always* of the dative case, and knowing the forms $\epsilon \iota$, and $\alpha \iota$, in Greek (with *as* in Sanskrit) to indicate plurality, we could not but discern a strong agreement with our wishes, in the dative plural of $\kappa\upsilon\omega\nu$ for instance:—

N. $\kappa\upsilon\nu$ — $\epsilon \varsigma$, dogs.

D. $\kappa\upsilon\nu$ — $\epsilon \sigma$ — $\iota \nu$, *in* dogs,

prolonged into $\kappa\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$ or shorted into $\kappa\upsilon\sigma\iota$.

Our main strength, however, lies, till the Sanskrit be farther examined, in the singular agreement betwixt the prepositions of the Greek language and the cases which go along with them. Thus : the prepositions, ἀπὸ and ἐξ, ἐν, and εἰς, are the constant companions of the genitive, dative, and accusative, respectively. This, we say, is exactly as it ought to be for our hypothesis ; nothing could possibly answer it better.

Again, whenever a preposition is of a nature to go with three different cases, if the local relations, *from* or *of*, *in* or *at*, and *to*, can be clearly seen, the cases also are seen with those very distinctions. We have been amused, indeed, to remark how very nearly some ingenious men have caught at once the masterkey to the causes of Greek syntax, from correctly translating the following sentence in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon :—

Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ Βασίλ' ἑα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ ἦνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίῳ οὐ καὶ Πασίων οἱ πλείονι ἢ δισχιλιοι, λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.

Of course the translation below (need we stop to prove that *παρὰ* is the English word, *side* ?) is intended to exemplify analytically our theory of the cases.

παρὰ Ξενίου, παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ, παρὰ Βασιλέα.
from -side -Xenias, at -side -Clearchus, to -side -the King.

HERMAN, in his acute, profound, invaluable essay *De Ellipsi et Pleonasmō*, (1808, Berlin ; 1813, Oxford,) by the light of that very preposition, strikes out the general meaning of the cases, but without breathing a hint of their material origin.—(pp. 135, 164.)

Παρὰ est *apud*, eaque significatio manet, sive παρὰ σοι, sive παρὰ σέ, sive παρὰ σοῦ dicatur : sed casuum diversitas facit, ut παρὰ σοι habeatur id, quod est apud te ; παρὰ σέ, quod accedat ad te ; παρὰ σοῦ, quod veniat a te : id quod simili modo Galli dicunt, *de chez toi*.

Let us now hope that we have succeeded in showing, by specimen, at least, the deep and essential connection of the Greek cases, rightly analyzed, with the principles of Greek syntax. We have rendered it probable, also, that certain terms of local meaning exist in the combination of elements which form the Greek cases. Exactly to develop the constituent parts of the noun in all three declensions, if we must speak the truth honestly, is quite out of our power. Whether that task be itself possible, we dare not pronounce. But if the Greek language be immediately

derived from the Sanskrit, which we believe on the authorities quoted in an earlier part of this article ; to the Sanskrit, some critical masters of both languages must go—

“ I pede fausto, Docte sermones utriusque linguæ !”

and from the comparative anatomy of the two, elicit the structure of the less perfect, which at present stands in much need of illustration.

By way of postscript, and as an encouragement to our hopes, we copy from Wilkins's “ Grammar,” (pp. 36, 37,) the following account of the eight cases in Sanskrit :—

1. The *nominative*. 2. The *accusative*. 8. The *vocative*.
3. The *implementive* case, having the force of the sign *by* or *with*.
4. The proper *dative* case, with the sign *to*.
5. The *ablative* case, with the sign *from*.
6. The proper *genitive* or *possessive* case, with the sign *of* or *belonging to*.
7. The *locative* case, with the sign *in* or *on*.

“ Quis referet nobis victor, quid possit oriri,
Quid nequeat ; finita potestas denique quouque
Quanam sit ratione atque alte terminus hærens ?”

ART. XIV.—*The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D. D. &c., now first collected and arranged. To which is prefixed a Review of the Author's Life and Writings.* By William Van Mildert, D. D., Lord Bishop of Llandaff. 11 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1823.

THERE are few names which stand higher in the esteem of those who are well read in the works of our great English divines, than that of Waterland. The age in which he lived, though illustrated by a more than ordinary constellation of talent in the walks of science and general literature, was not the best age of theology, either in this country or abroad. The learning that was possessed, was too much in the hands of a class of theologians, who, however friendly to revelation itself, were yet strongly biassed against all established systems of belief. It was a period, more than any other in the history of Europe, in which science and natural philosophy had made rapid strides ; and the effect of this upon religion, though advantageous, perhaps, in the final result, was yet at first not unattended with some partial evil.

In the same way as at the Reformation, the zeal of the first reformers for the paramount authority of scripture, led them too far in their opposition to every opinion or institution, however innocent or just in itself, which had its origin in tradition, or the customs of the early church : so at the period to which we are now alluding, the success with which discoveries in science had been prosecuted, gave a sort of fashion to abstract reasoning of every kind, which, as applied to scripture, it was easy to carry to an extreme.

If the effect of this bias upon the minds of men of that age, be traceable to the writings even of the most orthodox divines, such as Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Dean Sherlock, South, Warburton, and others, we need not be told that the marks of a disposition to lean too much upon their own understanding, in matters not properly within its province, were much more plainly to be discerned in the writings of those who professedly set themselves up as philosophical divines. In Holland, especially, theology at that day received a blow from the writings of Le Clerc, and some of his contemporaries, from which it never recovered. If the evil passed away in this country without inflicting any permanent injury upon the character of our national divinity, we are indebted for our deliverance to the opposition which was made to all innovation, from the very constitution, the mere *vis inertia* of our established church, considering it simply as an establishment. But under God, and next to the blessing of our happy constitution in church as well as in state, the individual to whom, more than to any other, we owe a debt of gratitude, for the honourable distinction which the church of England at this day enjoys, among all the Protestant churches of the world, is Dr. Waterland.

A person must be ignorant indeed of the ecclesiastical literature of the country, not to be familiarly acquainted with the name of this most eminent man. Every one knows that he was the great antagonist of Dr. Clarke, and that the subject of his works consists chiefly of discussions connected, more or less directly, with the Trinitarian controversy. But if we may form any judgment from the comparative rarity of any reprints of his writings in later days, or from the infrequency of quotations from them, compared with the constant allusion which is made to the opinions and authority of Warburton, and others, who wrote at the same time, it is evident that the works of Waterland have not only lost much of that popularity which they obtained in their own day, but much more than (making all allowances for the controversial character of the greater part of them) can be satisfactorily explained.

It is difficult to compare the talents and genius of eminent individuals together; because in all such estimates so much will depend upon the side to which the taste of him who makes the comparison may happen to incline. Speaking of Waterland, however, as a *divine*, we feel very little difficulty in assigning him not merely the foremost rank among the divines of his day, but the first place in that rank. In general learning he was, no doubt, far surpassed by Bentley; and Clarke was, perhaps, his equal in theological learning; in the boldness of his views, and in the powers of natural eloquence, he came far behind the author of the "Divine Legation." But in the talent of reasoning, the talent of close and logical argument, we hardly know any writer who was his superior. While the soberness of his judgment, the prudence of all his decisions, the accuracy of his knowledge, in every question to which he brought his mind, render him a safer guide to the student, and we may perhaps add, a sounder authority upon most of the controverted points of faith, than almost any English divine whom we could name since the days of Hooker.

It is therefore with no ordinary satisfaction that we direct the attention of our readers to the works of Waterland, now for the first time collected together. And this pleasure is not a little enhanced by their being ushered into the world, under the sanction of the Bishop of Llandaff. The care which has been taken in obtaining from every quarter whatever his author has left behind, and the labour bestowed upon the "Review of Waterland's Life and Writings," prefixed to the present edition, are a sufficient proof of the high estimation in which the Bishop of Llandaff holds this incomparable divine. Indeed, a higher, or more unequivocal testimony to his merits could not easily have been devised; for a more enlightened judge of the value of Waterland's services to the cause of catholic Christianity does not exist; nor one whose opinion will have more weight in determining the rank which he ought to hold in the list of illustrious names to which the church of England lays her claim.

It has been a great disadvantage to the popularity which the writings of Waterland would otherwise have enjoyed, that the greater number of them are controversial. The effect of this is perceived not merely as giving to them a tone which is at variance with kindly feelings: though nothing of bitterness or personal animosity ever disgraces his pen: but what is a more substantial inconvenience, it is necessary that the reader, in order properly to understand his reasoning, should have some previous acquaintance with the writings of those, whose opinions he opposed. Now this important objection is completely

removed in the present edition of his works. The "Review of the Author's Life and Writings," which has been added by the Bishop of Llandaff to the collection of them, here presented to the public, consists principally of an account of the various productions to which Waterland replied, and which were composed in the way of rejoinder to his animadversions. The skill, the clearness, and perfect knowledge of the subject, which this review displays, is above all praise; and interspersed as it is with the editor's own remarks upon incidental topics of discussion, we think this part of the present publication, not the least valuable portion of the whole. A commentary of this kind, embracing such an extent of ground, and constantly touching upon subjects which involved questions of the deepest importance, required no common wisdom or learning on the part of the writer. But the manner in which the Bishop of Llandaff has performed this part of the task which he undertook, will be best described, by saying, that so far as the works of his author are concerned, the reader will seldom or never require any thing towards the complete understanding of the argument in hand, farther than what he will find fully explained in this introduction. It is, indeed, almost a work in itself; so complete is the view taken in it of the theological literature of the country, during that period in which Waterland lived and wrote. The greater number of the productions to which the bishop refers, are now nearly forgotten; and they are not of a class which renders it desirable, that the reader of the present day should make himself intimately acquainted with their contents. Their chief value consists in the use which they may be of, towards the full understanding of the works of Waterland; and so far as this purpose was to be answered, the reader will find every thing that was necessary to be known completely stated and explained in the present publication. Of Dr. Waterland's personal memoirs, so little is known beyond those ordinary circumstances and occurrences which are common to those who lead a life of studious ease at either of our universities, that we can hardly think it worth the while to collect together the several particulars of this nature, which the industry of the Bishop of Llandaff has authenticated. Our author was born in 1683, at Walesby in Lincolnshire. He was the second son of a clergyman, and was educated at the free school of Lincoln. In March, 1699, he was admitted of Magdalen College, Cambridge, of which society he was appointed to be head, in 1713. The period of Dr. Waterland's residence at Cambridge, was marked by academical divisions and disputes, in which he appears to have taken, though not a violent, yet a very active part. He was warmly attached to the Hanoverian

succession, in which feeling, if we may judge from the anecdotes which the Bishop of Llandaff relates, it would not appear that he shared the sentiments of the majority of the university at that time. In 1717, he was appointed one of the king's chaplains, and towards the end of the same year, had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him. He was presented, in 1721, to the rectory of St. Austin and St. Faith, in the city of London, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's: about two years afterwards, Sir William Dawes, the Archbishop of York, promoted him to the chancellorship of that province. The next step in his preferment was to a canonry of Windsor, which led to his obtaining the vicarage of Twickenham; and in the same year (1730) having resigned his city living, he was collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex. In the year 1734, he was chosen by the lower house of convocation, to be their prolocutor, which honour he declined, as he also did the bishopric of Llandaff, which was offered to him about four years afterwards. In the Easter of 1739, he delivered his last charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry, and died in the year following, of a complaint which he had too long neglected, (the nail growing into his great toe,) and for which he underwent an operation, which terminated his life on the 23d of December, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

The above are the principal facts which mark the different stages of Waterland's biography. In the life prefixed, a variety of other particulars have been drawn from various sources, some throwing more and some less light upon his character and pursuits; but they are, for the most part, not of a striking nature; and such as they are, would be read with interest only by those who have learned from the study of Waterland's writings to feel an acquired interest in every thing which is mixed up with his name.

The "Review of his Life and Writings," which the Bishop of Llandaff has attached to this collection of "Waterland's Works," occupies in the whole about three hundred and fifty pages, of which somewhat less than a hundred are devoted to the memoirs themselves; the remainder being entirely taken up with a critical account of the various controversies in which he was engaged.

Waterland's writings may be distributed under four heads; those which relate to the controversy with Dr. Clarke on the subject of the Trinity, form by much the largest, as well as most important division. The next place we should assign to the discussion in which he engaged, on the question as to the sacrificial character of the eucharist. The third relates to his controversies with the deists, and with those divines (a pretty large class in his day) who seemed to treat revelation merely as a divinely authorized

form of natural religion ; and, lastly, we may mention his charges, and sermons, and tracts, which form altogether a miscellaneous class of considerable extent as well as value.

It is in this order that the contents of the volumes before us are arranged, and in which they are successively examined by the Bishop of Landaff. Looking merely to the critical review itself, and to the observations and reflections which it contains from the pen of the editor, we should, perhaps, say, that the most instructive as well as the most interesting portion of this preliminary volume, will be found in the admirable view which the bishop takes of the several opinions which have been maintained on the subject of the sacraments, in the second of the divisions above noted. We have seldom read any composition of a similar kind displaying higher talents for theological criticism, than is exhibited in this part of the review. But directing our view to Waterland himself, the works which he put out, in the progress of the Trinitarian controversy, are beyond any comparison those to which most importance was attached in the time when they appeared, and which still deserve to be principally regarded. Whether the sacrament of the eucharist be a federative act, or only representative and commemorative ; whether the sacred elements be a *material* sacrifice, according to some divines, or only symbolical of a real sacrifice, agreeably to the more prevailing opinion : these are questions which cannot be decided from the words of scripture ; nor is it, perhaps, important that they should, so long as the object of our faith is the real sacrifice which was offered up for us by Christ ; and that we believe the elements to be “ instrumentally a cause of the real participation of Christ,” to use the words of Hooker, as quoted with approbation by the Bishop of Landaff.

The case, however, is otherwise in the instance of the controversy which Waterland maintained so successfully, on the question as to the true nature of Christ's divinity. The debate, here, is not as to the manner of explaining a doctrine, but regards the very substance of Christianity.

It is observed by the Bishop of Landaff, that, “ the best view, perhaps, that can be taken of Dr. Waterland's labours, will be to regard them as a continuation of those of Bishop Bull.” (p. 44.) This is true, not merely with reference to the sameness of the object which both had in view, and to the connection of their labours, in point of time, but in a nearer sense still. For, setting controversy aside, the writings of Dr. Waterland were necessary to the completion of Bishop Bull's argument, supposing the bishop's purpose to have been not merely a defence of the Nicene faith, but a proof of the received doctrine of the Trinity.

Viewing this doctrine as a question to be debated among Christians, of course it can only be maintained on a supposition that all parties admit the determination of it to depend upon the evidence of the scriptures. The Socinians, therefore, are at once excluded from the debate. The liberties they have found themselves compelled to take with the text of scripture; the various strange principles of interpretation which they have introduced; the unnatural force which they put upon particular passages and expressions, is a concession of the argument. If the doctrine of the Trinity cannot be denied, except by resorting to such perilous and inadmissible expedients, this is to admit all that its advocates need attempt to prove. For supposing the doctrine to have been asserted ever so plainly and positively, no one doubts but that it might still be shown not to have been intended by the sacred writers, if we are at liberty to put a different sense upon their words, from that which they would bear, if interpreted according to the common forms of speech. In this question, as to the true interpretation of scripture, speaking with reference to its general meaning, it is evident that the voice of the catholic church is absolutely conclusive. If we were to take any written document, respecting whose meaning we were anxious to be altogether assured, and having shown it to a hundred thousand persons, found all of them to agree in the same interpretation of it, it is plain, that in such a case, no doubt would remain upon our minds as to its grammatical sense.

With respect, however, to the Arian hypothesis, the case is different. Those who maintain this scheme of Christianity, neither deny the appeal to scripture, as to the sole and highest authority, nor do they put any construction either upon single words, or upon the general phraseology of scripture, materially different from that which is put upon them by the catholic church in general. The difference of opinion between this last and the Arians, is not as to the genuineness of the received text of scripture, nor as to the proper rules of scriptural interpretation, but as to the general meaning of the sacred writers, as collected from a comparison of the different parts of scripture among each other.

The Arians admitted the preexistence of the Son; that he was the instrument employed by God in the creation of the world; that he is our mediator, and will hereafter come to judge the world. They did not pretend as the Sabellians of old, or as the Unitarians of the present day, that he was merely an inspired man, sent by God to give a divine sanction to the truths of natural religion; but, nevertheless, they affirmed that he was a creature, and that there was a time when he did not exist.

It was to oppose the progress of this error, which was then

beginning to make advances in the church, that Constantine assembled the council of Nice. If we look to the creed there drawn up, as it is given in Eusebius, it will be perceived, that every article of it refers exclusively to the question as to the true nature and dignity of Christ, as opposed to the opinions of Arius on this subject. If ever there was an œcumenical council, entitled to be called free and universal, or whose decrees may claim to be held in reverence, it was this great council. The assembly contained two hundred and fifty bishops, (three hundred and eighteen according to Socrates,) besides presbyters; it consisted of prelates, met together from every part of the globe; from Scythia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Africa, and Spain, as well as from the parts nearer to the seat of empire; and Eusebius tells us, that among those so assembled were men dignified by every virtue, who were all brought to unanimity and concord on the great question which was the occasion of their being collected together. "*In hac synodo,*" says Bishop Bull, "*agebatur de summo capite religionis christianæ, nempe de personæ Jesu Christi, servatoris nostri, dignitate: sitne ille ut verus Deus colendus, an in creaturarum et rerum vero Deo subjectarum ordinem et censum redigendus. Si in hac maximi momenti questione toto cælo errasse universos ecclesiæ rectores, erroremque suum plebi christianæ persuasisse fingamus; quo pacto constabit fides Christi Domini nostri recipientis, se ad consummationem sæculi Apostolis, adeoque eorum successoribus ad futurum?"*

But, to say nothing of this promise of our Saviour, that he would always be present with his visible church, and putting the authority of councils on the lowest ground, the unanimous decision of the Nicene fathers, as to the catholic doctrine respecting the nature and dignity of Christ, (living as they did in an age not farther removed from that of the apostles, than that of James I. from the present time,) was surely almost decisive against the Arian scheme, considering it as the doctrine of the apostles. For viewing the Nicene fathers, not as judges of the truth of the catholic doctrine, but merely as witnesses of a fact, they were surely competent to say what was the doctrine of the church, at the time when that council was assembled.

If that doctrine was no longer the same as that which the apostles delivered, we do not ask how, in a matter of such moment, an error had crept into the church; but what we ask is this: how it happened that not one church or two, but every church, throughout the whole world, should all have fallen into the *same* error? That all the churches of the world, though united under no one common head, should all agree in the *same truth*, is easily explained, and would only be a proof that they must all have drawn their faith from one common origin; but that a num-

ber of churches, distant from each other in place, speaking different languages, using different versions of the scripture, should all either conspire, or fall by chance into one particular error, seems to us as improbable a supposition as can be easily conceived.

Our readers will readily perceive from these brief remarks, that much importance attaches to the testimony of the Nicene fathers, as to the doctrine received by the primitive church, on the subject which they were met to determine. Accordingly in the age immediately preceding the time of Waterland, the impugnors of this doctrine directed all their learning and ingenuity to obviate the difficulties by which they were pressed from the weight of this great argument. It was evidently not to be denied but that the immediate successors of the apostles could not be deceived as to the true doctrine of Christianity on any important article; and consequently, if the Nicene fathers were to be received as witnesses of the faith of the early church, an end would be put at once to the pretences of those who wished to revive the Arian opinions. A cloud of writings, therefore, both in this country, and abroad, were put forth about this time, some of more and some of less learning and ability, but all composed with the view of depreciating the authority of ecclesiastical antiquity in general, but more particularly of the Nicene fathers; of whom it was asserted that they had composed a new creed, and that the doctrine which they imposed upon the church relative to the divinity of Christ, was an article unknown to Christianity in the first ages of it.

It is the refutation of this last assertion, which Bishop Bull undertook to effect in his immortal work: a work which has contributed more to the stability of English theology in the great article of Christ's divine nature, than, perhaps, any production which has ever issued from the press. As a demonstration of this important truth, in opposition to Arianism, its success, indeed, was complete. Though a solitary opinion has been expressed from time to time, still contending for the fact which Bishop Bull disproved, yet this mode of attacking the catholic doctrine seems at length, by general consent, to have been abandoned. A remarkable proof, (and one which speaks more than even the present silence of those who dispute our conclusions,) in confirmation of what we are here saying, is this: that when Dr. Clarke produced the authority of quotations from the fathers, in support of that subordinate sense in which he admitted the divinity of Christ, (a sense which though subordinate, was yet removed to an infinite distance from that of the Arian hypothesis,) he tells us that "he did not cite these places from

the early fathers, to show what was the opinion of the writers themselves; but only to show how naturally truth sometimes prevails by its own native clearness and evidence, *even against the strongest and most settled prejudices.*" With respect to the object for which Dr. Clarke here professes to quote the fathers, it is difficult to see what value their testimony possessed, beyond what might have been derived from quoting the chance expressions of any orthodox divines of the present day; but his admission, that the passages had been extorted from them in opposition "even to their strongest and most settled prejudices," at once shows, that viewing the fathers in the only light in which their evidence, as to a matter of this nature, can be supposed to possess any considerable value, (that is to say, in the question of *fact*, as to what were or were not the doctrines generally received in the church,) their testimony is to be regarded as being most full and decisive, in contradiction even to that modified dissent from the orthodox explanation of the creeds, for which he ventured to contend. It is said somewhere by Socinus, that having found a mention of the Trinity in Lucian (in his *Philopatriis*) this authority weighed more in his mind, as a proof that the doctrine was received into the church, at that early age, than any evidence which he had ever met with. We might say the same of this passage of Dr. Clarke. Though violently assailed at the time, and justly animadverted upon in many respects, yet it furnishes a most unanswerable testimony to the truth of Bishop Bull's proposition. It is the testimony of a great writer, reading the fathers expressly with a view to find them symbolizing with his own opinions; and after having read them, confessing that they were even *prejudiced* against the conclusion for which he had hoped.

Now, precisely the same kind of value, which we have just ascribed to Dr. Clarke's declaration in the passage above quoted, we attach to the whole of his work on the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity." Taking the volume by itself first, and afterwards, in conjunction with the several smaller pieces which he published in reply to the various animadversions which his opinions had called forth, we know few works upon the subject which we look upon as more valuable.

We have often thought that a great desideratum in divinity—let not our readers be startled at the remark which we are about to make—is a fair statement of the objections, both philosophical and historical, to the evidences of Christianity. The greater number of the writings that have appeared on that side of the question, have been composed in such bad feeling, with so evident a partiality, and betray, moreover, such a scandalous igno-

rance of the subject, that it is difficult, at present, to find any ground upon which both parties can fairly meet. Now, this is precisely the kind of value which we attach to Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity." It is a fair and honourable statement, by a learned, pious, and candid enemy to the catholic doctrine, of what we may consider as the direct evidence of that doctrine, when placed upon the lowest ground. Nothing can be more satisfactory, than the scheme which Dr. Clarke has drawn out of all the various texts relating to the subject; he has omitted none, so far as regards the New Testament, which ought to have been inserted; nor, except in one or two unimportant instances, do we think that he can be justly charged with attempting, unfairly, to put any constrained sense upon those which are occasionally subjected to his criticism. At the same time, we must add, (and it is this, in the view which we are now taking of his work, which gives it value,) that nothing can be more evident than the strong bias of his mind, always to put upon every passage that interpretation which tended most to lower the dignity of our Saviour's nature, or at least, most to widen the line of demarcation between it and that of the supreme divinity. He resorts, indeed, to no quibbling refinements; he puts upon words their true construction; he reasons dispassionately and sincerely; but still it is the reasoning of one who is endeavouring to make out a case for his own views of the subject, in opposition to that which the majority of Christians have agreed in embracing. That he did his work well there can be no doubt. The applause which he met with, at the time, from all those within the church, who wished to shake off the restraint of orthodoxy, and from those without it, who had already disengaged themselves from its trammels, sufficiently attests the ability as well as the supposed tendency of his labours.

This applause affords ample indication of the side to which his reasoning leaned; of the bias which his opinions had received, and the consequent conclusions which it was his desire to establish. In this question, then, as to the nature and dignity of Christ, we may fairly consider him as bearing an unwilling testimony, when the tendency of it is to confirm the orthodox belief; and therefore, the more to be valued as coming from one who is claimed by the adversary as one of his own witnesses. Putting then aside that which is merely Dr. Clarke's opinion, and confining ourselves to that which properly forms a part of his evidence, let us compare his faith with that of other Christians upon the subject, and see wherein, and to what extent, they differ. Those who have been accustomed to look upon his name as the great authority, (and a great authority undoubtedly it would be,)

to justify their dissent from the catholic doctrine, will be surprised to find how much they must believe, if they mean to adopt him as their guide.

Speaking the language not of divines, but of plain and practical Christianity, the doctrine of the Trinity, that is, of the three *persons* of the Godhead, and of their union in the same undivided *substance*, (viewing the proposition in its full latitude, with all its various corollaries,) is not so much a substantive part of the catholic faith, as a necessary consequence from the premises of which that faith consists.

“The first Christians,” says Waterland, (vol. ii. p. 213,) “easily believed that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whose name they were baptized, and whom they worshipped, were equally divine; without troubling themselves about the manner of it, or the reconciling it with their belief in one God. As men generally believe that God foreknows every thing, and that man nevertheless is a free agent, (scarce one perhaps in a thousand concerning himself how to reconcile these two positions, or being at all apprehensive of any difficulty in it,) so, probably, the plain honest Christians believed every person to be God and all but one God, and troubled not their heads with any nice speculations about the *modus* of it. This seems to have been the artless simplicity of the primitive Christians, till prying and pretending men came to start difficulties, and raise scruples, and make disturbances; and then it was necessary to guard the faith of the church against such cavils and impertinencies as then began to threaten it.”

A few pages after, speaking of the terms *person*, *hypostasis*, *subsistence*, *consubstantiality*, and the like, he goes on to say, that

“The design of these terms is not to enlarge our views, or to add any thing to our stock of ideas; but to secure the plain fundamental truths that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are all strictly divine and connected; and yet are not three Gods but one God. He that believes this simply and in the general, as laid down in scripture, believes enough; and need never trouble his head with nice questions, whether the union of three persons should be called *specific*, or *individual*; whether *person* and *being* are reciprocal terms; whether every person may be properly said to be self-existent; how three persons can be all in the *same place*; whether all *perfection* might not as well have been confined to *one person* only; or whether *one* might not have been as good as *three*, and the like. These are *difficiles nugæ*, mostly verbal and vain inquiries; and do not concern common Christians any farther than to be upon their guard that they be not imposed on by these subtilties, invented to perplex a plain scripture truth, which is easily perceived and understood in the general: that is, as far as is required to be believed. Minute inquiries as to the *modus* may be left to the ‘disputers of this world,’ as a trial of their good sense, their piety, modesty, and humility.”—p. 227.

The justice of these objections is not likely to be disputed in the present day. People are now generally agreed, that to reason upon the nature of the Deity, farther than his attributes have been revealed to us in scripture, or may be collected from his visible works, is something worse than a mere waste of time. If this truth has been too often forgotten, the fault has always originated with those who oppugned the doctrine of the church, and not with her defenders. It was to oppose the spread of Arianism that the council of Nice was assembled ; and if we look to the creed which was then drawn up, we shall immediately observe how carefully those by whom it was composed have abstained from any attempt at explanation ; confining themselves to the simple enunciation of what they asserted the catholic doctrine to be. Now, comparing this creed with Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," and putting aside that which is Dr. Clarke's opinion, and no part of the declaration of scripture, (even according to his own representation of what has been *revealed*,) our readers will soon be made to understand, to which side the true weight of his testimony inclines.

According to Bishop Bull, the doctrine of the Son of God, as comprehended in the Nicene creed, may be reduced to four heads.

I. The Son's preexistence before the creation, and the creation of the world by the Son.

II. The consubstantiality of the Son ; that he is not of any created mutable essence, but of the very same nature with the Father.

III. The Son's coeternal existence with the Father.

IV. The subordination of the Son to the Father, as the author and principle from whom he derives his nature ; as expressed in the creed—*Deus de Deo ; lumen de lumine, verus Deus de vero Deo.*

Now so far as these several propositions can be determined by the plain words of scripture, it is unequivocally admitted by Dr. Clarke that each and all of them are necessary to be believed. With respect to the preexistence of Christ, and the office which was assigned to him in the creation of the world, both his language and his meaning are strictly orthodox. For example, take his comment upon John i. 1, 2., where the evangelist says, that *the Word was with God, and the word was God*—"not ἐν τῷ θεῷ, *in God*," says Clarke, as "reason or understanding is in the mind ; but πρὸς τὸν θεόν, *with God*, as one person is present *with* another ; and it is also remarkable, that the evangelist does not say θεός ἐστι, *is God*, but θεός ἦν, *was God* : was that visible person, who, under the Old Testament, appeared from the beginning, ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ, *in the form of God*." (Phil. ii. 6.) And in the

second part of his work, where he sets forth the substance of the different texts that he had collected, in so many distinct propositions, he declares, § xxvi., that, "by the operation of the Son, the Father both made and governs the world," referring to the usual texts on which this proposition is grounded.

With regard to the second head, relating to the consubstantiality (ὁμοουσιον) of the Son with the Father, Dr. Clarke's expressions, in his "Scripture Doctrine," are somewhat reserved; and accordingly, Dr. Waterland, in Query xiv., had charged Clarke with rejecting this great article of the creed. This charge, however, Dr. Clarke denies, asserting that "it was a palpable and direct calumny." Indeed it is evident from his notes to § xiii., that he did not consider the Son as having been "*created*," though he demurred as to the precise sense in which scripture was to be understood, when it asserted the Son to have been "*begotten*" of the Father.

As to the article declaratory of the Son's coeternal existence with the Father, he distinctly declares, in the paper which he laid before the bishops in convocation, that he believed the Son to have been "eternally begotten by the incomprehensible power and will of the Father;" and in § xvi. of his "Scripture Doctrine," referring to the words of the creed, he states, that "they have justly been censured who have presumed to affirm that there *was a time when the Son was not*."

The fourth and last head is the subordination of the Son to the Father. This is the rock upon which Dr. Clarke's metaphysics occasioned him to make shipwreck of his orthodoxy. We say his metaphysics, because it was they only that were concerned; so far as the mere words of scripture are considered, his interpretation of its doctrine does not differ from that of the church. It is, and ever has been, the doctrine of the catholic church, that the Son is subordinate to the Father, not only "as touching his manhood," but in respect of his office and origination. When we speak of him as having created the world, it is only *secondarily* and *immediately*. The *author* and *principium* of things is the Father, who has committed all power and authority to the Son. But this subordination implies nothing more than a distinction in respect of *order*; it involves no supposition of any inequality in respect of *nature*. Now Dr. Clarke censures the opinion of those who affirm that the Son was formed from any substance which *once had no existence*, (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων;) and since he repels the charge of denying the *consubstantiality* of the Son, as "a palpable and direct calumny," it is very evident that the difference between his opinion and that of the catholic church on this subject, if indeed there be any, is founded upon some metaphysical

subtlety, for which, most assuredly, there is no authority in the words of scripture. He allows that the Son possesses "all communicable divine attributes"—omniscience, omnipresence, omnipotence: in short, every attribute but *self-existence* and *independence*, which, he asserts, were not possessed by the Son, because they were personal to the Father, and *could not* be communicated. The catholic church has never determined any thing respecting the self-existence and independence of the Son; whether they or Dr. Clarke, have in this, given the proof of greater wisdom, we shall see hereafter; but we trust, in the mean time, we may be allowed to say, that it is not a point respecting which those for whose edification the scriptures were composed, had any need to be enlightened. With respect to the worship that may be paid to the Son, Dr. Clarke quotes nearly a hundred texts of scripture as an authority for this; but, says he, it is nowhere directed, "because he was united to the one Supreme God," (Part I. 751,) but because he hath "redeemed us with his blood." The fact is, that no reason whatever is specified commonly in scripture; but every liturgy is evidence enough to show, that when we address Christ in his distinct person, it is "as God, the Son, Redeemer of the world." Bishop Bull had said, (Defens. sect. 2. cap. 9. § 15.) *Constat multis scripturæ locis atque omnium Christianorum consensu, cultum omnem, quem Deo exhibemus, ipse per Christum Mediatorem exhibendum esse; quin et cultum et honorem omnem, quem Christo deferimus eis εὐχαρίστητον θεῷ τοῦ πατρὸς, in gloriam Domini Patris, (ut loquitur Paulus Phillip. 2.) omnino redundare.* Dr. Clarke says, that all worship paid to the Son "terminates in God the Father," and that whatever worship we pay the Father, should be paid "through Jesus Christ." St. Paul says the same thing; only he tells us that the worship which we pay to God the Son, is "*to the glory of God the Father*"; which two ways of stating what appears to us the same thing, merely leaves us the choice of two expressions, but involves no intelligible difference of opinion on any more important point.

Such, then, is Dr. Clarke's account of the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity." We have compared it, point by point, with the Nicene creed, and the only part in which he appears to entertain an opinion different from the catholic church, respecting the nature and dignity of Christ, refers to a point, respecting which the Nicene fathers, and not only they, but all the fathers have been silent; we mean "*the self-existence and independence*" of the first person of the Trinity, as compared with the second; which last he affirms not to exist by any *inherent necessity*; but to have been "begotten eternally by the power and will of the Father."

We need hardly observe, that this proposition of his, whether right or wrong, has nothing to do with the "SCRIPTURE Doctrine of the Trinity;" nor, we may add, does it refer to any point of faith, respecting which Christians, as such, can possibly be called upon to entertain an opinion. Scripture says nothing of "communicable" and "incommunicable attributes;" it teaches us nothing concerning "self-existence," or "necessary existence," or "independent existence." If we wish to learn the meaning of these words, we must refer not to "SCRIPTURE," but to Dr. Clarke's "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God," in which they are all severally explained; and applied in a sense which, *supposing him to be correct*, would render the catholic doctrine of the Trinity antecedently impossible.

In this work Dr. Clarke endeavoured to demonstrate the being and attributes of God on *metaphysical* principles, by arguments drawn *à priori* out of the very womb of reason; on a supposition antecedent, not merely to the creation of the world, but to the existence, in the order of our ideas, even of a First Cause. If our readers wish to read an account of this really valuable, but most unsatisfactory work, (so far as regards any solid conclusion,) he will find a clear abstract of the whole argument, as well as a very able examination of its merits, given by the Bishop of Llandaff, at p. 138 of the "Review and Life" prefixed to this collection of Dr. Waterland's writings. But we only refer to it here, in order to explain the true character of Dr. Clarke's dissent from the established creed. After a full, careful, and very scrupulous comparison of scripture, with every bias upon his mind leading him away from the received conclusions, what was the result? Why, that he was compelled to acknowledge the catholic doctrine to be the doctrine of scripture, in every particular which related to the nature and dignity of Christ, considering his divinity by itself; but he denied the *inference* which has been drawn by fathers and councils, and the whole body of the visible church, from the time of the apostles to the days in which we live, that the divinity of Christ was *one and the same* with the Father. He contended that the Father alone was the One Supreme God; and that the other Persons in the blessed Trinity, were spoken of by the title of God in the New Testament, only in a *subordinate* sense; although, as we have shown, he has himself admitted in his "Scripture Doctrine," that Christ was God, in the only senses in which scripture enables us to speak of God at all.

This bold proposition he did not attempt to establish on the words of scripture; for so far as that was concerned, we have shown that his conclusions, with respect to the divinity of Christ,

differ not at all, in any important point, from that of the great majority of Christians ; neither did he ground it on the difficulty attending the orthodox explanation ; but he endeavoured to establish his hypothesis on direct, positive proof, by at once defining wherein the metaphysical essence of the Supreme Being consisted ; and thence deducing, *à priori*, the necessity of his Unity, in a sense so strict, as to exclude not merely the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, but every attribute, or power, or quality of any sort or kind whatever, which is not directly consequent upon the single idea of self-existence.

Nothing can be less convincing or satisfactory than the manner of reasoning, by which he desires his readers to believe, that he has established this corollary, even supposing him to have previously established his premises :—but, however, he himself considered the conclusion to be *demonstrative* ; and with this impression upon his mind it was that he began his examination of what he called his “ Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.” A stronger evidence of the integrity of Clarke’s mind need not be adduced, nor, we may add, a clearer proof of what the doctrine of scripture really is, on the subject of Christ’s divinity, than is to be found in this celebrated work. In his apprehension, the proposition of Christ’s real divinity was a philosophical impossibility. Believing, therefore, as he did, most unreservedly, in the absolute veracity of scripture, when he came to the examination of it, with reference to this particular subject, of course it was with a full persuasion upon his mind, that every expression it might contain, in which Christ’s real divinity was apparently asserted, must, of necessity, be understood in a sense different from that in which the same words were to be received when speaking of God the Father. This he must have believed as a matter of course ; and it was no impeachment of the fairness of his mind ; because the supposition of more than one Person in the Unity of the Godhead was contrary to what he considered as the truth of a philosophical demonstration. This fancy of his, for it was really no better founded, may furnish us with a subject for reflection, as showing the infirmities to which even the clearest understandings are liable ; but to treat it gravely, as if it were a solid argument, and one which those who differ from Dr. Clarke are called upon at this day to disprove or even to examine, is quite unnecessary.

The only use now to be made of it is, as giving an additional value to his testimony concerning the doctrine which is taught us in scripture relating to the nature and dignity of Christ. It is impossible but that he must have seen the appalling difficulties with which his scheme was surrounded. To say that he came to

an examination of the question with a strong bias against the catholic doctrine of the divinity of the Son of God, would be using a very inadequate expression ; he came to it under a positive necessity of finding in the scriptures his own meaning ; for otherwise, the scriptures, according to his sense of the doctrine in debate, must be demonstrably untrue. In the essence of the Supreme Being, according to him, there *could* be but one Person ; and yet so clearly is the contrary truth expressed in the New Testament, that he is compelled to admit that the sacred writers call two Persons by the title of God, and even by the incommunicable name of Jehovah—that two Persons are mentioned as having created the world—that two Persons are spoken of, who are omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, and eternal,—two Persons who are to be worshipped. If then there cannot be two Persons in the Godhead, the Godhead must be in two Persons. The consequence is as plain as that one and one make two, But no : “ the Son was begotten eternally of the *incomprehensible power and will* of the Father ;” the “ Father alone is *self-existent*.” These are phrases not to be found in scripture : but admit the distinction to be true,—That the Son is derived from the Father, as the ἀρχή and *principium* of his nature, is, and always has been, the language of the church. How does this impugn the catholic doctrine ? Because, says Clarke, *self-existence* constitutes, by definition, the metaphysical essence of the Supreme Being ; and, therefore, no person or subsistence can partake of the essence of the Supreme Being, whose origination is *derivative*.

It was in vain to press upon Clarke the strange consequences which must necessarily follow from such a doctrine ; that he was introducing a scheme which contained two Gods—that such a way of reasoning must inevitably conduct us, as the lesser evil of the two, to Arianism ; and that the mode of argument by which he attempted to defend his doctrine, from the consequences which it obviously involved, would lead, in fact, (as it actually did lead those who came after him,) into Socinianism, and from thence even into Sabellianism. But reason and remonstrance came too late. At the time when Dr. Waterland was dragged into the dispute, (for dragged he was into it, against his inclination, by the impetuosity of Jackson,) Dr. Clarke had fairly committed himself in the question as a point of controversy. His opinions had been taken up by a variety of writers, both in and out of the church. He was installed as the head of a party. Every young, conceited divine, who asserted a right to think for himself on points which he was incapable of understanding—no matter what his opinions, whether Arian, Socinian, Sabellian, or Unitarian—even the very Deists of the day, quoted Samuel Clarke.

The mere hostility to creeds and subscriptions, and articles of faith, was a sufficient bond of union ; and his name was then, as it has been since, and is at this present time, used as an authority for opinions, no better refutation of which need to be sought, than will be found in his writings.

It is because the authority of Clarke's great and respectable name is used by those who have no right to its protection, that we have been induced to present our readers with a more detailed account of his opinions, than may seem to be quite consistent with the professed object of our present article. Assuredly this excellent man, who was perhaps the best scripturalist of his day ; better, indeed, almost than any divine that we know ; can never be quoted as an evidence in support of the catholic explanation of the scriptures, with reference to the doctrine of the Trinity. But those who understand the ground and reason of his dissent from the established faith, on that particular subject, will not attach much importance, we think, to his peculiar views ; seeing that they were founded on certain metaphysical axioms, which not one person in a hundred will be able to comprehend ; and which, not one in a thousand of those who do, will probably consider as possessing any certain solidity. For his " Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God," is a work by no means worthy of any considerable respect ; being, in fact, only an attempted improvement upon Descartes's celebrated " Demonstration," and proceeding like it, upon principles of reasoning, which no writer of any credit would venture to put forward in the present day. But for the very reason that he was opposed to the catholic doctrine, his testimony, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, is the more valuable, when employed against those who are so fond of considering him as belonging to them. We care not what class of opinions these last may hold ; be they what they may, however, on other questions, yet, if these be but granted to us what Clarke yielded on this particular article of Christ's Divinity, we do not think it will be a difficult matter to settle afterwards, which is the true " Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity."

For satisfaction on this point, we need only refer them to the works of Waterland. Combining these with the works of Bishop Bull, and placing the argument on the ground, which Dr. Clarke professed to take up, of scripture, and scripture alone :—taking his own view of the testimony of scripture to the point, so far as these views are capable of being expressed in scriptural language ; and assuming no premises but such as he himself would admit to have been established :—thus much we think may be positively demonstrated ; that if the catholic scheme be rejected, no other can be substituted in its place, which will not involve us in diffi-

culties beyond any comparison more irreconcilable to our reason than any which are presented by the Trinitarian hypothesis.

Viewing the argument for the doctrine of the Trinity as distinct from that of the evidence for the divinity of Christ, this, in fact, is the only form of proof which the subject admits. It is not capable of a direct proof in the nature of things. Taking Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine" as the basis of our reasoning, one of these hypotheses must necessarily be true; either we must adopt the Arian scheme, or we must suppose the existence of three, or at all events of two Gods, or we must admit, that in the unity of the Godhead there are three Persons. If the two first suppositions be demonstrably inconsistent with the language of scripture, the last must, of necessity, be true.

Putting the question, then, upon this plain footing, we may boldly say, without fear of contradiction from any one who has ever examined the controversy between Clarke and Waterland, that the victory of this last was signally complete. Indeed, the fact seems to have been virtually conceded by the former, if we may form any judgment from the history of the discussion.

Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine" was published in 1712; and the manner in which Dr. Waterland was drawn into the controversy, which that publication could not fail to have excited, is thus related by the Bishop of Llandaff:—

“ Certain *Queries* had been drawn up, a few years before, by Dr. Waterland, at the request of some friends, without any intention of their appearing in print, and chiefly for the purpose of pointing out to a *clergyman in the country*, who had espoused Dr. Clarke's notions of the Trinity, the errors into which he had unguardedly fallen. The clergyman was personally unknown to Dr. Waterland; and it was through the medium of some common friend that the *Queries* were submitted to his consideration. A correspondence ensued between the parties, carried on for a while in an amicable manner, with unreserved freedom, and (on the part of Dr. Waterland, at least,) without any design of engaging in public controversy. At length, however, the country clergyman unexpectedly announced to Dr. Waterland, that, having been *over-persuaded* to do so, he had actually committed these *Queries* to the press, together with his own *Answers* to them; and that thither Dr. W. must follow him, if he intended any thing further.

“ This clergyman was Mr. John Jackson, first of Jesus-college, Cambridge, then rector of Rossington and vicar of Doncaster, and afterwards more generally known by his various polemical writings. A person of greater delicacy might have felt some scruple in thus forcing an opponent into public notice, without his consent, and without such previous intimation as might have led him to prepare himself more carefully for the press. Waterland justly complains of this treatment, and intimates that he would still have declined coming forward, had

not copies of his manuscript *Defence of the Queries* already got into several hands; which determined him to revise his papers, and send them into the world in a less imperfect state.

"Jackson's own representation of this matter does not materially differ from Waterland's; but he excuses himself on the ground, that the *Queries* had got into extensive circulation before they fell into *his* hands, and were become of too great notoriety to be concealed. He adds also, that the manuscript of Waterland's *Defence*, in reply to Jackson's *Answer* to the *Queries*, had made its way into other hands before he was permitted to see it. But he chiefly shelters himself under the sanction and advice of Dr. Clarke, who suggested to him, 'that he might print them as anonymous objections which he found, and which no one had owned; and so Dr. W. might either own them, (if they were his,) or let them pass unregarded.' This explains what Jackson had written to Dr. Waterland, on announcing the publication, that he had been *over-persuaded* to it.*

"From these accounts it is pretty evident, on the one hand, that Dr. Waterland was by no means desirous, in the first instance, of taking a conspicuous part in this controversy; and, on the other hand, that Jackson was (perhaps not very reluctantly) induced by Dr. Clarke to press the matter forward. Dr. Clarke appears, indeed, throughout the whole of the controversy, at this and at subsequent periods, to have had a great ascendancy over Jackson, and to have made free use of him, whenever it was more suitable to his purpose to speak *per alium* than *per se*: and from the correspondence between them, inserted in the *Memoirs of Jackson's Life and Writings*, there can hardly be a doubt, that in this *Answer to the Queries*, Dr. Clarke bore a considerable part.† If either party, however, had afterwards cause to regret the publication of these papers, it was that which had been most eager to promote it. From the time that Waterland took the field, the reputation and authority of Dr. Clarke perceptibly declined; while his new antagonist advanced rapidly in the estimation of the public, and obtained marks of distinguished favour from persons the most eminent in character and station.

"To give an extended analysis of this important work of Dr. Waterland's, would occupy too large a portion of these pages. The texts compared, and the *Queries* grounded upon a comparison of them, are arranged under distinct heads, so as to exhibit, in striking contrast, the system maintained by Dr. Clarke, and that which has generally been received as the standard of the catholic faith. The *Queries* are so clearly and unequivocally drawn up, that they seem almost to suggest their own answers, and scarcely admit of a diversity of solution. The Mr. Jackson, however, did in many instances, and even in those of the greatest moment, *evade* a direct and distinct answer to them, will hardly be denied by any who shall give Dr. Waterland's book and that of his opponent an impartial reading."—p. 55-58.

* "See *Memoirs of Jackson*, p. 19-23; and *Jackson's Memoirs of Waterland*, p. 17-20."

† "See *Jackson's Memoirs*, p. 23-27, and p. 82-86."

The "Queries" which are spoken of in the above extract, were merely a few suggestions thrown together upon a sheet of paper, such as might be enclosed in a letter, in the course of private correspondence. It was in his book called "A Defence of some Queries," written in answer to Dr. Jackson, that Waterland first appeared before the public. We have not read Jackson's work, but from the topics adverted to in Dr. W's reply, it probably spoke out more plainly, or was less guarded in some of its propositions, than was the case in Dr. Clarke's book. The best proof, however, of the success with which Dr. Waterland has defended his "Queries," may be collected from the remarkable fact, that when Dr. C. afterwards published his "Modest Plea," in "answer to Dr. Waterland's Queries," he confines himself to the original "Queries" alone, taking no notice of "The Defence of the Queries," which had then been some time before the public, and in which both the "Queries" themselves were explained and enforced, and Dr. Jackson's answer (prepared, be it observed, almost under Dr. Clarke's own eye,) is examined and more particularly refuted.

In his "Second Defence of some Queries," Dr. Waterland very naturally notices this singularity in Dr. Clarke; who, accordingly, in his observations on this last publication, was compelled to justify himself upon a wider field of argument than that which he had taken in his first answer. It is, however, remarkable, to observe how silently he passes over that which was the proper business of his reply. He pretends not to show that the consequences charged upon his doctrine of the Trinity are not fairly to be drawn; but simply asserts that they are deduced not by him, but by Dr. Waterland, who has no right to charge him with entertaining opinions which he has never avowed; and then, instead of replying to the arguments and reasoning of his adversary, he turns off from the main subject to points of insulated discussion; seizing upon particular expressions which Dr. Waterland had dropped, and putting him upon a defence of the catholic doctrine, instead of vindicating the hypothesis which he had endeavoured to set up against it. In this kind of skirmishing, sometimes he obtains an advantage; but it is always of that inferior kind which he would not even have stooped to pick up, had he not found it impossible to obtain any more important triumph. The difference, in this respect, is most visibly perceived by the reader when he turns from the writings of Waterland to those of Dr. Clarke. In the former, the great points in discussion are never out of sight: the objections which he takes, the reasoning which he employs, are always plain and intelligible, and refer not to words and nice metaphysical distinc-

tions, but to matters of cardinal importance, the decision of which involves not only some point of logical criticism, but the substance of the christian faith. When we turn, however, to Dr. Clarke, we find that the very subject of discussion is changed; there is no main stream either of thought or reasoning which his readers are able to follow; and the questions which he substitutes for that which Dr. Waterland has been treating upon, refer not to the Catholic, nor to the Arian, nor to the Socinian, or any other doctrine of the Trinity, but to the errors and mistakes which he asserts Dr. Waterland to have made in matters often of merely verbal importance, but which almost never involve any higher question than which of the two has the personal superiority in the argument.

We cannot do better than close our article with the following discriminating character which is given of Waterland by the Bishop of Llandaff; while it does justice and nothing more than justice to the eminent divine who is the object of the able and eloquent passage which we are about to extract, it will at the same time furnish our readers with a specimen of the general elegance and ability with which the memoirs of Waterland, prefixed to this collection of his works are written :—

“It is unnecessary to expatiate more largely upon the justness of our author's pretensions to that well-earned reputation which attended him while living, and still survives him; and the discerning reader will be sufficiently able to judge of those pretensions from the entire perusal of his works. The full extent, however, of the obligations which the Church owed, and still owes, to his labours, it is not easy to calculate; since besides their own intrinsic value, they have doubtless contributed greatly to form the principles, and to direct the judgment, of many distinguished writers who have succeeded him. No controversial writings, perhaps, have done more for the general good, in this respect. It is characteristic of them, that they treat of the most profound subjects, not only with great powers of reasoning and great extent of knowledge, but also with a perspicuity which never leaves it doubtful what impression was intended to be left upon the reader's mind, and with a just confidence in the strength of his cause, which sets the author above every unworthy artifice to persuade or to convince others.

“In his controversy with the Arians, these qualifications were put to a severe test. The perplexities to be unravelled were many and intricate; and his opponents were admirably skilled in rendering them still more so. Though the appeal, on their part, for determining the points in dispute, was professedly made to *scripture* only, and the authority of Fathers and of other scripture-interpreters was treated as of little worth; yet difficulties purely of a *metaphysical* kind were continually suffered to prevail, to the rejection of the most simple and

obvious meaning of scripture, no less than to the perversion of its primitive expositors. Through these labyrinths, Waterland guided himself with admirable caution. That he was no inconsiderable adept in metaphysical science, is manifest. But he forbore to apply it, either in proof, or in elucidation, of the mysteries of revealed religion, farther than might show its insufficiency to invalidate the truths of holy writ. He betrayed no fondness for hypotheses or theories, to accommodate such doctrines to philosophical views; but laid their foundation deep in the authority of *revelation* only, and grounded them upon *faith* as their main support. To discard metaphysics altogether from such subjects is, perhaps, impossible. But to attempt either to establish or to defend purely *divine* truth, upon principles of *human* science, is to forget that our knowledge of the truths themselves originates in another source; and that they can neither be proved, nor disproved, from any extrinsic information that can be brought to bear upon them. Yet upon such grounds rest most of the subtleties of Arian writers. Metaphysical definitions of *unity*, *person*, *substance*, and *essence*, are assumed as postulates, to establish one hypothesis, or to refute another; as if it were demonstrable, that the mode of existence perceptible to our faculties in the visible world, must necessarily be the same with that which belongs to the world invisible; or that what we discern by the testimony of sense and experience, can be an adequate criterion of that which is capable of no such testimony. Against such perversion of human ingenuity Waterland constantly protested; and if he suffered himself at any time to pursue his opponents through these *by-paths* of theology, it was to show how wide they lay of the real object of inquiry.

“The same sound judgment and discrimination may be observed in Dr. Waterland’s other controversial writings, as in those on the Trinity. He marks out a plain, straight line of proceeding, from which he suffers not any artifices of his opponents to divert him. Nor does he encumber his argument with unnecessary proofs, or unnecessary points of disputation. That great excellence in controversy, to know what may or may not be safely admitted, what may be put aside as irrelevant or superfluous, what is really conducive to the strength of the argument, or would only obscure and overload it;—is one of his most striking characteristics. Hence, notwithstanding the great length of some of his disquisitions, it would be difficult to point out any thing which might with advantage be spared. No author, perhaps, ever gave his adversaries less opportunity of retreating from their own ground, and taking up some other position which any inadvertency on his part might have opened to them.”—p. 336-339.

“The *style* of our author’s writings corresponds with these qualities. It is that of a writer less intent upon the *manner*, than the *matter* of his productions. Simplicity, perspicuity, and vigour are its main characteristics. There is an evident consciousness of the dignity of his subjects and the weight of his reasonings, which sets him above the desire of enchancing their value by adventitious ornaments, or

elaborate attempts to please. He formed distinct conceptions of what he had to deliver, thought deeply yet clearly upon the point to be discussed, and clothed his thoughts in that diction which would best enable the reader to apprehend them with facility. There is also a spirit and vivacity in his writings, which, without any effort to attract, excites attention, and sustains it, more effectually than could be done by artificial powers of composition. Not that his writings, however, are defective in that which might satisfy even fastidious critics. There is no want of ease and grace in the turn of his periods; of correctness in their structure; or of just discrimination in the selection of his terms and phrases. In these respects, Dr. Waterland will bear a comparison with the most approved writers of his time. But whatever excellencies he attained to of this kind, they appear to have been rather the result of natural good taste, than of studied acquirements.

“The *temper* and *disposition* of an author will generally more or less betray itself in his writings, especially in those of a polemical cast. Judging of him by this criterion, we should say that Dr. Waterland was frank, open, and ingenious; warm and ardent in his cause, lively and animated in his perceptions, sagacious in discerning any advantage which an unguarded adversary might afford him; but disdaining any unworthy artifices to carry his point. That no undue warmth, or vehemence of expression should occasionally escape him, it were too much to expect; nor, perhaps, could it with truth be affirmed of any controversial writer. But less intemperance of this kind, less acrimony and bitterness of spirit, is rarely, if ever, to be met with, in any one engaged in such a warfare, and with such opponents. And, after all, the sudden and transient emotions which contests of this kind are wont to excite even in the best-constituted minds, are far less indicative of a morose and uncharitable disposition, than the wily insinuations, the taunting sneers, and the cool malignant sarcasms of those, whose words, though they be ‘smoother than oil, yet be they very swords.’ To these odious weapons Waterland never had recourse. There was a generosity, a noble-mindedness in his disposition, which if it did not always restrain him from impetuosity, never suffered him to harbour a rancorous sentiment under the mask of affected candour and forbearance.”*—p. 341-343.

We cannot finally take our leave of Waterland without again expressing our gratitude for the benefit which the Bishop of Llandaff has conferred upon the church by this publication, as well as our thanks for the pleasure and instruction which we have derived, from his lordship's own contribution to the value and usefulness of the work. We believe that we shall be ex-

* Dr. Aikin, whose sentiments were certainly not in unison with Dr. Waterland's, acknowledges, in his Biography, that “as a controversialist, though firm and unyielding, he is accounted fair and candid, free from bitterness, and actuated by no persecuting spirit.”

pressing a very general feeling, when we venture to express a hope, that this may not be the last opportunity that will be afforded to us of absolving a debt, which, in the present instance, is so justly due.

ART. XV.—1. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester at the Primary Visitation.* By Charles James, Bishop of Chester. 1825.

2.—*A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester.* By Christopher, Bishop of Gloucester. 1825.

3.—*Abstract of the Bishop of Exeter's Charge.* 1825.—Christian Remembrancer,

IN the works of a celebrated and popular Italian author, we read of a Jew, who having been converted to the christian faith, and brought to Rome to be baptized, was at first exceedingly confounded at the striking contrast exhibited there between the pure and lowly precepts of the gospel which he had adopted, and the profligate manners and luxurious lives of its professors, more particularly amongst the Roman clergy. Instead, however, of being diverted from his purpose by this alarming inconsistency—a result to which one would have naturally looked—he was only the more confirmed in it; concluding that a religion which could continue to subsist in defiance of such flagrant disorder and profanation springing up in its own bosom, must needs be of divine power and origin, and would never perish. Nor have there been wanting in every age amongst the members of the catholic church, pious and intelligent persons who have, in the same manner, sought to derive consolation and even strength to their faith, under the impression of similar scenes. Laying it down as a maxim, that a certain degree of obscurity is necessary, in a religion, whose disciples are commanded to walk by faith and not by sight, they have argued, that if every pope had been like St. Peter, and every bishop like St. Paul, the presence of the Saviour in his visible church, would have been so striking, as to deprive the faith of his disciples of all its merit. Upon the same ground, we find Madame de Sevigné, comforting her friend Monsieur de Coulanges, who having been a witness to the scandalous scenes exhibited at Rome, and in the Conclave in 1691,

found himself somewhat uneasy about his religion—"se trouvait embarrassé de sa religion." *

It is, however, but a wretched alternative and a perilous state of things in any country, where men are compelled to conclude either that Christianity is not true, or that its professors are not Christians ; and whatever consolation these ingenious persons may have derived to themselves from the argument above mentioned, however incontestable the fact (and we thank God heartily for it) that the evidence of the gospel is not dependant upon the conduct of its professors, that God will be true, though man be a liar ; still the experience of all ages strongly shows, that such inconsistencies have ever been a stumbling-block, and a rock of offence in the way of those who fall within their influence—that while the simple are confounded, and the petulant make shipwreck of their faith, the great majority of those who adhere to it, are taught to acquiesce in a degraded standard of faith and morals ; a spurious Christianity essentially different from that of the gospel, devoid of all its beauty and unworthy of its rewards.

It cannot, however, be consistent with the wisdom and benevolence of that Saviour, who has promised to be with his true church to the end of the world, that a state so injurious to it should continue. Such a system, under whatever name it be administered, carries within its own bosom the principle of its decay, and the light of knowledge, wherever diffused, is alone a sufficient instrument in the hands of Providence to weaken or dissolve it. The church of Rome itself, entrenched as it was in the antiquity of its claims, the pomp of its ceremonies, and above all in the superstition and ignorance of its people, was unable to resist that light though beaming upon it only from afar ; and it is quite impossible, that a church like that of England, founded upon the word of God, and in a country where that word is universally disseminated and read, and the conduct of its ministers daily canvassed and compared with it—it is quite impossible, we say, that

* "Quant aux grands objets qui doivent porter à Dieu, vous vous trouvez embarrassé dans votre religion sur ce qui se passe à Rome et au Conclave ; mon pauvre Cousin, vous vous méprenez ; j'ai ouï dire qu'un homme d'un très-bon esprit tira une conséquence toute contraire au sujet de ce qu'il voyait dans cette grande ville ; il en conclut qu'il fallait que la religion chrétienne fût toute sainte et toute miraculeuse de subsister ainsi par elle-même au milieu de tant de désordres et de profanation : faites donc comme lui, tirez les mêmes conséquences, et songez que cette même ville a été autrefois baignée du sang d'un nombre infini de Martyrs ; qu'aux premiers siècles, toutes les intrigues du Conclave se terminèrent à choisir entre leurs Prêtres celui qui paroissait avoir le plus de zèle et de force pour soutenir le martyre ; qu'il y eut trente-sept Papes qui le souffrirent l'un après l'autre, sans que la certitude de cette fin leur fît fuir ni refuser une place où la mort était attachée, et quelle mort !" &c.

such a church so constituted and so situated should continue to be respected or beloved, if they, who are its proper guardians and protectors, and particularly its ministers should be either negligent of its duties, or careless of its interests and its honour. Fully impressed with this truth, deeply sensible of the infinite importance of the christian faith, and believing further that the form of it, established in this land, is more consonant to its spirit, more agreeable to its early forms and practice, and more decidedly influential upon the lives of men than any other with which we are acquainted, we feel a particular pleasure in laying before our readers, a few passages from the tracts which form the head of this article. They are the charges of three of our younger bishops delivered in their several dioceses in the course of last year; and besides their value in other respects, they are particularly worthy of attention as presenting to us incidentally, indeed, information from which we are entitled to derive much comfort and encouragement, as well with regard to the state of Christianity in this country, as to the discipline and conduct of the church. Nor is it a small advantage which attaches to these tracts, that they come from persons who have lately trodden in the same steps with the clergy whom they address, and been conversant with the duties which they are now called upon to enforce.

To form a better judgment of our progress in these respects, (for after all we can only speak comparatively) we have examined with some attention several of the charges delivered by our bishops about the middle of the last century—a period remote from every public convulsion or excitement, and therefore presenting a fair specimen of the state of the public mind in that age. In this inquiry, the first things which strike us, are the frequent and impressive cautions enforced upon the clergy of that day, respecting their treatment of infidels and infidelity, particularly in society.

In a charge delivered to the clergy of Durham in 1751, by a prelate, as remarkable for the truth and candour of his mind, as for his inestimable and masterly labours in the christian cause, we mean Dr. Butler, the following passages occur:—

“ It is impossible for me, my brethren, upon our first meeting of this kind, to forbear lamenting with you the general decay of religion in this nation; which is now observed by every one, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal. Zeal! it is natural to

ask for what ? Why, truly, *for* nothing, but *against* every thing that is good and sacred amongst us.

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For as different ages have been distinguished by different sorts of particular errors and vices, the deplorable distinction of ours is an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard of it in the generality. As to the professed enemies of religion, I know not how often they may come in your way ; but often enough, I fear, in the way of some at least amongst you, to require consideration, what is the proper behaviour towards them. One would to be sure avoid great familiarities with these persons ; especially if they affect to be licentious and profane in their common talk. Yet, if you fall into their company, treat them with the regards which belong to their rank ; for so we must people, who are vicious in any other respect. We should study what St. James, with wonderful elegance and expressiveness, calls, *meekness of wisdom* in our behaviour towards all men ; not so much as being what we owe to them, but to ourselves and our religion, that we may *adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour* in our carriage towards those who labour to vilify it."

Now, although the venerable persons whose charges are under our review, have shown no disposition to shrink from the avowal of any evil, either within or without the church, over which the clergy might be supposed to have any legitimate control ; although several topics are touched upon, which would have naturally led to the mention of this worst poison of society, if it had prevailed ; yet no allusion whatever is made by any of them, either to the existence of the evil itself, or to the manner in which it should be combated. This is a remarkable distinction, and if we are not entitled to conclude from it, that infidelity is extinguished or even silenced in our land, yet, when we infer that its pretensions are lowered, and the character of its advocates degraded, we are certain that our reasoning will be confirmed by every one who is acquainted with the manners of the present age, and has made any reflections upon the subject. The clergy of the established church are as acceptable in society as ever they were, and pervade a greater mass of it than any other class of men ; they are as well educated and as variously accomplished and endowed, and infinitely more serious and clerical in their habits and conversation, and therefore more sensitive of such indecorums than before ; and yet we may venture to affirm without fear of contradiction, that very rarely is an occasion offered in company, in which their sense of decency is outraged, and scarcely ever where their faith is vilified, or its principles or truth called in question. Of this fact we have no doubt ; and whether we

regard it as a silent homage paid to the moral worth and beauty of Christianity, by those who have unhappily closed their eyes against its evidence, or as a mark of the general indignation and abhorrence of such principles in the mind of the great body of our countrymen; or whether, as is more probable, it is to be imputed to both, the fact itself must be considered as a subject of congratulation to all who have the interest of Christianity at heart: and what adds infinitely to the value of the change is, that it has taken place during a period of greater advancement and improvement in general knowledge than ever was known in this country; a period in which the evidences of our faith have been brought forward with a force, a clearness, and a plainness, rendering them intelligible to men of moderate understanding and acquirements, and affording every opportunity for open and candid discussion to all who are disposed to entertain it.

But to proceed to another point of difference more immediately connected with the church, and throwing light upon what has been advanced. It is not denied in these charges, that Christianity, and of course the church, have enemies as desperate, as artful, and as uncandid as ever; or that the office, the characters, and even the persons of the clergy are as much exposed to calumny now as at the period to which we have referred. But there is an important difference in the two cases, to which we wish to direct the attention of our readers; viz. that whereas the prelate to whose charge we have referred, laments in strong terms "the growing disregard of religion, and the want of a practical sense of it *in the generality*," the documents under our review whenever they advert to the subject, speak of this alienation as attaching only to a *few*; and the Bishop of Chester boldly, and we think justly, refers the clergy to the respect, and the veneration in the breasts of the *generality*, as the best consolation under the injustice they are compelled to suffer from the *few*, and next to their own zeal and diligence and good example, the best protection against the danger of it.

In the address of the Bishop of Exeter, of which we lament to say, we have only a sketch given by one of his audience in the "Christian Remembrancer," this passage is said to have occurred:—

"In adverting to the censures so freely bestowed upon the clergy, and which, with all their care and diligence, they must not expect to escape, 'let us not repine,' said his lordship, 'if our motives are misconstrued, and our actions misrepresented; if, in our honest and sincere endeavours to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of others, we become to a *few* the objects of "hatred, malice, and all

uncharitableness." Let us remember the treatment experienced by our Lord himself, and that the "servant is not greater than his Master.'"

The Bishop of Chester thus expresses himself:—

Notwithstanding all the obloquy, which has been heaped upon us by the enemies of religion and social order; notwithstanding all the efforts of those uncandid adversaries, who exaggerate our failings and ridicule our virtues; who scruple at no falsehood, and reject no fiction, however gross and improbable, if it be likely to injure the church through the clergy; still there exists, I am persuaded, in the people at large, a principle of respect and attachment to the ancient and venerable institutions of the country, a great readiness to do justice to the appointed ministers of religion, if *they* will but do justice to themselves. Environed as we are by dangers of no ordinary kind, it will depend upon ourselves, under Divine Providence, to repel them. There is in the church itself, as there is in the gospel, of which it is a depositary and interpreter, an ample provision for the various changes and emergencies of christian society. There is in the community at large a feeling of veneration and regard towards a religious establishment, whose solemnities and consolations have been for ages interwoven with almost all the relations and details of civil and of social life; a feeling, which, if the clergy take advantage of it, may be exalted into an attachment of the firmest and the noblest kind. No affection is more pure, none more to be relied upon, than that which the pious Christian feels towards the faithful pastor, who "watches for his soul, as he that must give account."* The regard excited by the piety and zeal of individual ministers, is reflected upon the church itself; when its rites and ordinances come thus recommended, not only to the understanding by their intrinsic excellence, but to the heart and affections, by the virtues and graces of those by whom they are administered."—pp. 12, 13.

Another point which results from this comparison, and strongly indicates the improvement of the public mind towards the church is the difference of conduct exhibited at the two epochs respecting the erection and improvement of churches and chapels. The Bishop of Durham in the charge already quoted, states it as a characteristic of his age, "that amidst great appearance of opulence and improvements, and much actual extravagance in other things, there was a wonderful frugality in every thing relating to religion, particularly with respect to the monuments of ancient piety," our churches. Referring to a charge of Bishop Fleetwood, delivered at St. Asaph in 1710, in which it

* Heb. xiii. 17.

is stated, that "unless the good public spirit of building, repairing and adorning churches prevail a great deal more amongst us, and be more encouraged, an hundred years will bring to the ground a huge number of our churches," he feelingly laments the fact notorious to his audience, that this good spirit prevailed no more then, than it did forty years before.

We are now happily advanced some years beyond the period mentioned by Bishop Fleetwood; and yet, instead of witnessing the desolation dreaded by this excellent prelate, we have the pleasure to see not only most of the ancient fabrics repaired and beautified, but new and spacious churches and chapels rising up on every side around us to meet the growing population, and specially constructed with a view to the accommodation of the poor. The good public spirit of which the bishop speaks has revived and been propagated in a manner that would have delighted him to have foreseen; and in whatever channels the wealth of the country may be directed, it cannot now be said, that it has flowed in a constrained or narrow stream towards the church. Not to dwell upon the munificent grants made by the legislature, which have been so largely seconded by the liberality of the populous districts, we may point out, as a more decided mark of the spirit of the age, a society strongly recommended by the bishops in these charges, undertaken by voluntary subscription, for promoting the enlargement of churches and chapels;—a society which, by the judicious and economical management of its funds, by the application of its assistance to lesser objects, and by stipulating in all cases for the accommodation of the poor, has effected greater good in proportion than the parliamentary commission:—

"By the expenditure of about 86,000*l.* it has been instrumental in providing an increase of accommodation in churches and chapels, to the amount of 113,000 sittings, of which 84,000 are free, for the use of the poor. So that every contributor of one guinea may fairly calculate that he is providing a free seat for one poor person in his parish church."—p. 36.

Having dwelt so long upon the bright side of the prospect, it is fair that we should now turn to those objects which are more immediately the business of the documents before us,—the evils to be remedied, and the defects to be supplied in the present state of the church; a task which we undertake with less reluctance, because there is not, upon a fair view of the case, a single evil of any magnitude which does not wear the appearance of diminution and decay. Amongst the most pro-

minent of these is that of non-residence. This is a grievance which has been more or less complained of for many years, and has, at various times, attracted the notice of the legislature, by which several enactments have been made to restrain it. After all, however, something must be left to the discretion and something to the vigilance, of the spiritual persons who preside amongst us. "Constitutions and canons made for the ordering of church affairs, are but dead task masters," says the judicious Hooker; and constituted as men are, we certainly reap much benefit from that authority which permitteth no men, though they would, to slack their duty. Besides, it is sometimes wiser to leave a small portion of evil to be corrected by moral influence, where it is likely to prevail, than by too minute and pervading legislation to drive men to subterfuge and evasion.

Let us hear, then, the result of their evidence :—

"The Bishop of Exeter commenced his charge by congratulating the clergy upon the improvement that had taken place in the diocese at large, by the augmentation of the smaller livings, the erection of parsonage houses, the increase of resident clergymen, and, in many cases, the addition of a second service on the sabbath. 'Much undoubtedly,' said his Lordship, 'has been accomplished in these respects, but much still remains to be done; and that it *will* be done without any interference on my part, I am induced confidently to expect from that right feeling and proper sense of duty which so generally prevail; for notwithstanding the calumnies daily put forth against the clergy, and the charges of supineness, ignorance, and worldly-mindedness, so constantly repeated, I will be bold to affirm, that in no age of the church have its ministers been more active, zealous, and disinterested, or better informed, than in the present.'"—p. 34.

Nor are the observations of the Bishop of Chester less satisfactory :—

"It is a source of great satisfaction to me, that this diocese, while it is one of the most extensive and important, is also, in respect of residence and performance of duty, one of the best conducted in the kingdom.* This circumstance has materially diminished the apprehensions, with which I entered upon the duties of my office; it convinces me that I have to do with an active and conscientious clergy; and encourages me to be diligent and exact in the performance of my own duty. I have also before me a pledge of success in the example of my predecessor; to whose unwearied exertions, for a period

* "Of 620 churches and chapels in the diocese, the number in which single duty is performed, is only 60."

of twelve years, the present condition of the diocese bears ample testimony. To the zeal which prompted those exertions, and to the benevolence and kindness which gave to them their full effect, *you* are better qualified to do justice than myself. I know that he looks back with affectionate regard upon the field of his former labours; and is encouraged to persevere in his endeavours to improve the order and regularity of the church, by the recollection of your kind co-operation."—pp. 7, 8.

The Bishop of Gloucester alludes to some partial evasions of the act respecting licenses, which his vigilance is prepared to guard against; but he does not speak of them as attaching to his own diocese, or extensively to any other:—

“ One of the most important of these points is the residence of incumbents on their benefices; in those cases, especially, where the unfitness of the parsonage house is the ground on which licenses for non-residence have been obtained. This is a plea which requires investigation: for though there are cases which the legislature contemplated when it vested this power in the bishop—particularly where the incumbent’s family could not be accommodated without rendering the house utterly disproportionate to the revenues of the benefice—I fear that advantage is sometimes taken of it beyond the intention of the law; and that, when a license has been once obtained, all thoughts of improving the premises, and rendering them a commodious dwelling-place, are frequently laid aside. The case of which I am speaking admits of this alternative. The incumbent must either reconcile himself to residence, at the expense of some inconvenience, or he must enlarge or rebuild his house; which he may do under the provisions of the act for rebuilding and repairing glebe houses, to the operation of which the governors of Queen Anne’s bounty give every facility and encouragement.”—pp. 6, 7.

Upon this head, then, these documents are satisfactory. They prove two important points. First, that this old grievance of the church is rapidly declining, and that too from the spontaneous feeling and conduct of the clergy themselves; and, secondly, that the vigilance of our prelates is anxiously employed in watching over its expiring efforts, and in closing the door against its return.

Another evil here noticed, which we know to be of long standing in the church, and which, some years ago, was as frequently practised as it was lightly regarded, is the granting of fictitious titles for orders. We regret that any traces of this abuse should be found in a body of men whose conduct on every occasion, but particularly in transactions of so serious a nature, should be marked with the greatest singleness and truth; but we believe

that such cases are now very rare, and we are convinced that the plain and forcible way in which they are here noticed, will go far to put an end altogether to a practice arising from thoughtlessness rather than any other cause.

“There is a custom too prevalent, which, I fear, has been sometimes practised in this diocese, of granting what are called friendly, but are in fact fictitious, titles for orders. I shall employ my best endeavours to prevent this abuse; and I expect that no young men shall be presented to me as candidates for orders, unless it is fully understood that they are to receive the stipend, and undertake the charge, of the parishes assigned them in their licenses. Sometimes, too, it happens that curates, especially where they obtain titles, agree to accept a smaller salary than that assigned them by the bishop. Such agreements are null and void, and are no better than disingenuous attempts to evade the law, and to impose on the diocesan.”

“The same regard to truth, which will prevent a conscientious clergyman from signing letters testimonial for an unworthy person, will also prevent him from giving a title for holy orders, to one whom he does not intend to employ *bond fide* as his curate, or with whom he has agreed to pay him no stipend, or a less stipend than is expressed in the nomination. I request you to consider the real nature of such a transaction. The incumbent who, without making the bishop acquainted with *all* the circumstances of the case, gives what is called a *sham title*, (a term which is in itself a sufficient sentence of condemnation,) sets his hand to a positive falsehood; and solemnly promises to do that which he has no intention of doing, or rather, which he is resolved not to do. I confess that I am at a loss to understand how that can be innocently done in a transaction of this kind, which in the ordinary dealings of life would be stigmatized as a dishonest proceeding. No matter what the private arrangement may be between the incumbent and the person to whom he gives the title; no matter what device for repayment may be contrived by the nominee or his friends; the transaction is a fraudulent one: the incumbent asserts that which he knows not to be strictly and in every sense true; and makes a positive declaration, which he intends to evade, in order to induce the bishop to do that which, if he knew the whole truth, he would not do. These bargains, whatever complexion they may assume, are, in their spirit and tendency, simoniacal; and although the law has affixed to them no penalty, it will be my duty to prevent them by every precaution in my power. I persuade myself that this expression of my opinion will be sufficient for that purpose: but I wish it to be known, that if I should discover any person to have obtained deacon's orders by means of a collusive title, I will not admit him as a candidate for the second order in the ministry, nor countersign his testimonials to another bishop.”—pp. 30, 31.

It remains for us to notice one more subject of some delicacy,

occupying a portion of two of these charges—and that is the secular amusements and pursuits of the clergy. Without entering into unnecessary details, we are old enough to remember a vast and edifying change in this respect—a change the more valuable because it has not been violent and rapid, the effect of some sudden impulse hurrying from one extreme to another, but calm and rational, growing out of a better knowledge, a stronger sense of duty, and a respect for the opinions of the age. Notwithstanding a few exceptions, it would be harsh to say that much remains to be done; but we are tempted to insert the following sensible remarks, as deserving, we think, a circulation beyond the persons to whom they were addressed:—

“His Lordship then suggested many excellent rules to the clergy for the government of their whole conduct and general intercourse with those around them; that they should exhibit in themselves examples of moderation and prudence, of good-will and charity towards all men, cherishing all those habits and dispositions which might conciliate the affection of others, or command their esteem. That they should use such prudence and caution not only in the weightier and more important concerns of life, but in the recreations also, and the amusements in which they should indulge themselves; for these, even when innocent in themselves, might become criminal, if carried to excess. Here, however, he begged not to be misunderstood; he did not wish to debar the clergy from all gratifications unconnected with their profession; though he confessed, that he could not conceive any higher gratifications than those which the duties of that profession, in the faithful performance of them, are so eminently calculated to produce. Yet far, very far, was he from thinking, that they should seclude themselves from the social intercourse of the world, and from those enjoyments which a merciful Creator intended that his creatures should use without abusing. But while, on the one hand, they shunned the ‘abstraction of pietism,’ God forbid that, on the other, they should not turn with abhorrence from those pernicious doctrines which, teaching men to ‘sin that grace may abound,’ are destructive to all virtue, morality, and religion.”—p. 35. *Sketch of the Bishop of Exeter’s Charge—Christian Remembrancer.*

“Our usefulness in that capacity will depend upon our influence over the minds of those whom we are appointed to teach and to guide; and that influence will be commensurate, not so much with the inherent sacredness of our calling, as with the sanctity of our personal character; which will for the most part be judged of, according to the degree in which we are seen to be abstracted from the habits and pursuits of secular callings, and devoted to the studies and duties of our own. It is a prevailing opinion, and I think not an unjust one, that more may be expected from the clergy than from the laity; that

‘in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity,’* *they* ought not to content themselves with being as other men are; but to go before their brethren, and to be ‘examples of the believers:’ that they are not to take, for their rule, or their excuse, the practice of the world; but to make their own behaviour a standard for the world to aim at. There are many points of conduct, which in a layman give no offence, because, although it be every man’s duty to ‘walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called,’† it is not considered to be *his* peculiar province, to set others an example of christian purity and holiness: but a much stricter judgment is exercised upon the actions and demeanour of those, who have promised to ‘make themselves, as far as in them lieth, wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ;’‡ whose duty it is, not to fashion their conduct by the precise *letter* of prohibitory laws, but by the *spirit* of the apostolical precepts, ‘in all things showing thyself a pattern of good works; in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity; sound speech that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of thee’§—‘giving no offence in any thing, *that the ministry be not blamed.*’||

“In offering these remarks, I hope I shall not be understood as recommending to you an entire seclusion from the world, a complete abstraction from all pursuits which have no direct and immediate bearing upon religion. Far otherwise: such a course of proceeding would not only have a tendency to contract the understanding, and deaden the affections, and engender uncharitable thoughts of others; but would narrow the sphere of ministerial exertion and usefulness; and remove that salutary restraint upon general society, which is afforded by the presence and example of the clergy. But I do contend, that the members of our sacred profession are bound, in the first place, to exercise great caution in the choice of their pursuits and amusements; secondly, to practise great moderation in the use of them; and lastly, in whatever occupation they may be engaged, into whatever society they may be cast, never to forget the dignity and importance of their calling; nor wholly to lay aside that serious and quiet demeanour, which bespeaks a mind habitually occupied in the duties of a sacred trust. Whether the credit of your order, and the influence of your ministry must not inevitably suffer, in the minds of simple, but serious and inquiring Christians, if they behold you engaged in secular traffic, or in the eager pursuit of violent and boisterous, or even frivolous amusements—is a question well worthy of your most serious consideration: ‘I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.’ ”¶—p. 14-17. *Charge of the Bishop of Chester.*

We humbly think that these venerable persons have acted

* 1 Tim. iv. 12.

† Ordination Service.

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 3.

§ Eph. iv. 1.

¶ Tit. ii. 7.

¶ 1 Cor. x. 30.

wisely in not attempting to draw a line of separation upon such a subject. The same things which are perfectly innocent in some cases, might be decidedly wrong in others if they were carried to excess, or shared in riotous or licentious society. Besides, men feel differently, as they become more engaged in the sacred profession, more conversant with its duties, and more animated with the hopes which Christianity suggests ; and we are confident that if in the view of candidates for orders, the path of the clergy in the various walks of life had been too much restricted, it would have had the effect of closing the door against many excellent, learned, and pious men, who have afterwards voluntarily laid aside those very amusements to which in the first instance they attached more importance than in truth belonged to them.

Upon the whole we conclude, that the prospect held out to us by these documents is, in a high degree, cheering and consolatory ; and when we look around us, we see many circumstances calculated to confirm the testimony which they bear. To expect perfection in any system administered by human hands, is at once unjust and absurd ; but what we have a right to require is, that an establishment, founded on wisdom and moderation by our ancestors, and capable of adapting itself to every wholesome change in society, should not only be preserved from discredit, but should have its excellencies brought out, and its usefulness vindicated and approved ; above all, that its ministers should always keep in mind, how trifling and unimportant is the prosperity of the church itself in comparison with those higher interests of Christianity which it was intended to promote and guard. These are the points which we think there is a tendency to attain. We know not what may be the designs of Providence, whose ways it is much more easy for us to retrace than to foretell ; and, doubtless, we have enough of imperfection left, both in and out of the church, to allay every proud and presumptuous thought, and to excite our utmost watchfulness and care ; but when we reflect upon the prodigious efforts which have been made in this country within the last thirty years for the furtherance of christian principles and the dissemination of christian truth : when we remember the resources which have been called forth, and the intelligence employed at home for the religious education and instruction of the poor, and observe farther, the collective strength of so many societies, amongst which those of the church are most prominent, actively and usefully employed in carrying the blessings of truth and freedom wherever the British name extends ;—when we see so many gifted and honourable men going forth under its auspices to

remote and unwholesome climates, and devoting themselves to the same sacred cause, we cannot withhold a hope that the peculiar advantages of Great Britain—its institutions, its opulence, and its power—have not been bestowed upon it in vain; and that they will be continued as instruments of Providence to diffuse still farther its choicest gifts to the ends of the earth.

THE BRITISH CRITIC,

JULY, 1826.

ART. I.—*Johannis Miltoni Angli de Doctrinâ Christianâ libri duo posthumi; quos e Schedis Manuscriptis deprompsit, et typis mandari primus curavit Carolus Ricardus Sumner, A. M., Bibliothecæ Regiæ Præfectus. Cantabrigiæ. MDCCCXXV.*

A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, by John Milton; translated from the original by C. R. Sumner, A. M., &c. Cambridge, 1825.

IT is well known that when Milton retired from public life he meditated several literary designs, each of them nearly sufficient to occupy the life even of a more than ordinary man; namely, his immortal epic, a continuation of his history of England, a Latin Thesaurus, and, according to some of his biographers, a body of divinity. He had then been, for three years, totally blind. He was tormented with gout. His circumstances were narrow. His domestic condition comfortless. There are few things, perhaps, in the history of literature more astonishing than the energy which enabled him to grapple with such vast enterprises, while thus compassed round with infirmity and affliction. His great predecessor, Homer, indeed was blind; but Homer is, after all, a sort of dim and visionary personage. We know very little more about him, than we do about Enoch or Seth, or any of the worthies before the flood. We are apt to look upon the "Iliad," as a mysterious thing delivered down to us out of the clouds and darkness of antiquity. Its author is to us a being almost too shadowy, too nearly fabulous, for human sympathy; and, therefore, we are unable to enter into his sorrows or his difficulties. In modern times, Euler was, perhaps, one of the most astonishing instances of the power of mind over physical impediments. For nearly the last eighteen years of his life he was totally blind; and yet, during that period it was that he completed such gigantic labours, as would have sufficed to im-

mortalize a whole club of philosophers; and moreover, out of his mere superfluity, he furnished the academy of Petersburg with memoirs enough to set them up for twenty years after his death. But then it must be remembered, that Euler was as happy in his domestic circumstances, as he was in the admiration of the scientific world. His blindness was alleviated by the devoted attentions of his family, and he died in peace surrounded by his grandchildren. These blessings were denied to Milton. It appears that his daughters were not merely unwilling assistants to his intellectual labours; they were positively undutiful and unkind: they inhumanly neglected him in his blindness; they even entered into vile conspiracies with the servants to defraud him; and one of them is known to have expressed a wish for his death.* He was thus driven in his old age to seek protection from his own children in a third marriage. His other misfortunes may have helped to awaken and stir the nobility of his character and genius; for it is the property of mighty minds to derive a sort of inspiration from adversity itself. But these were sordid and low-born miseries, the harpies of the soul, which not only interrupt the intellectual banquet, but make it distasteful. Had not Milton's Contemplation been of a celestial order, like his own "cherub, that guides the fiery wheeled throne," such wretched cares must have soiled and rent its pinions, and have fixed his spirit hopelessly to the earth.

Of all the literary projects which occupied and consoled his retirement, with the exception of his work on divinity, the history has long been before the literary world. It appears, indeed, to have been known that such a compilation had been made by him, and deposited in the hands of his friend and favourite pupil, Cyriack Skinner, to whom he addressed his celebrated sonnet on the loss of his sight. All traces of its existence, however, had been lost till the latter part of the year 1823, when Mr. Lemon discovered in the old State Paper Office at Whitehall, the manuscript of the work now before us. The evidence that this manuscript must be the identical work of Milton is as follows:—

1. It is beyond dispute that Milton meditated and completed a theological work: and the manuscript in question bears the Latin title prefixed to this article, which describes it as the composition of Milton.

2. It is also notorious that Milton had a favourite pupil by the name of Cyriack Skinner, who was the son of a merchant;

* Symmon's "Life of Milton" in vol. vii. of the Ed. of the Prose Works, pp. 441, 442, and 514, 515.

and it now appears that the manuscript was enclosed in an envelope superscribed "To Mr. Skinner, merchant."

3. It is further remarkable, that the same manuscript was found wrapped up with papers and documents relative to the Popish and Ryehouse plots, and that the same parcel contained a complete and corrected copy of other compositions of Milton; namely, the Latin letters to foreign powers, written by him while he was Latin secretary.

By what means this manuscript came into the State Paper Office cannot now be known. The conjecture of Mr. Lemon is by no means unreasonable, that, as Cyriack Skinner was notorious for republican principles, his papers may have been seized, during some period of public alarm, with the Milton manuscript among them: in which case it would come, together with the other suspected documents, into the official possession of Sir Joseph Williamson, or Sir Leoline Jenkins, who left their collections of manuscripts to the State Paper Office.

This conjecture derives some confirmation from a letter found by Mr. Lemon, among other papers relating to the year 1677, written by a Mr. Perwich from Paris in that year, and addressed to the secretary of J. Williamson, from which it appears that a Mr. Skinner, therein mentioned, had unpublished manuscripts of Milton's in his possession, which, however, he had left in Holland. It is surmised by the editor, that the Skinner here alluded to was a brother of Cyriack: and that "Cyriack, aware of the suspicion to which he was liable as the friend of Milton, as well as on account of his own political character, might naturally conceive, that his papers would be safer in the hands of his brother, out of the kingdom, than in his own custody; and that the government having been informed by Mr. Perwich of their concealment in Holland, perhaps obtained possession of them through their emissaries, while Skinner was travelling in Italy, according to his design, mentioned in the letter." (Preliminary Observ. pp. xiii. xiv.)

It should be remarked that the title which Wood, on the authority of Aubrey, assigns to Milton's work is, *Idea Theologiæ*, which title certainly does not appear on the present manuscript. This, however, is a circumstance of inconsiderable weight. Milton may have originally intended to prefix this title to his compilation, and by that title may have spoken of it among his friends; and yet when the work was completed, he may have changed his mind, and given it the title which it now bears.

Such is the external evidence of the authenticity of this work, which, as the editor remarks, derives ample confirmation from "the resemblance of its language and opinions to the printed

works of Milton ; of which some striking specimens are given in the notes." Of his theology, the world has had a tolerably copious prelibation in his "*Paradise Lost*," and other writings ; not sufficient, however, to relieve us from uncertainty, as to his opinions on many important points. It now appears beyond all question, that his doctrinal divinity was very far from being of a fanatic, or puritanical cast. It is further satisfactory to find, that when he approached the solemn task of searching the scriptures for himself, age and religion had well nigh "purged off the baser fires" of the puritanical temper. This is the more remarkable, when we recollect how deeply Milton is known to have drank into that spirit. His other prose writings are a mine, in which this terrific fire-damp is perpetually exploding, not merely in the form of invective, but sometimes even of imprecation. The grand discharge of it, however, is in his "*Treatise of Reform*," which, it will be remembered, he closes with this tremendous, but magnificent denunciation.

"But they, the contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, by the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life (which God grant them) shall be thrown eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell : where, under the despiteful controul, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, (that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease, than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes,) they shall remain in that plight for ever : the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, the most underfoot and downtrodden vassals of perdition." (*Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 59, Ed. Symmons.)

Who can peruse this without thinking of the remark of Johnson :—"Such is his malignity that hell grows darker at his frown."

We cannot, however, forbear pausing a moment, to remark that all this, hot and fearful as it is, is nothing to a fiery paroxysm of Owen, the great oracle of the puritans. The above, as it occurs in a popular treatise, might perhaps pass for a burst of vehement rhetoric, adapted to the morbid taste of the times. But what shall we say to a yell of execration in a sober theological commentary ? In his exposition of the 130th Psalm, Owen is speaking, not of great national delinquents and traitors, nor of impious blasphemers and apostates, but of persons whom he considers as having deceived themselves with erroneous views of God's forgiveness, or with an imperfect belief in it, and who remain in that condition till their death : and in his address to these persons, he actually calls on angels and archangels, and

all the company of heaven to curse them, and joins, himself, in the deep and universal chorus of damnation!

“ If you resolve to continue in the neglect of this salvation, and shall do so accordingly, then cursed be you with all the curses that are written in the law, and all the curses that are denounced against the despisers of the gospel. Yea, be you *Anathema Maranatha*: cursed in this world always, until the coming of the Lord: and when the Lord cometh, be ye cursed from his presence into everlasting destruction. Yea curse them, all ye holy angels of God, as the obstinate enemies of your King and Head, the Lord Jesus Christ. Curse them all ye churches of Christ, as despisers of that love and mercy which is your portion, your life, and your inheritance. Let all the saints of God, all that love the Lord, curse them, and rejoice to see the Lord coming forth mightily, and prevailing against them to their everlasting ruin. Why should any one have a thought of compassion towards them, who despise the compassion of God? or of mercy toward them who trample on the blood of Christ? While there is hope, we desire to have continual sorrow for you; and to travail in soul for your conversion to God. But if you be hardened in your way, shall we join with you against him? Shall we prefer you above his glory? Nay, God forbid! we hope to *rejoice* in seeing all that vengeance and indignation poured out unto all eternity upon your souls.” (Owen’s “*Expos. of Ps. 130,*” p. 310, Ed. 1772.)

It is impossible to listen to these appalling maledictions, without trembling to think on what the author of them might have been, under the dreadful discipline of the Romish church. In another age, and other circumstances, this hierophant of puritanism might have directed the holocausts of the inquisition. The spirit of St. Dominic breathes in every line; and thus it is, that when once the medium of sobriety has been deserted, extremes often meet on one common ground of uncharitableness and intolerance.

The lawfulness of these eruptions of zeal, is expressly asserted by Milton, in the fourth chapter of the second book of this work, where he says, that. “ we are commanded to call down curses publicly on the enemies of God and the church, and on false brethren, and on any who are guilty of grievous offences against God, *or even against ourselves*. The same may be done in private prayer, after the example of some of the holiest of men.” (p. 421.) On the whole, however, it is pleasing to observe how free this treatise is from an intemperate spirit. There is little in it to remind us of the author’s former ungovernable and savage vehemence, except occasional rumblings, which show that the volcano is not wholly exhausted.

From Milton’s preface to this work, it appears that he was dissatisfied with all extant systems of divinity. The citadel of

the reformed faith he considers as abundantly fortified in the quarter that looks towards popery ; but, in other parts, as lamentably unprovided with solid works, or able defenders. This state of things impelled him to survey the towers of Sion for himself : in other words to cast away all human authorities, and to examine the scriptures by the light of his own independent and freeborn intellect, aided “ by devout prayer to the Eternal Spirit, that can enrich with all utterance and knowledge.”

Of the result of his labours on a subject so vast and various, our account must necessarily be imperfect. It is quite impossible to give a minute analysis of a whole body of divinity within the limits of an essay. We must therefore confine ourselves to an endeavour to point out some of the more striking peculiarities of his system.

His first observable deviation from received opinions, is his rejection of that scheme of interpretation which supposes, that when scripture seems to ascribe to the Deity certain human faculties and affections, it ascribes them only figuratively. He thinks it dangerous to expound scripture by the figure *ἀνθρωποπαθεία*, which he regards as nothing better than the miserable resource of the grammarians, to palliate the extravagancies of the poets in their representation of the heathen divinities. If therefore we are told that “ it repented Jehovah that he had made man,” he maintains that we are called upon to believe that he actually did repent. If it be said, that, after the work of six days, God rested and was refreshed, (Exod. xxxi. 17,) it is ours to take the saying even as we find it, without troubling ourselves to reconcile it to the dignity of the Almighty. It is true, he allows, that when we speak of the repentance of the Deity, we are not to imagine it to be the result of inadvertence, or of any thing which causes repentance in man. But what is this but to confess that repentance when ascribed to God, is used in a sense entirely different from that in which it is ascribed to man ? that is, that the use of the word is figurative. The same question may be applied to his other instances. Milton will hardly assert that the Deity was fatigued or exhausted after the work of the creation : yet he tells us we must believe that he was actually and truly refreshed. To us, however, the word refreshment implies recovery from lassitude or uneasiness. Its application, therefore, to God cannot be otherwise than improper and figurative, *κατ’ ἀνθρωποπαθείαν*. He even contends that “ God made man in his own image, after his likeness,” not only as to his soul, but as to his outward form : and yet he disclaims the notion that God is in fashion like to man in all his parts and members. It appears from “ Paradise Lost,” that he had got a notion that “ earth was a shadow of heaven,” the visible of the invisible

world ; and to this notion he seems willing to sacrifice the most approved methods of interpretation. The peculiarity is of no great moment, otherwise than as it shows that when Milton professed to surrender himself entirely to the written word, his was a sort of "proud submission, a dignified obedience ;" it was, in short, only one mode of enjoying independence, or, as he would call it, christian liberty. We question not the sincerity of his acquiescence ; but we suspect that, almost unconsciously, he valued it as a service of more perfect freedom than any other. Submission to the Bible was good in itself ; but it was still better as it implied exemption from any human authority !

On the subject of the divine decrees his notions will, on the whole, be considered as satisfactory by every member of the English church, except those who understand her articles in the high Calvinistic sense. He maintains that those decrees are conditional, and not absolute. He contends that events are "foreknown certainly, though not decreed necessarily ;" that God in his sovereignty made man a free agent ; but, by virtue of his prescience, saw that he would abuse his free agency. In all this, every sober and enlightened divine will heartily agree with him. But it will be found, that, like every other mortal who has ventured on the task, he has utterly failed in his attempts to explain it. Had he been content to take the doctrine as he found it in the general tenour of scripture, and to leave the difficulties which ever must cleave to it, to shift for themselves, he would have done wisely, and consistently with his professed design of deriving his theology from the Bible. But he has not been content to do this. He "reasons high" upon the subject. He argues with all his might to make it clear and intelligible. He tells us that the mere foreknowledge of God exerts no more influence on our actions, than the same foreknowledge would if existing in any other being. And no man in his senses ever supposes that it does ! The sternest supralapsarian Calvinist does not imagine a decree of reprobation to be like a relentless power, that sits by the sinner, with tearless eye,* and urges him on to his destruction. But the difficulty lies here—that the God who foresees, is also our Creator ; and this is the circumstance that makes his determinate counsel and his foreknowledge inseparable. The case stands thus :—the Almighty decrees the existence of a being endowed with certain faculties and dispositions ; he knows that the being, when created, will be placed in certain circumstances, and that the result will infallibly

* ———ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς τέλει' Ἀρὰ

ξηροῖς ἀκλαύτοις ὕμμασιν προσιζάνει.

Æschyl. "Sept. Theb." 1. 692. Ed. Blomf.

be a certain course of thought and action. How then is this result to be separated, in our conceptions, from the divine appointment?

The free agency of the being remains unimpeached in this statement: the course of action we consider as the immediate result of that free agency, and not of any thing like mechanical necessity. But this does not remove the difficulty. A free agent is created by a being who has a distinct foresight of the consequences of that free agency. How then can we pretend to say that this is a case of mere foreknowledge, and not of preappointment? especially when we consider that all the results are at once present to the Supreme Intelligence, in a manner that negatives all notion of contingency, or even of succession.

The human understanding can never see its way out of this labyrinth. We must therefore consult our Bibles and our consciences. The latter will tell us that we are free and moral agents, and responsible to God. The former will satisfy us that the foreknowledge of God is perfectly consistent with our freedom, and with his righteousness and goodness, though we cannot see how.

We think there is much good sense in a remark of Professor Hey, (Lect. vol. iii. p. 248,) that "disputes on liberty and necessity are vain and idle; as much so, as if you were placed within a spherical surface, and I without it; and we were to enter into abstruse arguments on the question whether the surface between us were concave or convex. In my situation it is convex, in yours it is concave." If we consider events with reference to the divine mind, it seems utterly impossible to consider them as otherwise than fixed: if we consider them with reference to responsible agents, it seems as impossible to regard them as otherwise than contingent. When therefore the Bible represents to us the divine decrees as conditional,—(and it unquestionably does so represent them,*)—it virtually tells us that we are to look at them merely with a view to our own improvement in piety and virtue. But it certainly does not impose upon us the task of reconciling, by a logical process, *conditional* decrees with *absolute* foreknowledge, perfect independence, and unlimited sovereignty. There can be no attempt so utterly hopeless. The toil of Sisyphus was but a faint representation of it! The adventurer may strain and heave, and fancy himself near the end of his labour,

ἀλλ' ὅτε μέλλεν

Ἄκρὸν ὑπερβαλέειν, τότε' ἀποστρέψασκε κραταῖς

Αὔθις—

* As any one, we think, may satisfy himself by consulting the recent work of Dr. Graves, entitled "Calvinistic Predestination repugnant to the General Tenour of Scripture."

There sits at the summit an unseen and resistless power, ready to hurl back his load, and to mock his rashness and presumption.

If, however, such discussions must be carried on to the end of time, surely it would be desirable that Locke's advice should be taken; that the term free-will should for ever be laid aside, and free-agency substituted for it. We object to the word, not because we doubt the liberty of *man*, but because we think, with Locke, that to speak of *free-will* is about as intelligible as to talk of "swift sleep, or square virtue." The power of volition is the property which constitutes man a free-agent. In this power we must seek the very essence and formality of his freedom. But it does appear to us that he who asks whether the *will* be *free*, deserves "Midas's ears" almost as much as he "who, knowing that *rich* is a denomination for the possession of *riches*, should demand whether *riches* themselves were rich." (See Locke, b. ii. c. 21. § 14, 15, 16.)

Respecting the persons of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the opinions of Milton, are such as puritan and churchman must have equally lamented. The editor has referred us to various passages in "*Paradise Lost*," which speak a very ambiguous and unsteady language on this subject; sufficiently so to prepare us for the following summary of his doctrine, respecting the second person of the Trinity, as given by the editor in his preliminary observations.

"It is asserted (by Milton) that the Son existed in the beginning, and was the first of the whole creation: by whose delegated power all things were made in heaven and earth: begotten, not by natural necessity, but by the decree of the Father, within the limits of time: *endued with the divine nature and substance*, but distinct from and inferior to the Father: one with the Father in love and unanimity of will, and receiving every thing in his filial and mediatorial character from the Father's gift." (p. xxxv.)

To this we may add Milton's own statement of his opinions respecting the Holy Spirit, whom he describes as a minister of God, and therefore not increate: *created or produced of the substance of God*, not by natural necessity, but by the free-will of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him. (p. 123.)

This doctrine, though lower than that of Clarke, is probably higher than the highest Arianism known to antiquity. It does not maintain that the Son is a mere Virtue of the Father,* (Virtus paterna,) in some ineffable manner produced from the person or hypostasis of the Father; but it represents Him as actually

* See Bull, "Def. Fid. Nic." p. 115.

derived from the divine substance, and partaking of the divine nature and attributes, though in such measure only as the Father pleased.

We, of course, must abandon all thoughts of following Milton through his labyrinth of reasonings on this awful subject, and content ourselves with adverting to one or two points.

The process by which a well-disciplined and unprejudiced inquirer would arrive at just conclusions respecting the Godhead, as represented in scripture, is very simple. He would observe, in the first place, that the Unity of the Godhead is throughout so strongly and clearly insisted on, that nothing must be allowed, for an instant, to bring it in question. He would further perceive, that three persons or agents are likewise repeatedly mentioned by different titles, and are represented as sustaining different offices; and yet, that they are each spoken of in language applicable only to the Supreme God. The question would then arise, whether any contradiction is involved in the above propositions: and, after careful and reverent inquiry, he would probably arrive at the conclusion, that whatever may be the Unity of the Godhead, it is not a personal Unity; that the Deity, though *Unus*, is not *Unicus*; and that the catholic doctrine of three persons and one God, though above reason, is not contrary to it.

Now Milton asserts that it *is* contrary to reason; and he makes this assertion chiefly on the ground afterwards so intrepidly occupied by Clarke and his followers, that the divine essence cannot be communicated without a division and a separation of it; consequently, not without a destruction of the essential Unity of God. He charges all who maintain the contrary opinion with ransacking the magazines of barbarous scholastic sophistry in support of a most absurd paradox; and maintains stoutly, that those who are two numerically, must be two essentially. The same confident opinion appears in the following passage, quoted by the translator from Milton's "Treatise on Logic," (Prose Works, vol. vi. 214,) "*Quæ igitur numero, essentiâ quoque differunt; et nequaquam numero, nisi essentiâ differrent.*" And these words are followed by a benevolent caution to the orthodox;—"Evigilent hic theologi!"

Happily, the theologians have been vigilant. The English Church especially has raised up two wakeful and mighty champions in Bull and Waterland, who have been nothing daunted by these ontological mysteries. From them, (and from Waterland more especially,) Milton might (if he had lived long enough) have learned, that before we can pronounce a Trinity of persons to be any infringement of the Unity of

the Divine Essence, we must be able to fix upon some certain principle of individuation, a task which probably exceeds human powers. He might have learned, that (to use the language of Horsley*) "the Unity, which is the foundation of all being, is, of all things, the most mysterious and incomprehensible." We continually speak of units indeed; but all the units we have to deal with, except those which figure in the multiplication table, are, in truth, very multiform and complex things. We talk of one man; but when we come to analyze this moral, intellectual, and physical unit, we soon discover that his name is Legion. Knowing not, therefore, precisely what it is that makes one being, or one essence, we never can be assured that three real persons may not be one numerical or individual substance.† This, however, is not the only occasion on which Milton, though professing to be a humble inquirer at the Urim and Thummim of scripture, has appealed to the dark and riddling oracle of metaphysics.

It is, indeed, most truly surprising that his faith should be so overpowered by the doctrine of the Trinity, when he must have seen that there is scarcely an attribute of the Deity which does not tax our belief quite as heavily. The eternity, the ubiquity, the self-existence of God,‡ his absolute prescience, all are as fruitful in paradoxes as the "trinal Unity," which he once acknowledged. Nay, we fully agree with Waterland, that foreknowledge and contingency carry with them "much greater difficulty than the doctrine of three in one. For there is no argument against the latter that is not capable of a just solution: that is, it may be shown where the argument has a flaw, and where the chain breaks. But in the other case, the utmost we can do, is only to prove that the argument must have a flaw *somewhere*, though we see not where: being content to resolve all into the inscrutable perfection of the divine prescience, which infinitely transcends our finite capacities!" (Waterland, vol. iii. p. 391, note c.)

The incarnation of the Son, as represented in scripture, furnishes Milton with further objections to His equality with the Father. He fortifies himself most confidently in those texts in which Christ speaks of his own inferiority. He maintains that "after the hypostatic union, whatever Christ says of himself, must be delivered, not by either nature separately, but by the whole person of Christ, respecting himself in his whole character;" for,

* Tracts, p. 287.

† Waterland, vol. ii. p. 218.

‡ Which the schoolmen, with incredible barbarism, have been pleased to denominate à-se-ity; because God is said to derive his existence for himself, a se!

that otherwise Christ must appear capable of an equivocation. (p. 72.)

The passage to which this remark is most forcibly applicable, is Mark xiii. 32. "But of that day, and that hour, knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." It may safely be confessed, that this text is one of the most perplexing in the whole inquiry, relating to the nature and person of the Saviour; though its difficulty is absolutely nothing, compared with the enormous absurdities which attach to the Arian hypothesis,* in all its varieties; and which Milton seems to have overlooked. We suspect, however, that the true nature of this difficulty is frequently mistaken. The question which is likely to be at first suggested by this text, to an inquirer respecting the Saviour's divinity, is this:—How can the same person be said to know a thing, and not to know it, at the same time? and, how was it consistent with the sincerity of Christ to declare his ignorance, if, by virtue of his divinity, he was really able to answer the inquiry of his disciples? Now, we would be understood to approach so difficult a subject with all possible reverence, when we say, that the true question more probably is, how could it be consistent with the nature of Christ to be actually ignorant of the day? For that he was actually ignorant of it, at the time, appears to us no inadmissible surmise: and for this we have the authority of Bishop Bull; who says, "It cannot appear absurd to any sane person, that the divine wisdom should have impressed its operations on the human mind of Christ, according to emergencies: and that, as Christ advanced in wisdom, so, likewise, may he have been ignorant of the day of judgment, at the period of his mission, when he had no need of such knowledge: and this we maintain, notwithstanding the Romish divines may stigmatize the reformed as a generation of vipers, and no better than the ancient Gnostics." (Bull, "Def. Fid. Nic." sect. ii. § 8, p. 82.)

That this opinion is wholly without difficulty, we will not venture to assert. But the difficulty will be much reduced by the recollection that various perplexing phenomena might be expected to result from the assumption of humanity by a superior nature, whether supremely divine or not. A man is a person compounded of a body and a reasonable soul: and we all know what a multitude of inexplicable results arise out of that coalition. "The Son of Man" was a person formed by

* Any one who wishes to have a comprehensive view of these difficulties, may find them compressed into a few pages in "The Scriptures and the Arians Compared," by Waterland, vol. iv. p. 351, &c.

the combination of the divine Logos, a human soul, and a human body. It might be concluded, beforehand, that such a coalition must be productive of appearances still more profoundly mysterious and inexplicable. We are familiar with the ebbs and flows of memory, with the occasional eclipses of mind, to which mere human beings are liable. They are such as would hardly have been anticipated, and cannot be explained; and yet they lead very few to question the real combination of two dissimilar principles in the human individual. Why then should we be staggered at the want of a constant and equable manifestation of the highest principle in the Person of Christ? If any superhuman intellect or spirit were to take the human nature into coalition with itself, it would not follow, surely, that the superior nature *must* inform the lower with perpetual and equal intensity. Why then should we be overpowered on finding that the stores of divine knowledge and wisdom were manifested in the Person, Jesus Christ, in such measures, and on such occasions, as might be conformable to the designs of the Godhead? Our limits forbid the further prosecution of these reflections; which, however, we humbly submit, contain the principle of the safest answer to all objections raised upon this class of texts.

We are compelled by want of space to abstain from touching the chapter which relates to the Holy Spirit, further than to remark that Milton considers Matthew xii. 31, 32, as having no reference to the personality of the Spirit: For he argues that "if to sin against the Holy Spirit be worse than to sin against the Father and the Son, the Spirit, truly, would be greater than the Father and the Son." Unquestionably this would be so on the supposition of an entirely separate and independent personality: for, in that case, blasphemy against the Third Person would not necessarily imply blasphemy against the First or the Second. But the true sense of the passage is evidently this; that of all blasphemy against the tripersonal Godhead, the most offensive is that which takes the form of an insult to the Holy Ghost. And it cannot be very difficult to perceive the reason of this. The Holy Ghost is that Person of the Godhead to whom the divine economy assigns an office, which addresses itself more immediately to our convictions. He spake by the prophets. He wrought miracles. He is the advocate of the Father and the Son, appointed to plead with the spirits of men. The impiety of resistance or insult to His authority must consequently bear a character of peculiar aggravation.

The chapter on Creation follows that on the Holy Spirit, and is one of the most remarkable and curious in the book. It, of course, asserts the Son and the Holy Spirit to have been merely

instrumental agents, and not principal causes, in the production of all things. For the correction of Milton's theological errors on this article, we must refer to the writings of the standard divines, and especially to Waterland's sermon on the "Divinity of Christ proved from the Creation." We must confine our own remarks to his metaphysical notions on this unfathomable subject; which (so far as we are informed) are peculiar to himself.

He denies, then, that God could have created the world out of nothing; but is unable to conceive that matter should have existed from eternity: and finding it declared in scripture that all things are *of God*, he infers that all things must have issued from the Divine Substance. He further persuades himself that any other opinion must derogate from the Divine Infinity; for that which is infinite is incapable of accession; and an accession there must be, if any thing could exist which was not, before, of God, and in God. ("Quod non prius ex Deo, et in Deo, fuerit." c. vii. pp. 128, 129, 131.)

We are not aware that precisely the same view has ever before been taken of the subject. Some among the latter Platonists, indeed, appear to have held that there was no proper creation of matter, though they maintained that it was not absolutely self-existent. They would not allow that the world had a beginning, but supposed it to have proceeded eternally from God by way of necessary emanation. It was an efflux from the Divine Nature, independent of the Divine Will.*

Milton must have well known the dangerous tendency of such notions; and possibly imagined that he should avoid them by asserting the production of the world from the Deity by way of derivation, without admitting the eternity or the necessity of such derivation.

It may be worth while to consider the main argument by which he labours to establish this position; because it furnishes a striking instance of the power which words sometimes exert over the mightiest intellects. It is well known that Aristotle has asserted that there are four kinds of cause: namely, 1. the material; 2. the formal; 3. the efficient; and 4. the final.† Now, it is evident that this division is nothing more than the enumeration of four very different and unconnected senses in which the word *αἰτία* might be used. Thus, in making a statue, the artist may be justly called the efficient cause: the desire of fame or profit the final cause. But then it may be said, that if the artist have no

* Cudworth, iv. 14.

† See Aristot. *Φυσικῆ ἀκροασ.* ii. 3 and 7. His words are, "Αἰτίαι τέσσαρες: 1. ἡ ὕλη. 2. τὸ εἶδος. 3. τὸ κινήσαν. 4. τὸ, οὗ ἕνεκα. See also *Metaphys.* lib. i. c. 3.

material, there will be no statue : and further, that it is the peculiar quality of the material which makes it a statue of marble, or of bronze, &c. ; and all this may be shortly expressed by saying that the material, and the form or essence of it, are causes of the work : inasmuch as they contribute to make the work what it is. But then they are causes in a sense totally different from the original and proper import of the word cause, which may be justly defined, “ id quod efficienter antecedit.”

This may be further illustrated from Milton's “Tetrachordon.” “ *The material cause of matrimony is man and woman* : the author, and efficient, God, and their consent : the internal form and soul of this relation is conjugal love ; arising from a mutual fitness to the final causes of wedlock, help, and society, &c. : these are the final causes, moving the efficient and perfecting the form.” (Prose Works, vol. ii. 140.) It is most veritable, that, if there were neither man nor woman, there could be no matrimony ! But when the couple are brought to the altar, it would seem very strange to say that they (that is the mere persons of Thomas and Joan considered apart from their own will and consent) are a cause of their being joined together for the rest of their days. This would be about as reasonable as to say, that if Thomas came to the gallows, he would himself, independently of his crime, be one cause of his own execution ; because, truly, if Thomas did not exist, he could not be hanged !

This division has, nevertheless, been adopted by Milton from Aristotle and the schoolmen, in order to prove that matter must exist by derivation from the Divine Substance :—

“ *Primum hoc omnibus notissimum est quatuor esse genera causarum, efficientem, materialem, formalem et finalem. Deus cum prima, absoluta, et sola rerum omnium causa sit, quis dubitet quin omnes causas in se contineat et complectatur ? Materialis igitur causa erit aut Deus aut nihil ; nihil autem nulla causa est, et tamen formas etiam maxime humanas ex nihilo volunt : materia autem et forma velut causæ internæ rem ipsam constituunt ; adeoque omnia, aut duas tantummodo causas habuerint, easque externas, aut Deus perfecta et absoluta rerum causa non fuerit.*”—pp. 129, 130.

His argument, therefore, is this ; each of the four causes above enumerated, must conspire towards the production and constitution of every thing that exists. But God, being the prime and sole cause of all things, must contain all these causes in himself. If, therefore, He is not the material and formal cause of every thing in the universe, nothing else can be ; and He cannot be the material and formal cause, unless both matter and form are derived from his substance.

If a grave answer to this argument be thought necessary, it may be found in our preceding remarks on Aristotle's classification of causes. The Deity, it is true, is the great first cause of all things ; but it does not follow that He must therefore contain in his own substance every thing to which the term, cause, has been improperly applied by men. In the order of our conceptions, matter and its properties must undoubtedly be antecedent to the formation of a world : but it is an abuse of language to say that they must, therefore, be among the original causes of the world's existence. Milton, however, asserts that they are, properly, causes, *quia rem ipsam constituunt*. But here he suffers himself to be deceived by a word. The expression, as here used, can imply no more than this ; that *the thing* could not be, or could not be constituted, without them. Without matter, for instance, there could be no material universe ; without different forms or modifications of matter, there could be no variety or harmony. All which, in reality, amounts to very little more than this, that the elements must first exist in order that a universe may be formed out of them. But it can never be concluded from this that they must always have existed in the substance of Him, who is the centre and source of all efficacy and causation.

It would appear from the tenour of his argument, that Milton must have adopted the exploded notion of substantial forms ; or, in other words, must have imagined that the form or essence of a thing is some substance added to the thing itself and combined with it, so as to give it its peculiar quality. For he complains of the absurdity of supposing that forms can originate in nothing ; (p. 129 ;) a complaint scarcely intelligible, if, by form, is to be understood only that peculiar modification which distinguishes one substance from all other substances.

His notion that all substances must once have been in the divine substance, and must have issued from it, seems open to a yet heavier charge : it goes near to identify God and the universe, and to make both spirit and matter only modifications of the divine substance. Milton would, doubtless, disclaim this pernicious conclusion. He would defend his system by saying, that it represents the creation as a voluntary developement of " the multiform, inexhaustible, and substantial virtue " * residing in God ; and that it is free from the impiety which ascribes to the world an existence, eternal, independent, and extraneous to the Deity, (*extrâ Deum*.) It must, however, be very difficult upon Milton's hypothesis, to contemplate the result of this developement.

* Omnimodam, multiformem, inexhaustam virtutem in Deo esse, eamque substantialem, non accidentalem.—p. 130.

ment as something entirely distinct from the Deity. If the universe be an efflux from the Divine Substance, it can hardly be thought of but as a modification of that substance, whether the projection, (or *προβολή*,) were voluntary, or by necessity; whether it took place in time, or from all eternity. At all events it must require a very subtle and laborious process to vindicate his opinion from, at least, a tendency to Pantheism, which supposes God and the world to be one universal being.

He disposes of the question,—how can that which is peccable have come forth from God?—by asking, what is to prevent matter and form (when once they have proceeded from God and become mutable) from being corrupted by the craft of the devil, or the devices of man? (p. 130.) This is to give a reason for the faults of created beings, by saying that they may fall under the influence of other created beings; or, that they must suffer from the consequences of their own imperfection. Man may, indeed, be depraved by the devil. But whence the depravity of the tempter himself, if he came forth from God? Both man and devil may grow worse from the constant operation of some evil principle. But how could such a principle find entrance into a being derived from the Supreme and all-perfect Being? Milton seems to imagine that matter and form, when they issued from the Divine Substance, must have become liable to change. But, that a mere liability to change must produce an actual change for the worse, is by no means apparent, unless we suppose the influence of some positively bad principle, either external or internal; but the existence of such a principle remains still to be accounted for.

Difficulties of this kind, it must be allowed, press with nearly equal force upon all systems framed by fallible and limited intelligences. That a world liable to misery and sin should either spring from God, or be summoned into existence by Him, are positions which equally defy our comprehension. If therefore we adopt the opinion that matter or spirit were created, in the proper sense of the word, it is not because we suppose that opinion to be without its difficulties. We adopt it, partly because we conceive its difficulties to be less than those which encumber any other system; but chiefly, because we think it more consonant to scripture. That by an exertion of the divine will something should exist where before there was nothing is, doubtless, inexplicable: as inexplicable, perhaps, as that body should emanate from spirit. But it is a position not chargeable with the same objectionable consequences; and moreover it is one which we believe to have been delivered to us by revelation.

To those who refuse their assent to this position on the ground of its being incomprehensible, it may be replied, that we have

constantly before our eyes a phenomenon which equally baffles our efforts to explain or comprehend it ; namely, the production of motion by the mere exercise of volition. We are, indeed, so familiar with the obedience of our limbs to the dictates of our will, that it excites no surprise, and very little attention. But, to a mind which had never before witnessed it, (if such a case could be supposed,) it would, probably, appear as wonderful as the production of matter out of nothing. How measureless then must be the astonishment which such a mind would experience, on contemplating the controul exercised by the Divine Spirit, the Supreme Will, over the whole material universe ! By an act of our will, we can raise an arm to our head. By an act of the Sovereign Will, the planets were launched in their orbits ! This command of spirit over matter is scarcely less overpowering to our conceptions, than the efficacy of that word, which peopled empty space with innumerable worlds. For a mere act of mind has, positively, no more *discernible* connection with the change, in inert matter, from quiescence to motion, than it has with the change from nothing to existence.

The subject of creation leads the author to consider the question whether souls are created daily by the immediate act of God, or propagated from father to son in natural order. He pronounces in favour of the latter opinion, for two reasons ; first, because the former supposition would seem to lay upon the Almighty a vast, servile, and incessant task ;* (a notion too absurd to merit a moment's consideration ;) and secondly, because we cannot, without impeaching the purity and righteousness of God, suppose, that an impure and corrupt nature should proceed directly from his hand. How we are to reconcile with the divine purity, the permission by which a succession of impure souls is continued, he does not appear to have considered ! We advert to the subject, purely because it illustrates the facility with which writers on divinity sometimes adopt a particular view or system, which relieves them from one class of difficulties, without remembering the perplexities which it leaves unsolved. With regard to the question itself, we can have no means of deciding it ; and happily its decision would be of very little importance to us.

The chapter on Providence is open to the same censure as

* This is nothing more than a revival of the reasoning by which the old Pythagorean hypothesis of the preexistence of souls was supported—namely, that “By the continual creation of new souls, the divine power was made too cheap and prostituted, as being famulative always to brutish, and many times to unlawful and undue conjunctions.” Cudworth, i. 36.

that on the divine decrees ; namely, that it attempts to explain things beyond the reach of human intelligence. We are altogether weary of disquisitions and reasonings upon a subject, respecting which mankind have been arguing, in vain, probably since the creation. The author tells us that God permits evil, by throwing no impediment in the way of natural causes and free agency ; that is, he places no obstruction in the way of that which, by his prescience, he infallibly knows will produce evil, if left to itself. How such permission, exercised by an omnipotent and independent Being, differs from a positive appointment, we believe no human intellect will ever be able to show. The conclusion, that God is not to be regarded as the author of evil or sin, we of course heartily embrace. But we are very much disposed to distrust the aid of logic in arriving at it. There is a moral and instinctive perception within us, an impulse more unerring than any process of demonstration, which enables us to leap to this conclusion at once, clear over all the difficulties which lie in the way of it. Any supposition which impeaches the perfect benevolence, or wisdom of the Supreme Being must be utterly insupportable to every mind not fearfully depraved ; and to this internal and potent conviction of his goodness, we trust much more confidently, than to the officious reasonings which labour to “ vindicate the ways of God to man.”

There is something ingenious and original in Milton's explanation of those passages of scripture, which seem to represent the Deity as moving men to the commission of evil deeds. He maintains that God does not first incline the heart to wickedness, but that the will being already in a state of perversion, He so influences it as to accomplish his purposes. Thus, he did not inspire David with the passion of vainglory, but actually impelled him to display the arrogance of his heart in numbering the people rather than in any other way. Again, he saw the evil propensities of Absalom, and the mischievous designs of Ahitophel. Their minds were already prepared for any atrocity ; and He positively influenced them to one crime rather than another, in subservience to his own providence. He does not make the evil and dangerous implement, but He gives it one direction rather than another, that it may bring about his designs, and eventually produce good. This explanation, however, like all others, leaves the grand aboriginal difficulty untouched ; namely, the existence of the perverse will, and the mischievous propensity.

Of all the chapters in the work, there is none more curious or memorable than the tenth chapter of the first book ; for it numbers Milton among the avowed champions of polygamy ! His scheme of

theology is, in other respects, sufficiently anomalous and eccentric; but this chapter represents him as a sort of ornithorynchus paradoxus in divinity. A hairy quadruped, raking in the mire with the bill of a duck, is a spectacle scarcely more strange and odd, than this solemn and austere reformer in search of materials for the vindication of legalized concubinage; a practice, of all others that can be named, perhaps the most pernicious to the health of human society; a practice, too, which Christianity had long driven from her own precincts, and confined to heathens and Mahometans. His speculations on the subject of divorce were sufficiently audacious. They brought down upon his head the furious displeasure of the presbyterian divines: or, to use his own language, they "enviored him with a barbarous noise of owls, and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs;" and extorted from him the complaint, that

"This is got by casting pearl to hogs;
That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free."

Sonnet xii.

It may reasonably be suspected, that this dissonant outcry greatly contributed to hasten Milton's discovery, that "new presbyter was but old priest writ large!" But what would have been the clamour and confusion had he then promulgated this other glorious law of christian freedom? What consternation and horror would have been spread among the celebrated Smectymnuan fraternity, if their great apologist had then come forward to tell all christian men, that the existing institutions of their country grievously abridged their christian liberty; that there was nothing in the law of God to prevent their having a helpmate for every month in the year; that "the practice of the saints is the best interpreter of the commandments;" (p. 171;) and, that it would be gross affectation to pretend to be wiser or better than the patriarchs of old. But his old presbyterian tutor, Thomas Young, (who contributed his initials to the above holy partnership,) was spared the dismay of beholding his honoured pupil openly engaged in the cause of human licentiousness and caprice. It was reserved for the present age to see, in Milton, a reviver of the Arian heresy, and an advocate for the plurality of wives!

It is, however, but justice to add, that there appears no reasonable cause to doubt the profound sincerity of Milton's convictions respecting both polygamy and divorce. On the contrary, he addresses himself to his hopeless task with most incomparable gravity, and, apparently, with entire sanctity of purpose. Such were the vast resources of his genius and his

erudition, that when once he had taken up the defence of an opinion, he would soon be in possession of all the most powerful arguments in its favour; till at last the strength of his cause would appear to himself to be impregnable. In the commencement of his researches, he might perhaps be prompted by the spirit of an advocate; but, in the end, the result of his inquiries would be delivered with the integrity of a judge.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the cause of polygamy, desperate, and even unnatural, as it appears to us, has not been without its able defenders both before the days of Milton, and since. Perhaps, the most remarkable of his predecessors in this undertaking, was the celebrated Bernardin Ochinus; who, whatever were his other qualifications, did not confer much honour on the cause by the stability of his opinions. He was an Italian monk, who threw aside the cowl for the study of physic; but, after some time, resumed the monkish habit, and became vicar-general of the reformed sect of the Capuchins, and confessor and preacher to the pope, Paul III. These honours, however, did not prevent his revolt to the Lutheran opinions; which defection he speedily sealed by his marriage. He then retired to England, obtained a prebendal stall at Canterbury, and laboured heartily in the cause of the reformation. The death of Edward VI. drove him again to the continent, where he published some dialogues, in which the *doctrine of polygamy* was maintained: and it is curious enough that the infidelity of his wife is said to have driven him to these opinions; just as the desertion of Milton's wife produced the doctrine and discipline of divorce! He afterwards joined the Socinians: but, before his death, he appears to have fallen into some species of heresy which even their charity was hardly elastic enough to embrace. Such was this famous reformer! A more fit patron could hardly be found for a system, which ministers so conveniently to human fickleness and mutability. His performance was, however, thought sufficiently important to draw forth an answer from Theodore Beza.

Since the days of Milton, the same doctrine has been maintained with still greater license by Dr. Madan in his notorious treatise, the "*Thelyphthora*." It is well known that this writer was demolished by a masterly and vigorous antagonist in the "*Monthly Review*:" and since that period we believe the doctrine has slept, until the publication of this work of Milton once more called the public attention to it. This, however, can hardly be called a revival of the opinion. It is more like the apparition of a departed doctrine; which, whether its "intents were wicked or charitable," could not be expected to raise

much alarm or curiosity in the present age. It can scarcely be expected that we should enter into an examination of the arguments on this subject. We must confine ourselves to one remark. It is asserted, that in the whole of the New Testament, there is no express prohibition of polygamy. Let this assertion be admitted; and it may be met by another, that there is no passage in the New Testament which expressly condemns suicide: and yet it is impossible to peruse the New Testament without feeling that self-destruction is a frightful atrocity. Let the same test be applied to polygamy. If any man can rise from the perusal of the apostolical writings with a persuasion that a plurality of wives is allowable under the gospel, he must be in a state of mind, which, to our apprehension, renders all argument nugatory.

With regard to the general demerits of the doctrine of polygamy, we cannot do better than recite the words of the victorious assailant of Madan:—

“When we reflect that the primitive institution of marriage confined it to one man and one woman; that this institution was adhered to by Noah and his sons, amidst the degeneracy in which they lived, and in spite of the examples of polygamy which the accursed Cain had introduced;—when we consider how very few (comparatively speaking) the examples of this practice were among the faithful; how much it brought its own punishment with it; and how dubious and equivocal those passages are in which it appears to have the sanction of divine approbation; when, to these reflections we add another, respecting the limited views and temporary nature of the more ancient dispensations and institutions of religion—how often the imperfections, and even vices of the patriarchs and people of God, in old time, are recorded, without any express notifications of their criminality—how much is said to be commanded, which our reverence for the holiness of God and his law will only suffer us to suppose were for wise ends permitted; how frequently the messages of God adapted themselves to the people, to whom they were sent, and the circumstances of the times in which they lived;—and, above all, when we consider the purity, equity, and benevolence of the christian law, the explicit declarations of our Lord, and his apostle St. Paul, respecting the institution of marriage, its design and limitation;—when we reflect, too, on the testimony of the most ancient fathers, who could not possibly be ignorant of the general and common practice of the apostolic church;—and, finally, when to these considerations, we add those which are founded on justice to the female sex, and all the regulations of domestic economy and natural policy;—we must wholly condemn the revival of polygamy; and thus bear an honest testimony against the leading design of this dangerous publication.”*

* Monthly Review, vol. lxiii. p. 338.

Of course we must content ourselves with a brief notice of the chapter on sin, which Milton distinguishes into that which is common to all men, and that which is personal to each individual. By the former, he means what is usually called original sin; and which he defines to be that which our first parents, and in them, all their posterity, committed. When the first pair were guilty of disobedience, they were themselves the whole human race; and from that moment, the human race collectively became guilty and sinful. This, Milton tells us, is the method of divine justice, as constantly declared and illustrated in his word. And here, according to his own principles, there ought to be an end to the question. When once the whole matter is resolved into the sovereignty of God and the declarations of scripture, all further argument and illustration are worse than useless. But Milton is not content to leave the matter here. He reminds us that human jurisprudence often consigns the posterity to forfeiture, for the delinquency of the ancestors. But he seems to forget that human societies are perpetually constrained to act upon principles of expediency; upon maxims, the abstract justice and equity of which, it would often be very difficult to defend. The children are attainted for the treason of the father. But if they are in some respects regarded as traitors, it is only by a sort of legal fiction, resorted to for the purpose of discouraging treason, by an appeal to parental anxiety and affection. The individuals may still be regarded as preserving their loyalty unimpaired. It is only that unsympathizing abstraction, the law, that frowns upon them. The sovereign may still look on them, personally, with undiminished favour. But we cannot for a moment suppose the Deity to act on principles of mere expediency. All his dealings are shaped according to the purest equity and the most consummate wisdom, whether we can discern it or not. To illustrate them, therefore, by the imperfect contrivances and technical expedients by which human society is held together, is only to introduce doubt and dissatisfaction, where all ought to be adoration and faith.

If we were called on to point out the weakest chapter in the work, we should probably select the thirteenth of Book I., in which Milton maintains, that both soul and body are extinguished by death, and that both are to be raised again at the last day. He contends, that as the soul is the guilty part of man, it must in all justice be the object of the penalty incurred for disobedience: nay, that the body, being itself inanimate, cannot properly die: and that death can in strictness be predicated of the soul only! His aberration of mind, on this subject, approaches almost to dotage; as he might himself possibly perceive, if he were now

living, and were to peruse the celebrated sermon of Horsley, before the Humane Society. "The very formality and essence of death," as that mighty theologian justly affirms, is placed in the separation of the spirit from the body. The mere dust and ashes, it is true, suffer nothing by the dissolution; but the whole man suffers most grievously from the progress of "that long disease" which ends in dissolution: and when the crisis is over, the soul is consigned to a state of total banishment from the external and material world; being stripped of that which was her instrument of communication with it. She is then, as it were, shut up to her own retrospects and anticipations; unrelieved by any intercourse with visible or tangible things. To those, indeed, who die in Christ, this may be a condition of peace and repose, and even of happiness. But, still, it must be an imperfect, and perhaps an unnatural condition: for there is reason to surmise, that no spirit (save the Father of spirits) can reach or retain its perfection, in a completely disembodied state: and if this be so, the punishment of death consists, not in the decomposition of the body, nor the extinction of the soul, but in this divorce of the spiritual principle from all other elements,—this long interval of imperfection,—preceded, as it usually is, by a tedious course of misery and decay. The crisis which produces this separation, would never have been experienced if man had not sinned. The body would then, probably, have been glorified without any interruption of its union with the soul. Such was the blessed privilege of Enoch and of Elijah. The same shall be the privilege of the just, who are living at the second advent of the Son of Man.

Respecting the offices of the Saviour, the views of Milton appear to have been such as must be satisfactory to the most truly pious and orthodox of his admirers. We cannot do better than state them in the language of his translator.

"With respect to the cardinal doctrine of the atonement, the opinions of Milton are expressed throughout in the strongest and most unqualified manner. No attentive reader of '*Paradise Lost*' can have failed to remark, that the poem is constructed on the fundamental principle that the sacrifice of Christ was strictly vicarious; that not only was man redeemed, but a real price, 'life for life,' was paid for his redemption. The same system will be found fully and unequivocally maintained in this treatise; and much as it is to be regretted that it cannot be said, in the author's own words elsewhere, of the Son of God as delineated in the following pages, that

'in him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd,'

yet the translator rejoices in being able to state that the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ is so scripturally and unambiguously enforced, as to leave, on that point, nothing to be desired."—*Prelim. Observ.* p. xxxvi.

Our limits forbid us to undertake a minute examination of his views respecting the various beneficial effects of the Saviour's sacrifice, which are fully considered in the sixteenth, and seven following chapters. He thinks that there is a twofold calling of mankind; viz. a general and special calling; by the former of which all mankind are invited to righteousness, by sufficient motives and evidences; that for this calling they are indebted to the merits of the Saviour; and that we ought to consider the perfect sacrifice of Christ, as making satisfaction for those who have never heard his name, and who believe only in God. The special calling is, that whereby God invites particular individuals to the knowledge of himself: and which is addressed as well to the reprobate as to the elect. The effect of this calling, he conceives, may be partial and even transitory. Part of the change thus produced, consists in a restoration of the freedom of the human will; which, but for the atonement, would have been wholly destroyed, and have left all mankind, without exception, slaves of sin, and heirs of perdition. (C. xvii. p. 236, &c. &c.)

It should be remarked, however, that though he speaks of the reprobate, he does not admit reprobation in the strict Calvinistic sense. For he has asserted in Chap. IV., that reprobation itself may be rescinded by repentance; a position which cannot be allowed by those who maintain that, he who ever effectually repents, cannot be reprobate.

In a compilation of divinity, by one originally bred in the puritanic school, it was not to be expected that the doctrines of assurance and final perseverance would be passed over. They accordingly make their appearance in Chap. XXV. of Book I. which relates to the "Imperfect Glorification of the Christian, or the Commencement of his Blessedness in the Present Life." An assurance of final and perfect glorification, and the gift of perseverance to the end, in grace and faith, are there represented as essential portions of that blessedness, and as the undoubted privileges of every true believer.

It would be unseasonable to dwell at length on all the bitter mischiefs which this doctrine, or the abuse of it, has scattered over the church. It is a drug of dreadful potency, which is often administered by rash and blundering practitioners. And when, under such management, the believer hath once "eaten of this insane root," it is sure to send up delirious fumes into his brain;

and then, incontinently, he begins to snort and to spurn the ground for very spiritual wantonness; and in his pride, to "swallow up" all the interval between himself and heaven. Under the influence of this sorcery, all his doubts vanish. He may be surrounded by the wrecks of his own integrity, and yet feel secure, because the fabric of his faith is safe! He looks up to heaven, and sees his name written there, and laughs when he is told that it is blotted out from all honourable record among men. And when the alarm is sounded to his conscience, he snuffs up the wind in high disdain; and "believeth not that it is the sound of the trumpet," which summons him to a conflict with the adversaries of his soul.

Very different indeed is the effect, when the same cordial is administered by skilful and heavenly-minded men! If any thing could reconcile us to the doctrine in question, it would be the recollection that it was held by Hooker. But then, how was it held by him? Peruse that beautiful and glorious sermon of his, upon the certainty and perpetuity of faith in the elect; and see with what elements of meek and celestial wisdom, that doctrine is there attempered. Some positions we perhaps may find in it, which, separated from the context, we may hesitate to approve,—some applications of scripture, which we may scruple to adopt. But the whole composition breathes the spirit of Him who broke not the bruised reed, and quenched not the smoking flax. It binds up the broken-hearted, and yet gives no confidence to them who scorn the cares of the physician, and fancy that their souls can never see corruption. And if there be (as we believe there is) an error in the dogma, that a man once faithful shall, of a certainty, never fall away; yet it is an error from which the church would have had but little, comparatively, to apprehend, if the lips which taught it had been always touched with the pure seraphic fire, that breathes in the words of that eminent servant of God:—

"It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour, in saying, *Father keep them in my name*, that we should be careless to keep ourselves. *To our own safety, our own sedulity is required.* And then blessed for ever and ever is that mother's child, whose faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may shake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us, the countenance of the heaven may be appalled, the sun may lose his light, the moon her beauty, the stars their glory:—but, concerning the man that trusted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itself unable as much as to singe a hair of his head; if lions, beasts ravenous by nature and keen with hunger, being set to devour, have as it were religiously adored the very flesh of the faithful man; what is there in the world that shall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection

of God to him? If I be of this note, who shall make a separation between me and my God. I have a shepherd full of kindness, full of care, and full of power: unto him I commit myself. His own finger hath engraven this sentence on the tables of my heart: 'Satan hath desired to have thee that he may winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy faith fail not.' Therefore the assurance of my hope, I will labour to keep as a jewel unto the end: and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I shall keep it." *Sermon on the Certainty, &c. ad finem.*

We have said, that the doctrine of assurance and final perseverance enters into Milton's system of divinity. But it is gratifying to find, that it does so in a form which will give very little alarm to those who do not hold the high Calvinistic principles, and very little satisfaction to those who do. His powerful and honest mind has rejected every thing which can render the doctrine pernicious. "Assurance of salvation," he says, "is a certain degree of faith, whereby (the Spirit bearing witness) any one is persuaded and firmly believes, that he, *continuing in faith and charity*, (se, credentem, atque in fide et charitate permanentem,) shall most certainly obtain eternal life, and the consummation of glory."—(p. 285.) What is this but to say, that the believer is persuaded, that the conditions annexed to the christian covenant being performed on his part, God will most certainly fulfil all his own gracious stipulations? Again: "The perseverance of the saints (he affirms) is that gift of God whereby the elect persevere to the end in faith and the grace of God, *provided they be not wanting to themselves*, (modo ut ipsi sibimet ne desint,) and that they hold fast faith and charity to the utmost of their power." And he adds, that the whole tenour of scripture compels him to introduce this *conditional* clause. In the very next paragraph he maintains, that a real believer may wholly fall away: and he complains that, from John viii. 31,—“If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed,”—the inverse inference has, most unjustly, been drawn; viz. “If ye be my disciples indeed, ye will continue.” He then gives a very sober and rational exposition of 1 John, ii. 19, which we have not room to transcribe. From all this it is evident, that if he had been called to the death-bed of Cromwell, he would never have ventured to comfort his dying master with the persuasion that, “he who is once in Christ, is always in Christ.”

The twenty-seventh chapter of Book I. is devoted to the gospel dispensation, as distinguished from the Mosaic; a subject which provides the author with an occasion for enlarging on the ever-welcome topic of christian liberty. And one great object of the chapter accordingly is to prove, that, as the gospel has swept

away the whole of the Mosaic institutions, we are now absolved from subjection to the decalogue as fully as to the rest of the law. To the establishment of this favourite doctrine, a most elaborate argument is devoted.

If by this assertion no more is meant than that the merits of Him who "fulfilled all righteousness" on our behalf, has delivered us from the curse which originally attached, without exception, to every violation of the law, no real Christian will be found to dispute it: and, in that case, our only quarrel with the statement will be, that it delivers a very wholesome and comfortable truth in very dangerous and ambiguous language. But if more than this be intended, it is impossible to condemn the opinion too strongly. It is difficult to listen without indignation to a doctrine which seems to tell us that the prohibitions against murder and adultery, against theft and slander, have now lost their authority; that the Christian is to disdain all express rules, and to consult nothing but the law written in his own heart: in other words, that there is lodged in the breast of every Christian a discretionary and dispensing power, which, on emergencies, is to overrule the letter of the commandment, in order that its spirit may be the better preserved! To an enlightened and powerful mind, like Milton's, a theory like this might be perfectly innocuous: and precisely for this reason, that it would be nothing more than theory. But no words can describe the pernicious effects which such a representation must often produce on minds of an ordinary stamp. To assert that the obligations of the moral law are inconsistent with christian liberty, is an abuse of the same class with that which proclaims that conditions of salvation are incompatible with the free and sovereign grace of God. These two propositions are the main columns which support the fantastic and misshapen fabric of the Antinomian doctrine; a system which presents to us the monstrous spectacle of "religion erected on the ruins of morality;" a prodigy of more fatal import than any superstition which ever afflicted and debased human society.

The mind must, indeed, be strangely perverted which can doubt, that the great principles of virtue and holiness to be collected from "the law and the prophets" are of eternal obligation; that they are imperishable elements, which existed before the Mosaic dispensation, which were incorporated into it, and which have survived its destruction. It is impossible to imagine that Milton himself would have denied this, if the question were urgently and directly proposed to him. Indeed, he virtually concedes the point when he allows that, "the sum of the law (*summa legis*) namely, the love of God and our neighbour, is by

no means to be considered as abolished. "*It is the tablet of the law, so to speak, that alone is changed, its injunctions being now written by the Spirit in the hearts of believers.*"—(p. 309.) And he furnishes the most powerful refutation of his own system, when he makes the ethical department of his doctrine a transcript from the Old and New Testaments indiscriminately. (Book II. *passim*.)

In a subsequent chapter (Book II. Chap. I.) he censures the position that the *essential form* of good works is their accordance with the decalogue, so far as they are prescribed there. And his censure is not altogether unmerited ; for neither under the law nor the gospel is the position strictly true. That there is an *essential* difference between right and wrong, cannot reasonably or safely be doubted ; but fully to discover and state wherein it consists, we believe, has hitherto been found to exceed human sagacity. For aught we know, it may surpass the powers of any finite intelligence. It is probable, that the Deity alone can know perfectly in what the essence of goodness consists, since He alone can see the ultimate reasons of all things. It is most certain, however, that what he approves and sanctions will have in it the essence of goodness : and, consequently, that all actions must be essentially good which are done in full conformity with his will, whether declared in the decalogue or elsewhere. This consideration, however, instead of shaking the authority of the moral commandments of the two tables, only fortifies them with abundant confirmation.

Infant baptism is rejected by Milton as an unscriptural practice, which no usage or tradition can justify. He appears, however, to regard such baptism rather as irregular than absolutely void ; and conceives that persons baptised in infancy have no need of second baptism when arrived at maturity.

His notions respecting the eucharist are unexceptionable. His sense of the absurdity of the Romish doctrines, he expresses by declaring that they deserve no better a name than that of anthropophagy ; and that they have converted the supper of the Lord into a banquet of cannibals. (*Cœnam Dominicam in cœnam prope dixerim Cyclopeam converterunt !* p. 325.)

Respecting ecclesiastical government and discipline, the opinions of Milton have long been before the world. They do not appear to have undergone any material change when this work was compiled ; except, perhaps, that his scheme had become more decidedly than ever that of independency. He maintains that the Jews had one national church, and particular congregations ; but that now there is no national church, but a number of particular churches, each complete in itself. He contends, of course, that presbyters and bishops are the same ; that any believer is

competent to act as an ordinary minister, and to dispense the sacraments, if called thereto by the church ; that such ministers are to trust for their maintenance to the benevolence of the faithful ; or, like the prophets and apostles, are to live in reliance on God's providence ; and that all endowed and stipendiary teachers are no better than hirelings and wolves ! With these positions every one must already be familiar who is acquainted with the prose writings of Milton. To give them currency, he lavished all the affluence of his learning, and all the powers of his genius. In the present work they are propounded in the same decisive tone as ever, though with much more of didactic sobriety and calmness. Justice, however, demands his vindication from the charge of an utter disregard for public ordinances and social worship. In Chap. XXIX. Book I. on the visible church, he contends, " that believers are bound, if possible, to join themselves to a church duly constituted ; although, if they be unable to do so conveniently, or with full satisfaction of conscience, they are not, on that account, to be excluded from the blessing bestowed on the churches." (pp. 336, 337.)

As the first book of this treatise relates to the *knowledge of God*, the second, which is much the shorter of the two, treats of the *service of God*, and embraces the whole range of christian duty. We have before intimated, that it is remarkable for the profusion of its quotations, both from the Jewish and the christian scriptures, notwithstanding the utter abrogation of the Jewish law in all its departments, both moral and ceremonial, for which Milton strenuously contends in his first book. In considering the worship of God, he maintains most elaborately, that there is no obligation to keep holy the christian sabbath ; though he allows that one day in seven may be appointed for religious assembly and service, by the authority of the church. In Chap. V. he gravely considers the casting of lots as a legitimate appeal to the decision of the Deity in doubtful and controverted matters ! In his concluding chapter, he argues against all official interference of the civil magistrate in religious and ecclesiastical affairs, the church being a sort of distinct estate fully qualified, in the exercise of her own proper laws and discipline, to govern herself aright, and to enlarge her boundaries : a position for which he produces no other authority than Acts ix. 31, which merely informs us that " the churches had rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified ; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." He asserts, that no obedience is due, upon scriptural principles, to an usurper, especially in matters contrary to justice ; and that 1 Peter ii. 13, applies to governments only so

far as they are legitimately constituted. He does not, however, deny that it may be the part of prudence to obey even a tyrant in lawful things; or, more properly, to comply with the necessity of the times, for the sake of public peace, or personal safety: a concession, as the editor justly remarks, of considerable importance from one who had taken so prominent a part, not only against the monarchy, but against the monarch himself.

We had noted down various other matters in this work for observation; but are compelled to omit them. In closing our remarks, we must confess, with all imaginable veneration for the poet, that, during some parts of our task, we felt very much as if we had been "filling our belly with the east wind;"* and we are perilously apprehensive that our readers must have experienced something of the same very uncomfortable sensation. The author appears to have undertaken his labour with unimpeachable integrity of purpose, and doubtless believed that, throughout the execution of it, he was submitting his understanding to the written word. Unfortunately, however, the course of his controversial studies on the subject of church government, seems to have taught him to disregard too much the testimony of christian antiquity on all subjects; and, imperceptibly to himself, to have formed in him a habit of estimating, too often, the soundness and impartiality of his opinions by their remoteness from long established determinations. This love of independence has betrayed him into such extravagancies, that his work, considered merely as a theological system, might, without much loss to English divinity, have remained buried in the State Paper Office. As a literary curiosity, however, its value is unquestionable: first, because it must always be interesting to trace out the path of such a luminary over any region of inquiry; and, secondly, because it completes the works of a writer whose gigantic powers have contributed to make the British name respected and honoured throughout the civilized world. In his own day, there was no one whose labours contributed more to associate our national character, in the eyes of foreigners, with all that was great and commanding. Every one, whose achievements of whatsoever kind, are splendid enough to produce or strengthen such impressions in favour of his native land, must be venerated as a public benefactor. The very name of such a man is to be numbered among the imperishable bulwarks of his country. It is one of the elements which compose the might and grandeur of a people. In this light, the name of Milton must always be

* Job xv. 2.

regarded, whatever may be our opinion of the part he bore in the conflicts of that tempestuous period. Every relic of his genius ought, therefore, to be held sacred and preserved with pious and grateful care. Such, it cannot be doubted, were the feelings of our sovereign, who on the discovery of the present work delayed not a moment to consult the wise and honourable curiosity of the literary public, and to lay before them another monument of the mind of our illustrious countryman.

Whether, all circumstances considered, it was necessary or expedient to spread the work, by a translation, beyond the learned world, has, we believe, been questioned. In our own judgment, a sufficient tribute would have been paid to the memory of the author by the mere publication of the original. We were at first disposed to think that the translation might have been advantageously accompanied by notes, presenting, in a brief form, the answer to every argument in the text by which any erroneous doctrine of importance is maintained, more especially that which relates to the nature and persons of the Saviour and the Holy Spirit. Our experience, however, in drawing up our account of the work, has satisfied us, that this could not have been done without enormously increasing the bulk of the volume. We began our own task with the intention of exposing all the failures of reasoning which betrayed the author into his peculiar views respecting the Trinity. But we were soon compelled to desist, and to limit our notices to two great points; namely, to the metaphysical argument relative to the Divine Essence; and to what appeared to us the most difficult of all the scriptural texts. We can, however, announce that the learning and ingenuity of the author has produced nothing new in support of this heresy, nothing but what has been repeatedly examined and refuted. The spectre of Arianism can never conceal the "trenched gashes" which Bull and Waterland inflicted on its head. It is now little to be dreaded, though it revisits the light in company with the shade of Milton.

We have only to add that the editor has fulfilled the office consigned to him with admirable fidelity, diligence, and judgment. His translation is, if any thing, rather too redundant; but it is remarkable for its perspicuity and correctness. It is enriched with notes, consisting chiefly of quotations from the other works of Milton. These are selected very judiciously, both for the purpose of illustrating the religious opinions of the poet, and of establishing, beyond all doubt, that we have recovered his long lost "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*."

ART. II.—*The Works of Matthew Baillie, M. D., to which is prefixed, an Account of his Life, collected from Authentic Sources.* By James Wardrop, Surgeon Extraordinary to the King, &c. &c. &c. 2 vols. London, 1825.

THIS memoir demands attention by its distinct, able, and faithful narration, as well as by the “mighty name” whose merits it records. It details the history of the life of Dr. Baillie, a man no less celebrated for his medical skill, than his great moral worth. Accordingly it is highly interesting, not merely to the medical student, but to the general reader. Nothing indeed is more pleasing in the present generation, where there is so much talk about the flash of wit, the splendour of talents, and the brilliancy of genius, than to see how high and how great the name of Dr. Baillie stands for moral worth. Nothing gave him more respect among men; and it is perhaps one of the finest specimens of the age, that it was so willing to defer to him principally on that account.

Matthew Baillie was born at the manse of Shots, in the county of Lanark in Scotland, on the 27th of October, 1761. His father was a clergyman of the established religion in that country, and was finally appointed to the chair of divinity in the university of Glasgow. Young Baillie, after going through the usual routine of education, was sent to the same college, where he studied with credit to himself for several years.

He had the misfortune to lose his father while it was proposed to procure an “Oxford exhibition” for him; but fortunately in so far as his worldly prospects were concerned, this loss was supplied by the very friendly and truly parental charge, which his uncle, the late celebrated William Hunter, took of his prospects. The pulpit, or the bar, seemed to be the kind of life Baillie would have preferred; but in consequence of the very great encouragement held out by this uncle, he prudently adopted the profession in which that person could be of most material assistance to him. The Oxford “exhibition” was accordingly procured, and before leaving his home, he wrote the following letter to his uncle:—

“Dear Sir,

“I have now got every thing prepared for my journey in the most expeditious manner I could. My friends in the college think that the sooner I set off it is the better; I therefore intend, (since you have not disapproved of it,) to set off about the beginning of next

week by the way of London. I am told that upon the whole this is as ready a mode of conveyance to Oxford; but besides this, I would wish to receive your advice as my parent, about that plan of study you would wish me to pursue at Oxford. I would wish likewise to talk over with you the manners of the place, that I may not go unguarded, or unprepared to it. I am told that there is a great deal of dissipation in it, I would therefore wish your warmest advice with regard to my behaviour.

"I have prevailed with my mother and sisters to stay two or three days at Glasgow, about the time of my departure, that they may be diverted from reflecting too much upon it; they are all of them very susceptible of impression. I would wish to make it as light as possible to them. I hope that the consideration that I am going to a person who will protect me as long as I deserve it, will render this far easier than otherwise it might have been. My mother gives you thanks for having been so exact in ordering the payment of the annual settlement you have been pleased to fix upon her. Accept of every thing a grateful heart can give. I must confess I am in some measure afraid to appear before you, lest my progress should seem much inferior to what might have been expected; but I trust much in your goodness, that you will make every reasonable allowance for these deficiencies which may appear. My mother and sisters have their love to you.

"I remain, affectionately

"Yours,

"MATTHEW BAILLIE.

"Glasgow, March 18, 1779.

"To Dr. Hunter, Windmill Street."—p. xi.-xiii.

At Oxford, Baillie by his studious and diligent habits recommended himself highly, and he formed some friendships there which continued throughout life. The chief of these were, the Hon. Charles Lindsay, Bishop of Kildare, the Hon. and Rev. Archibald Cathcart, the Rev. Archibald Alison, the late Rev. Mr. Gregory, and Dr. Robertson Barclay.

"The period of human life," it is correctly observed by our biographer, "is too limited to enable the generality of men long to employ themselves in studies not immediately connected with their particular professions; however important therefore general knowledge may be, the time devoted to acquire it must be circumscribed, and even those who have most diligently and successfully studied medicine, have admitted, that life is too short to allow them to follow up those investigations which otherwise they might have been enabled further to pursue. Few, indeed, are to be found who have excelled in more than one branch of human knowledge. Impressed with this truth, Baillie, while under the tuition of William Hunter, directed all his zeal to the study of medicine, and soon became an indefatigable

and skilful anatomist, attending at the same time the lectures given by some excellent teachers in the other branches of medicine. His companions of these early days have, however, heard him often express his regret that his avocations in Windmill-street were such as to deprive him of the great advantages he might have derived from visiting some other medical schools, more particularly that of Edinburgh, which was then in its highest repute, and where he might have heard the lectures of the illustrious Cullen.

“In no department of life do men rise to eminence, who have not gone through a severe course of study and elaborate preparation; for whatever be the difference in the original capacities of individuals, it is the cultivation of the mind alone which elevates to distinction. No man laboured more in early life than Dr. Baillie, in order to acquire what may be said to have been the groundwork of his professional fame; and his mind thus received that general tuition which fitted it in an especial manner successfully to prosecute the study of medicine. Men sow the seeds of their future reputation, perhaps, at a much earlier period than is usually supposed, and the latter years of life are occupied merely in digesting and arranging what was in early years impressed. It is, therefore, an erroneous doctrine to inculcate to the student of medicine, that he should trust to experience for the acquirement of useful knowledge. Experience is too apt to be confounded with observation, and in contemplating the life of Dr. Baillie, it is evident that all he did for medical science was accomplished before he had reached his fortieth year, and before he could have had that experience which is generally supposed necessary to lead to eminence.”—p. xv.-xviii.

Medical experience is a subject, the discussion of which involves almost all the leading doctrines of the science; it is a subject, moreover, on which little that is satisfactory has been said, and on which, we apprehend, little that is satisfactory can be said. *Quot medici, tot sententiæ*, is an adage as old as the world, nor does it lose any of its truth the older the world grows. What is the cause of this? What is there so peculiar in the study of medicine, that gives rise to such an infinity and diversity of opinion on the same subject, among men practised and experienced in their profession? We are inclined to attribute a great deal to the nature of the science, which, at best is conjectural, while we also think that the education of medical men must contribute in no small degree to the same effect. Whoever attends to the history of the generality of medical men, will at once perceive, that they come, as it were, almost rude and uninformed to the particular study of their profession. Unlike the lawyer or divine, their mind is untutored by previous discipline, and accordingly they are plunged at once into the most abstruse and perplexing of all sciences, without their mind being

in any degree habituated to close and accurate reasoning, or without possessing one single fixed principle to guide them. How fatal such a meagre preparation would be in any of the other learned professions, we need not remark; but how much worse must it be in the study of a science, whose very principles are built on a foundation of sand, whose evidence is so uncertain, (and when most certain, only probable,) and in which there is scarce the feeblest glimmering of the *certa mathematicorum conclusio*.

That such a preparation, or rather neglect of preparation, for the study of medicine, must naturally tend to the ceaseless production of raw theories and hair-brained hypotheses is sufficiently obvious; and, that as the mental optics have been twisted, so will the animal, and the same facts be seen in different lights by different individuals is equally apparent. From the same causes that hydra monster, quackery, has been engendered in this our pill-swallowing and drug-devouring island, supported by the credulity of her votaries the people, and warmly fostered by the interested zeal of her disciples.

The evidence of medicine is neither of the mathematical nor of the moral kind; it is presumptive, and carries with it, if not absolute certainty, at least the assurance of having made as near an approximation to the truth as the obscure nature of the science and the imperfect powers of the human mind will admit.

With regard to the experience of youth, and the experience of age, it must be obvious, that the term experience ought only to be used when the individual reflects. It is what we see coupled with our own reflections that properly constitutes experience, and, consequently, it is the degree of judgment applied, that makes a physician either excel or fail as a practitioner. In all professions there is a certain degree of discipline requisite, before the particular individual can be considered an adept in his art. This tutoring then will require more or less time in proportion to the talents of the individual, and the degree of intellectual exertion he brings into play. Hence we have great divines, indifferent divines, and bad divines; hence we have also great lawyers, indifferent lawyers, and bad lawyers; and so forth in the different professions. There are many in all these different walks of life, that never get beyond mediocrity, and many who even never arrive at that point, and were they to study for ever they would still continue the same. Their powers of mind are naturally weak, and of course they will remain the same mediocre creatures all their lives. Others, again, speedily acquire a knowledge of their particular profession, and go on daily increasing in soundness of judgment and precision of ideas. To make

a great physician, then, it is apparent, that decades of years are not demanded ; reflection is what is required ; and he who begins early to reflect coolly, and to deliberate soberly, will soon rise superior to the obstacles that are raised against him on account of his years, and ultimately succeed in showing, that it is not by such a criterion, that the talents or skill of a physician are to be determined.

Shortly after the commencement of his medical career, Baillie's uncle, the celebrated William Hunter, died. He left him about a hundred pounds yearly, together with his anatomical theatre and house in Windmill-street. He likewise bequeathed him the use of the museum, which is now preserved in the university of Glasgow. Mr. Wardrop states that he had heard it reported, that, in a conversation a short time previous to his death, his uncle told him, "that it was his intention to leave him but little money, as he had derived too much pleasure from making his own fortune, to deprive him of the same."

The high and honourable distinctions conferred on both his uncles was a strong incentive to the mind of young Baillie. He steadily devoted himself to the prosecution of his professional duties, and concentrating the whole energies of his mind to the pursuit of those studies which so peculiarly characterised his uncles, he laid the foundation of that accuracy and precision of information which raised him finally to the head of his profession. In the ardour of his studies he once nearly fell a victim to the effects of a puncture in dissecting. Anatomical knowledge was what particularly distinguished him ; and when only twenty-two years of old, he gave, in conjunction with Mr. Cruickshank, his first course of anatomical lectures ; and though he succeeded perhaps the most celebrated teacher that ever lived, the fame of the school did not feel the loss of its justly respected and illustrious founder.

In studying his profession, Dr. Baillie did not confine himself solely to those facts which are considered more particularly within the department of the physician : his studies embraced the whole range of pathology, and he considered the knowledge of the whole science requisite for the mass of medical practitioners, as well as for every one who expected to treat with success even particular diseases. The great light, indeed, that the knowledge of one branch of medical science throws upon another, can only be appreciated by those whose information has at first been limited to one department, but afterwards extended to the whole. We would not, however, altogether wish it to be inferred, that the minute details of each of these departments must be thoroughly

studied ; it is sufficient to be instructed in the broad principles of each.

“The great value of anatomy,” observes Mr. Wardrop, “to the physician, Dr. Baillie had also learned from his own experience, as well as from his knowledge of the history of almost all those men who had distinguished themselves by their contributions to medical science ; and he was particularly anxious that a minute anatomical education should be deemed as indispensably necessary for him who only intended to practise as a physician, as it has always been considered to the surgeon. To use his own language when alluding to this subject, ‘a disease must always have a relation to a healthy action, or healthy structure of parts, for it is only a deviation from them, so that a knowledge of disease would appear to rest on a knowledge of the body in its healthy state.’

“‘It is unfortunate that the peculiar mode of deviation is not always discoverable, but it is evident that we cannot on any occasion become well acquainted with the one without having previously known the other. It is in this point of view that anatomy and physiology become so very important, as being most likely to afford the means of relieving the body when suffering under disease.’ And again he adds, ‘If anatomy then be of so much use in physic and surgery, it ought to be earnestly cultivated by those who really wish to know their profession and to become respectable in it. This is not a trifling matter ; justice and humanity require every exertion where the lives of our fellow-creatures are concerned. There are many professions where negligence or inattention may be reckoned a folly ; but in medicine it is a crime. There is nothing that renders a person more fit for the discovery of a new disease, than a knowledge of anatomy. Who can be so able as he who is familiar with the natural structure and diseased appearances in an animal body ? There are diseased appearances which are very common in an animal body, and which are of no great consequence. It requires a familiarity with the body to distinguish them from appearances strictly natural, or from diseases that are really serious. This last circumstance is of great importance when we consider how often we are required to examine bodies after death, for the satisfaction of friends, or for judicial inquiries. On our judgment may depend the life of a fellow-creature. What reflection can be more serious to a man of humanity ? But, independently of these circumstances, there will be many cases of doubt presenting themselves to our minds which we would wish to settle, but shall not be able, unless we are acquainted with natural structure and diseased appearances ; yet how is physic to be improved otherwise ?’ ”—p. xxiii-xxv.—*Introductory Lecture.*

Deeply impressed with the truth of these ideas, Dr. Baillie gave his whole soul to the prosecution of anatomical studies. His views were greatly advanced by the very valuable museum of his late uncle, which was in his possession, and by the lectures

which he delivered on that branch of medical knowledge in Windmill-street. He likewise found leisure to prepare a private collection of specimens of diseased organs, consisting of upwards of a thousand preparations. These he presented three years before his death to the College of Physicians, at the same time directing the sum of four hundred pounds to be appropriated for the purpose of preserving them.

It was not till he was in his twenty-ninth year that he received his degree at Oxford, and became a member of the College of Physicians. About the same time he was married to Sophia, the second daughter of the celebrated Dr. Denman. Two years before he had been appointed physician to St. George's Hospital.

From the peculiar advantages Baillie enjoyed in the prosecution of the study of morbid anatomy, he was led to collect a number of pathological facts, which formed the groundwork of his book on morbid anatomy. It was published in 1795; and besides passing through many editions in this country, successive translations of it appeared in France, Italy, and Germany. In the latter country it was translated by the celebrated Soemmering, who very correctly remarks, that the strictest attachment to truth characterises every page of the work. It was the great publication of Dr. Baillie, and its chief merit consists in his having briefly condensed, in a succinct, lucid, and comprehensive manner, all the morbid appearances, the detail of which was before scattered over innumerable volumes, and was accessible only to a few. Dr. Baillie likewise published papers in the transactions of different medical societies. It is however to be regretted, that a mind so capable of exertion, and so eminently calculated to promote the progress of medical science, should have left no more striking memorial of its powers than the work on morbid anatomy.

He resigned his situation as physician to St. George's Hospital, as also his anatomical lectures, nearly at the same time in 1799; after which period he was actively engaged in the practical duties of his profession. The following remarks we insert very willingly, as they contain some interesting facts in his life, and are very aptly told by Mr. Wardrop:—

“There is no profession, perhaps, in which the progress, even of the best qualified, is so slow as that of physic: this necessarily arises from success depending entirely on the exertion and assiduity of the individual; and it is well known that of those medical men who have had the greatest share of public confidence, the most of them have previously been considerably advanced in years. This was the case in a remarkable degree with Dr. Baillie; for, when the great celebrity of the latter years of his life is considered, it might have been expected that he would have earlier enjoyed no small portion of his fame. It was not, however, till he had nearly reached his fortieth year, that he

found himself fairly established in practice ; but it should seem as if he had only required to be known, for from that period he became completely engaged in his profession, and in a very few years rose to that eminence so universally acknowledged.

“ It is curious to trace the variety of circumstances which have led medical men to celebrity in this metropolis. Dr. Baillie was one of those whose success is greatly to be attributed to professional knowledge, adorned with every private virtue. Minute anatomical study had been too much disregarded by physicians, and conceived necessary for those only who practised surgery. His comprehensive knowledge of anatomy, therefore, could not fail to give immense superiority over those who were competing with him for practice. Whenever more than ordinary scientific precision was wanted, his opinion was resorted to ; and the advantages which his anatomical skill afforded him, soon established his reputation among the better informed in his profession, as well as secured to him the public confidence. However unaccountable it may appear, yet it is not less true, that many of the physicians then in London were of opinion that his preeminence in anatomical knowledge, instead of establishing his fame as a practitioner, would be the means of not only impeding, but absolutely of frustrating his prospects ; and he was, in consequence, repeatedly advised to relinquish his anatomical class.

“ It must, however, be admitted that Dr. Baillie enjoyed some unusual advantages in addition to his own excellent qualities, at the time when he entered into the practice of medicine. Besides other family connections, his name was early brought before the public as the relative and the pupil of two of the most eminent men of the day : in addition to this, Dr. Pitcairn, with whom he had been acquainted in very early life, at the time when he had arrived at great eminence was obliged, from declining health, to relinquish his extensive practice, and Dr. Baillie was introduced by him to his patients, which introduction was the means of speedily bringing him into notice : and after the death of Dr. Pitcairn, so rapid was the increase of his practice, that he was then induced to abandon his anatomical lectures.”—p. xxxiv-xxxvi.

The modest and unassuming manner of Dr. Baillie, while it gained him the respect of all, ensured him the confidence of every man who consulted him ; while his habits of precise and accurate observation gave him a decided superiority in the detection of disease. His opinion was thus eagerly sought for by those who laboured under complicated disorders, and the simple and explicit manner in which he delivered it was ever a matter of satisfaction to his patients : “ The language he employed,” to use the words of his learned and able biographer, “ was so plain and so free from scientific jargon, that I have often heard a patient repeat word for word, all he had said on such occasions.” It is, moreover, very happily observed by Mr. Wardrop, that, “ There was one pleasure which he sometimes received from this confidence in his sagacity

in detecting diseases, and that was when he could convince any person who came to him under the impression of having some fatal malady, that there was nothing materially the matter with him; years of peace and comfort that would otherwise have been years of apprehension and misery, he was conscious of having thus bestowed on many."

We select with pleasure the following traits from Mr. Wardrop's memoir, as they illustrate in some degree the character of Dr. Baillie, and likewise because they show what views a young practitioner should have when commencing his career in active life:—

"It is natural to suppose that young practitioners must have considered Dr. Baillie's good opinion as important to their professional progress, and his mode of bestowing his countenance and assistance was very praiseworthy, and marked the great disposition he had on all occasions to do what he considered to be just. He gladly embraced every opportunity of allowing full credit for whatever acquirements and talents they possessed, and thus gave confidence to the opinions of those who were previously disposed to think well of them. When he could afford assistance directly to an individual, he cautiously avoided doing so if it was in any way to the prejudice of another; but opportunities must have frequently occurred of lending his aid. I remember being told by a person whom he had thus assisted on his first entry into life, that some years afterwards, when Dr. Baillie found him fairly established, he said to him, 'You must not expect me any more to recommend you, for it now behoves me to advance the interests of those who are younger and who stand more in need of my support.'

"His disposition was naturally very communicative, and he used to narrate in the most open manner the history of his own life, and describe to the younger members of his profession the rocks and shoals which he had met with, contrasting these with his long looked for, but ultimate success. Scarcely any medical person commenced practice in London without being introduced to him: and such introductions usually led him to make some observations on what his own experience had shown him to be the necessary qualifications to ensure their success and the probable progress they must expect to make in their professional career. He pointed out the necessity of competency, of integrity, and of industry, and the slow progress of the most eminent men who had gone before them; and on the other hand, the transitory fame of all those who had ever attempted to gain professional reputation, as if by storm. Such observations, coming from such an authority, were of the greatest use in checking the too warm imagination of the youth, and thus enabled him to see his situation in life as it really was, and not as perhaps he had allowed his imagination to paint it. Again and again I have heard him remark, that he never knew an instance of a practitioner settling in London who made a large income at first, continuing afterwards to do

so. I have been informed by one of the intimate companions of his early days, that he long considered his own success as hopeless, and never contemplated acquiring any thing like celebrity, or even competency. He used in pointing out the difficulties in the road to medical fame, which he had often occasion to do, to impress on young men the impropriety of living expensively, and the error of considering equipages, and parade, and entertainments, necessary for their success, candidly illustrating these opinions by his own experience."—p. xliii-xlvi.

What has been just now said conveys some important practical lessons, and it were good if they were more deeply impressed on the public mind, as well as on the minds of medical men. Dr. Baillie possessed facilities for knowing what was the most probable way to ensure success in medicine more than any other person; he was at the same time endowed with a discriminating judgment, which enabled him to separate by broad lines what was really useful from what was not; and he had also an honest upright heart, which prompted him to give his opinion always with candour and sincerity. The fear of a rival appearing in any of the young men whom he advised, or to whom he gave his support, never entered his breast for a moment. The opinion, then, which he gave was the upright judgment of his heart, and it ought to be valued as the real opinion of a sound, sincere, and honest man.

After he had fairly established himself as a practitioner, Dr. Baillie's life became an incessant drudgery from morning to night. His mind was ever kept on the stretch, and his feelings, always keenly alive to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, were constantly on the rack. He had, however, the inward happiness of an applauding conscience; but the continued exertion was more than man could bear, more especially one whose constitution was naturally feeble, and the consequence was that his temper became irritable.

"He was in the habit for the many years he was so much employed of devoting not less than sixteen hours of each day to the drudgery of his profession; he usually rose at six o'clock in the morning, and occupied himself till half-past eight in answering letters, writing consultations received the day before, and arranging the visits for the day. Until half-past ten o'clock he saw patients at his own house, after which hour he paid visits till six o'clock. He generally allowed only two hours of relaxation for dinner, spending the remainder of the evening, and often till a late hour at night, in again paying visits. After such a day's labour, it could hardly be expected that his sleep was sound and refreshing.

"There is no state so distressing as that of being called upon to

perform more duties than the mind is competent to undertake. Hence arise irritability, and change of the natural character. When he became harassed with business, an irritation of temper sometimes disturbed him, but which, from the kindness of his heart, was immediately followed by such compunction as occasioned him far more trouble than if he had at once complied with an intrusive request. Often has he been known under such circumstances thus to express himself:—‘I have spoken roughly to that poor man; I must go and see him, be it ever so late.’ ‘That patient is in better health than I am in myself; but I have been too hard with him, and must make him amends.’ ‘I have been impatient with that poor hypochondriac.’ Thus the irritable temper and the kind heart were at constant variance with one another, to the injury of his tranquillity, and the increase of his bodily fatigue. He has frequently come to his own table after a day of hurry and annoyance, and held up his hands to his family circle ready to welcome him home, saying, ‘Don’t speak to me;’ and then, by and by, after having drank a glass of wine, he would look round with a smile of affection, saying, ‘You may speak to me now,’ and never was he more agreeable than when one of these dark shadows had passed over him. After he had limited his practice to consultations, he one day said, with much satisfaction, ‘I am glad to find that I can now give any body that speaks to me a civil answer.’”—p. xlvii-xlix.

The very great respect he paid to his professional brethren was a good trait in Dr. Baillie, and while it tended to secure to him their good-will, it assisted in no small degree in raising his character in the eyes of the world. In his engagements with them he was scrupulously punctual, and in his deportment towards them in the presence of the patient, he carefully avoided every thing in his manner which could in the slightest degree be construed into arrogance or disrespect. He has been frequently heard to say, “I consider it not only a professional but a moral duty, to meet punctually my professional brethren of all ranks. My equals have a right to such a mark of my respect, and I would shudder at the apprehension of lessening a junior practitioner in the eyes of his patient, by not keeping an appointment with him.”

He valued money merely as the means for procuring himself those requisites necessary for his situation. His charity was always liberal, and generally discriminate. There was likewise a negative species of charity in not taking fees, which he exercised with a remarkable degree of delicacy. One instance of this we cannot refrain from stating: “A lady, whose rank in life was far above her pecuniary resources, had an illness, when his attendance became important, and during which he regularly took his usual fee, until it was no longer necessary; he then left in a bag the whole amount of what he had received, offering to the

lady as an apology, that he knew that had he once refused to take his fee during his attendance, she would not have permitted him to continue it."

Besides being a member of different societies, he was physician-extraordinary to the late king, and physician in ordinary to the Princess Charlotte of Wales. The following anecdotes of his late majesty we think deserving notice, and we cannot do better than insert them in the words of our biographer:—

"In the year 1810, he was commanded by the late king to attend on his youngest daughter, the Princess Amelia, along with Sir Henry Hallford, Sir David Dundas, and Dr. Pope. Though he was very sensible of the honour of receiving such a command, yet he felt that it was adding greatly to the embarrassment occasioned by his very extensive practice; but whatever might have been the inconvenience of this attendance to himself, the condescension and kindness of his late majesty very soon reconciled him to his visits at Windsor. He has sometimes been heard to mention with pleasure the amiable and manly traits of his majesty's character, and also the acuteness of his mind. He once observed, 'If I knew any thing that I wished to conceal, I would rather be cross-questioned regarding it by any barrister in England than by the king, for his questions bear so directly on those points most important for discovery, and are put in such a manner that they cannot be evaded.' Amongst some memoranda left behind him is the following anecdote, which cannot be read without interest:—'One day when I waited on the king, with the other medical attendants, in order to give an account of the Princess Amelia, his majesty said to me, 'Dr. Baillie, I have a favour to ask of you, which I hope you will not refuse me, it is that you will become my physician-extraordinary.' I bowed, and made the best acknowledgment in words that I could. His majesty added, 'I thought you would not refuse me, and therefore I have given directions that your appointment shall be made out.' A few days afterwards when we again waited on the king, he said to the other medical men in my presence, 'I have made Dr. Baillie my physician-extraordinary against his will, but not against his heart.' On one occasion the king was advised to go to Bath, and Dr. Baillie recommended him to consult there a medical gentleman whom he named; the king immediately conjectured the country from whence he came, and after listening to all Dr. Baillie had to say of him, his majesty jocosely observed, 'I suppose, Dr. Baillie, he is not a Scotchman!'"—p. lv-lvii.

The constant fatigue attending his professional duties at last began to sap the constitution and debilitate the mental energies of Dr. Baillie. "In the early part of the summer of 1823," his biographer observes, "he had an attack of inflammation of the mucous membrane of the trachea, which, though it at first created little disturbance, became in the month of June very

troublesome, being attended with some fever and a frequent cough. In this state he quitted London for Tunbridge Wells, and returned in a few weeks, the more teasing symptoms of cough having been relieved by local bleeding and blisters, but in no respect had his general health improved. His feebleness was now so great that even conversation was a considerable effort, and he had completely lost all relish for food. Though aware that his situation was precarious, he seemed to entertain the hope of being able to return to London in the ensuing winter, and resume, to a certain extent, his professional avocations: for he was persuaded that he had no organic affection, and that by repose and living in the country the digestive organs, whose functions were so much deranged, would be restored. Such were the expressions he then used when adverting to his situation.

“With these hopes he went down with his family to his residence in Gloucestershire, but instead of gaining strength after his arrival there, he became daily more and more enfeebled, and after much bodily suffering, but with a mind unshaken, he expired on the 23d of September, 1823.”—p. lxi-lxiii.

The death of Dr. Baillie was a national loss: it was felt by all, and deplored by all. He was cut off in the zenith of his fame, and literally fell a sacrifice to the unremitting attention he paid to his professional duties. In contemplating his merits, we are at a loss whether to admire most the clearness of his intellectual powers, or the soundness of his moral qualities. In whatever point of view, however, we consider his character, it always presents something to applaud, something to admire, and something to imitate. True it certainly is, that he possessed none of those attractive and fascinating qualities which so speedily gain the applause of the admiring world. He was neither distinguished for the keenness of his wit, nor the fire of his imagination, nor the brilliancy of his fancy. None of these qualifications did he possess; nor were they requisite to the formation of his character; but he was endowed with others which we consider of much more sterling value, and which we conceive to be in a paramount degree necessary to the constitution of a sound medical reasoner. There was a sobriety of judgment in him (if we may be permitted the expression) which fitted him in a peculiar manner for that minute and patient investigation of symptoms by which he was led to a clear discrimination of the seat of disease. This is a qualification without which we think it impossible for a man to become a great physician, and without which we likewise think it impossible that he can practise with credit to his profession, satisfaction to himself, or

advantage to his patients. To attain it requires a clearness of intellect, and a profound professional knowledge, which falls to the lot of a few. In it Dr. Baillie excelled, and by it he carried the palm of merit from his contemporaries.

His merits as a writer, from what has been already said, it is obvious, were soundness of judgment, clearness of ideas, and precision of thought. We are, it must be confessed, never arrested by the originality of his views, the novelty of his arguments, or the refined logic of his discussions. Certainly, Dr. Baillie started nothing novel; his principal merit was the precision and accuracy of his information on subjects already known. This, by a great many, would be considered no very great acquisition, the present age being so particularly characterised by an extreme thirst for novelty in opinion as well as in fact, and consequently by an avowed scepticism in regard to the opinions of authors of the preceding age. We are, however, credibly informed, that the late Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh, who stood at the head of his profession in Scotland, and who died nearly at the same period with Dr. Baillie, added nothing new to the lectures he delivered from the chair of the practice of physic in the university of Edinburgh, for the space of twenty years and more; so little did he find (notwithstanding the endless noise about important discoveries) that deserved attention, either for its novelty or for its utility. It is rather a singular fact, that two men, both Scotchmen, should flourish at the same time in the two capitals of England and Scotland, and both rise to the highest eminence in their profession, without adding much to the stock of medical information. We are, however, taught by the circumstance how absurd and useless it is to be constantly straining after novelties in preference to soberly studying, and storing up in our mind the substantial truths of science. And this appears the more foolish when we consider that the path to fame and success can be gained without indulging in fanciful dreams. The progress of medical science, since Baillie commenced his career, will be considered by most individuals to have made rapid strides. We do not think so; and if other arguments were not to be had, what has been just now stated in regard to Drs. Baillie and Gregory is sufficient to show that, though there has been a great deal of talking and a great deal of writing, it does not follow that much real ground has been gained.

As a moral agent, again, Dr. Baillie takes a high rank, and the study of his character therefore must be an object of interest to all classes. The perusal of it cannot fail to prove advantageous to parents intending to educate their children for the medical profession, as well as to those who are actually engaged

in the prosecution of medical science. To their most attentive consideration we strongly recommend the sensible, accurate, and faithful memoir, by Mr. Wardrop; a production which does equal credit to his feelings as a man, and his judgment as a writer. He has accurately detailed the leading events of his friend's life, both public and private, and in addition to these simple details, he has also interspersed the memoir (as our readers must have already observed from the extracts selected) with some very interesting and original remarks. We feel obliged to Mr. Wardrop for the service he has done to medicine, as well as to literature, by the sketch of the life of Dr. Baillie, prefixed to the edition of his works. The edition contains all Dr. Baillie's papers which have appeared in the transactions of different medical societies, along with the morbid anatomy, enriched by some valuable notes of the editor, and in the latter instance followed by some very judicious remarks on morbid structure, bringing the work down to the present stage of medical knowledge.

ART. III.—*Epigrammata e purioribus Græcæ Anthologiæ fontibus hausit; Annotationibus Jacobsii, De Bosch, et aliorum instruxit: suas subinde notulas et tabulam Scriptorum Chronologicam adjunxit* Joannes Edwards, A.M. Londini. Whittaker, 1825. 8vo. pp. 377.

It may not be unnecessary to premise, for the information of the general reader, (and we are anxious to make our labours, even when the subjects are professedly learned, as extensively useful as possible,) that the original Greek of the word "epigram," simply signifies "an inscription." Such inscriptions were anciently placed upon gifts dedicated in temples; spoils taken from an enemy; public buildings and tombs, or other monuments erected in honour of the illustrious dead. It will immediately be seen how capricious a thing etymology is; and how widely the reverse of the notion, commonly affixed to the word "epigram" in our language, is this ancient and primary usage of ἐπίγραμμα. However, as such inscriptions were usually, if not always,* in

* It is highly probable that ἐπίγραμμα was anciently used of any inscription, whether prose or verse, although we do not recollect an instance where the *noun* is so used. The *verb* ἐπιγράφω, or ἐπιγράφομαι, occurs, no doubt, whatever may be the form of the inscription. In Latin, indeed, *carmen* signified any precise or solemn form of words. The denunciation of a law is said by Livy to be "horrendi carminis;" (lib. i.) though its composition were not more poetical than any of our statutes.

verse, and as, from the space appropriated to the inscription, it was necessary to compress much meaning into a small compass, writers, in process of time, produced short and pithy compositions in metre, bestowing on them the name of "epigram;" though not intended to lay claim to permanence by an incision in stone or brass. In times still later, the word was more appropriated to light and witty effusions, than to such as were grave or tender, especially among the Latins; and among the moderns, the term epigram always implies point, and generally something ludicrous or satirical.

Keeping our eye steadily fixed upon this sort of composition among the Greeks, which is indeed our prescribed subject, it was natural to expect that, as these writings were short, and therefore easily committed to memory, but scattered, and therefore not generally accessible, and as they recorded interesting and important events, and illustrated questions of national as well as literary concern, pains would be taken to bring these fugitive pieces together, and form them into a compact body.

One of the first, probably, who thus employed himself, at least for antiquarian purposes, was Polemo, who made a variety of collections; one of *Inscriptions relating to Cities*; another of *Donatives in the Acropolis*; a third of *Offerings in Lacedæmon*.*

The first, however, that formed a collection for poetic uses, not merely of metrical inscriptions, but of lyric, and other short effusions of the Grecian muse, was Meleager. Of this distinguished poet and collector let us allow our editor to speak, from his neat and well-written preface, which condenses so agreeably and unassumingly much of what is known on this species of composition:—

"Meleager, natione Syrus, et oppido Gadarenus, primus Anthologiam concinnavit. De tempore, quo vixerit, magna inter viros doctos intercessit controversia. Reiskii autem sententia eum vixisse sub Seleucorum ultimo, qui regnare cœpit Ol. clxx. 3. Scholiastæ Græci testimonio confirmatur, cujus verba sunt, Γαδարηνὸς ἦν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἡκμασεν ἐπὶ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἐσχάτου. Collectioni suæ, στεφάνου, seu coronæ nomine inscriptæ, sex et quad-

* These and many other works are cited by Athenæus. His age does not seem to be ascertained. He was called Περιηγητής, *the Traveller*, and Σηλοκόπας, *the Stone-cutter*, as we presume; from busying himself as much about stones and pillars, as if he really worked at them. Casaubon, indeed, would derive the term immediately from κόπος; but then, as Schweighæuser justly observes, we should expect it to be Σηλοκόπος, not Σηλοκόπας. We take the word to be Σηλοκόπης, with the doric ending, formed from the second aorist of κόπτω, by the same analogy as compounds ending in ζυγης, θαλης, θανης, λιπης, μαθης, μανης, μιγης, παθης, πιθης, φανης, φραδης, ψυγης, and lastly, in τυπης from τύπτω. See Athen. Schweigh. tom. viii. 354-5. lib. vi. p. 234. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. per Harles, tom. iv. p. 416.

raginta scriptorum totius antiquitatis epigrammata intexuit, quibus et suos suavissimos flores addidit. Hujus autem coronæ reliquiæ tantum ad nos pervenerunt."

Meleager entitled this collection, with much propriety, *a chaplet*; and prefaced it with an enumeration of the authors whose works had contributed to its formation; each of whom, with great happiness of adaptation, he compares to some particular *flower*. And hence collections of this kind have obtained the name of *anthology*, or *a collection of flowers*.

Of thirteen writers, who flourished in the space of time that intervened between Meleager and the reign of Trajan, Philip of Thessalonica brought together the epigrams, and disposed them into a second anthology; prefixing to it, in imitation of his predecessor, a copy of verses, in which he also compared his authors to *flowers*. Philip, however, was himself inferior in taste and genius to the writer of that exquisite address to Heliodora, which Mr. Edwards has of course inserted among the Ἐπιτύμβια, or "Sepulchral Inscriptions." (p. 227.) In the common collection, used at Eton and other great schools, it is numbered 135.

We say nothing about the anthologies of Diogenianus and Strato, (indeed the less that is said about the latter the better,) and proceed to that made by Agathias, and which he called κύκλος, a *round-robin*, as it were, of epigram writers. Agathias flourished under Justinian, towards the close of the sixth century; and he appears to have employed only the works of more recent poets—chiefly his own contemporaries. This appears from Suidas, who, speaking of this κύκλος, says, "ὁν αὐτὸς συνῆξεν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ποιητῶν." Nay, Agathias himself says, "τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων τὰ ἀρτιγενῆ καὶ νεώτερα." We are aware that our editor makes a different statement: (p. vi.) "Sua et æqualium poetarum epigrammata *antiquioribus* implicuit," and that he is supported by the authority of Fabricius, or rather, perhaps, of Harles: (Biblioth. Gr. t. iv. p. 424.) "*Præter antiquiora*, sua quoque et æqualium poetarum epigrammata collecta uno in septem libros diviso volumine edidit." We prefer, however, to abide by the judgment of Jacobs,* confirmed as it is by the testimonies cited above. But we stop to observe, as Fabricius has just hinted, that Agathias adopted an arrangement, differing from

* "Manifestum est," says this admirable editor of Greek anthology, "errasse eos, qui anthologiam in Vatic. Cod. servatam pro Agathiæ sylloge haberent. In Vatic. Cod. antiquissimorum poetarum carmina una cum recentissimis leguntur; *Agathiam autem nonnisi recentiora collegisse constat.*" Prolegom. pp. lix. lx. See also p. lxxviii.

that of his predecessors, dividing his matter according to the subjects, not according to the authors, whose works were thus continually recurring. From this circumstance, no doubt, originated the new title which he bestowed on the compilation, namely, that of κύκλος,* *the cycle*, or *round-robin*, as we ventured to render it. The *first* book contained, as Jacobs informs us, “carmina dedicatoria; *secundus*, regionum, statuarum, tabularum, aliorumque artis operum descriptiones; *tertius*, sepulcralia; *quartus*, carmina in varios vitæ humanæ casus; *quintus*, epigrammata satyrica; *sextus*, amatoria; *septimus*, denique ea, quæ ad vitæ fructum et lætitiâ exhortantur.”—(Prolegom. p. lix.)

Cephalas stands next in order among the collectors of these elegant remains of Grecian feeling and genius; and foremost in worth too, so far as we moderns are concerned in becoming acquainted with them. But, by a singular concurrence of circumstances; although, from the discovery and the use which has been made of the Palatine or Vatican manuscript, Cephalas must now be looked upon as the chief preserver of these literary treasures; yet, before the beginning of the seventeenth century, his very name was unknown, and is indeed passed over completely in Vavassor's *Dissertation upon the Collectors of Greek Anthology*.

Let us hear the account which Mr. Edwards gives of this celebrated collection; and while we applaud the motives which no doubt led him to be brief, the desire of not producing, what in some instances is a μέγα κακόν, the wish not to weary the young for whom he was more particularly labouring; yet we cannot help regretting that here, and in some other parts of his work, he has given his readers a scanty supply from the materials which lay before him, and of which he so well knows the application.

“Et forsitan omnia hæc carmina operum tot nobilissimorum scriptorum fatum experta essent, et omnino periissent, nisi sæculo decimo post Christum ineunte, ortus esset Constantinus Cephalas, novæ anthologiæ conditor. Agathiæ enim syllogen in fundamentum locans, non solum epigrammata poetarum eorum, qui post Agathiam vixerunt, superstruxit, verum etiam plurima ex Meleagri et Philippi *coronis* excerpit, et quædam etiam antiquiorum, quæ in nulla alia anthologia locum habuissent, subjecit. Hæc est ea, quam singulari felicitate usus Salmasius, admodum juvenis, in codice Palatino sive Vaticano latentem detexit. Codex ille anno Christi 1623. Romam translatus est in bibliothecam Vaticanam, unde nomen adeptus est; et paucis abhinc annis Lutetia, quo a victoribus Franco—Gallis abreptus fuerat, ad pristinas suas sedes Heidelbergenses migravit.”—p. vii.

* See Jacobs's Prolegom. p. lxxvii.

The history of this manuscript is indeed curious ; nor would it be an inconsiderable or unuseful addition to the stock of literary anecdote, if the fate and character of the most remarkable manuscripts were distinctly detailed in some work appropriated to that express purpose.

Joseph Scaliger, in a letter to Gruter, mentions a very ancient collection of epigrams, as being in the possession of Michael Sophianus ; and Leich conjectures that Sophianus brought it with him from Greece, and that it is the identical Vatican manuscript.* At Heidelberg, however, it was in the Elector *Palatine's* library in the year 1606, when Salmasius first saw it. In 1623, it was carried to Rome with many other volumes in the same collection ; and from the *Vatican* it was, by the resistless order of Buonaparte, conveyed to Paris about 1797. The restoration of this and other literary treasures to their ancient abode at Heidelberg is thus described by Jacobs, in his preface to the third volume of "*Anthologia Græca*," which he edited from Spalletti's copy of the manuscript, and which was afterwards collated by Dr. Paulssen with the manuscript itself. "In his primo loco commemorari debet, quod felici rerum eventorumque conversione effectum est, ut per maximorum regum clementiam liber *Anthologiæ Palatinus* cum plurimis aliis in easdem sedes, quibus ante hos ferme ducentos annos armorum vi ereptus fuerat, inter faustos Germaniæ exsultantis clamores, postliminio reduceretur." We have indeed great satisfaction in contemplating this piece of *poetical justice* ; more especially when we recollect how instrumental was the valour of our own countrymen to such acts of literary retribution.

It is time, however, that we return from the *history* of this manuscript to its *use*. And it is quite clear, from an examination of its contents, that Planudes, who lived in the fourteenth century, and for a long time was considered an *original compiler* of a separate anthology, was, in fact, only an epitomizer of Cephalas ; upon whom principally, as we have before said, the reputation of having preserved these interesting remains of Greek literature ought in justice to be bestowed.

For, whilst this effort of taste and diligence on the part of Cephalas was lying unnoticed in the dust of some cloister, or shelves of some library, the work of Planudes, which is little else than an abridgement from that of Cephalas, was the chief source from which any knowledge of Grecian anthology was derived. With very few exceptions indeed, it furnished the only text from which our different editions have been prepared, up to the very

* See Jacobs, p. lxxvi.

time of Brunck. Brunck, however, though his sagacity led him to discover that the collection of Planudes was entirely modelled upon that of Cephalas, had not sufficient access to the Vatican manuscript, nor a sufficiently exact knowledge of its contents, to render all the service to Greek anthology, which he was anxiously desirous, and which, if he had been possessed of requisite materials, he was so capable of rendering to it. This, it was reserved for his illustrious successor Jacobs to complete; first, by a regular series of most valuable illustration upon the text of Brunck himself; and next, by an accurate edition of the "*Codex Vaticanus*," from the transcript of Spalletti, which was, by the well-bestowed liberality of the Duke of Saxe Gotha, deposited in the public library at that place.

We have seen that Agathias first adopted a different arrangement from that which was employed by Meleager and Philip; and that he placed the compositions in his selection according to certain subjects. This example was followed by Cephalas; although as his range was so much more wide than that of Agathias, so did he distribute his materials somewhat differently. (See Jacobs, p. lxxvii. &c.) This was also the case with Planudes, who made a still more artificial disposition of the sources from which he drew; as may be seen in any of the common editions; the Wechelien, for instance. But Brunck reverted to the practice of the ancient collectors, and brought together the writings of each author separately.

Mr. Edwards, however, whose avowed object was to form a comparatively small composition from the bulky mass, and to present a clear and well-defined outline of the whole Greek anthology, has wisely, in our judgment, fallen in with the practice of Agathias and Cephalas, and arranged his epigrams according to certain subjects; yet, so as to unite the writings of each author upon the same subject, and also to adhere to the order of time in which the authors appeared. This, if we mistake not, is an improvement upon every arrangement that has yet been adopted.

Having now traced, with a rapid pen, the more prominent features in the history of Greek anthology, and brought it down to the work before us, we shall finish with an account of the purposes which our editor appears to have had in view; and the manner in which he has accomplished them.

While Greek anthology contains much that *is* worth reading, every scholar is aware that it abounds also in much that *is not*; and that, in fact, some compositions, which form a part of the motley whole, are the very last which a wise and good man would put into the hands of youth. Still, as we just remarked, there is a great deal which may be read with advantage. In-

deed, in one of our universities, a prize is annually given to compositions upon this model. It is therefore evidently desirable that a selection should be made, in order to bring young scholars acquainted with the merits of Greek anthology without being tainted with its impurities. Besides, as no species of writing is more involved in difficulty from the endless variety of subjects which are handled, and from the studied brevity with which they are treated, a short comment, pointing out the occasion upon which each was written, and illustrating any peculiarity of expression, was also a great *desideratum*. It must also be remembered that the great work of Jacobs, which alone contains a full and masterly elucidation of the knotty points which occur in every line almost of these writings, consists of *thirteen* volumes, and from mere expense is scarcely accessible to the young student, even if it were desirable that it *should be* accessible to him. We conceive, therefore, that any scholar, who takes the trouble of selecting from such an heterogeneous and combustible mass what may be read without danger, and who supplies the means by which it may be read without difficulty, has performed a task, which, in a moral as well as literary point of view, deserves the hearty thanks of every instructor and every parent.

This then is the office to which Mr. Edwards has devoted his time and the fruits of his past studies ; and from the manner in which the important office has been performed, we have no hesitation in saying that he has produced a volume of very great value to our schools and universities ; and one, to the perusal of which the classical reader of maturer years may sit down with great profit and with great delight. We conceive it unnecessary to make selections from a work which professes to be chiefly a selection itself, and shall therefore content ourselves with assuring our readers that, if they are disposed to examine it for themselves, as we earnestly recommend them to do, they will not find any expectation that may be raised by what we have said, or by what we are now in conclusion allowing the editor to say for himself, in any way disappointed.

“Ea igitur epigrammata potissimum delegi, quæ aliquod ad bonos mores accommodatum egregie præciperent ; quæ seculi mores depingerent ; quæ versarentur in laudandis artium operibus, vel in refricanda celeberrimorum virorum memoria ; quæ denique quemvis animi affectum, pietatem erga deos, amorem, tristitiam, hilaritatem nitide effingerent. Plura aliquoties ejusdem argumenti epigrammata admisi, quum nec inutile, nec ingratum fore judicarem, diversa hominum ingenia in eadem re exornanda, comparare. Quod seniorum poetarum carmina ab his paginis non ablegaverim, id mihi vitio

datum iri deprecor. Illud enim in primis elaboravi ne integræ anthologiæ desiderium nimis sentiretur; et sane etiam inter seriores multa lepide vel venuste dicta; multa carmina veri affectus plena invenire licet. Nec quidem in seligendo nimis tristem egi judicem. Multa me admisisse confiteor carmina, quæ licet ab antiqui temporis severa simplicitate longe absint, et cultioribus nostræ ætatis animis minime satisfaciant, labentis tamen ingenii et sui seculi vestigia sibi impressa ferunt; illis autem sublati, totius id genus Græcæ poëseos specimen, quod præcipue volui, hic libellus vix erat præbiturus.

Ne tamen omnis seculorum ratio confunderetur, secutus sum ordinem poëtarum quem Brunckius constituit; licet bene compertum habeam, quam multorum ætas sit incerta. Ad finem libri, quod de cujusque tempore, quo vixerit, cognitum sit, tabulam subjeci.

Est autem et alius materiæ meæ ordo, de quo benignum lectorem monitum velim. Distribuitur nimirum opus in quinque capita pro diverso cujusque unius argumenti tenore; ratio autem poëtarum ætatis, quam supra attigi, in singulis capitibus servatur. Ex hac distributione fiet, spero, ut animus lectoris minus fuerit distractus, quam si ethica ludicris, lugubria elegantioribus, nullo ordine commiscerentur.

Quod ad annotationes attinet, quicquid ad poëtas illustrandos mihi utile visum est, ex Jacobsii, De Bosch, Huschkii et aliorum fontibus, ita tamen ut suum cuique tribuerem, hausi libenter. Quantum autem in hac re Jacobsio debeam, quæque fere pagina facile indicabit. Tantam enim doctrinæ copiam ad anthologiam attulit; per tot annos tam eximiam industriam in ea exornanda exercuit, ut ille vir solus longe melius, quam omnes qui eum antecesserant, de ea sit promeritus. Quod igitur ex duabus hujusce viri eruditissimi editionibus quamplurimas annotationes in hunc epigrammatum delectum excerpterim, recte mihi fecisse videor, et mecum in hac re consentientem lectorem habiturum esse me confido. Neque ingratum lectoribus fore existimo, quod hic illic quædam ex eximia Hugonis Grotii versione illustrata dederim; plura certe daturus, nisi timor, ne in nimium succresceret libellus, obstitisset."—*Præf.* pp. x, xi, xii.

If a second edition be called for, as we expect will be the case, we recommend Mr. Edwards to compile an index of the epigrams he has selected, with a portion of the first line, arranged alphabetically. The chronological index of writers is a happy thought; and much is judiciously compressed into a narrow compass. We beg him also to exercise a more vigilant eye upon all future *sphalmata typographica*. The very second Greek word, that occurs in the body of the work, is a misprint; APXIAOKOY instead of APXIAOXOY.

ART. IV.—*Janus, or the Edinburgh Literary Almanack.* Oliver and Boyd. Edinburgh, 1826.

WE have placed the title of this work at the head of the present article, not as intending to investigate its merits as a literary composition, or to notice the various subjects which the editor has brought together; but because we wish to devote a few pages to the consideration of a question, which is discussed at some length in the first essay. We have pleasure in observing, that the subject to which we allude, the constitution and discipline of our English universities, has been treated with more candour and impartiality, with more knowledge of the subject, and with much less virulence and declamation by the author of this essay, than by other writers, who have lately fancied themselves competent to deliver an opinion. An attack upon Oxford and Cambridge seems to contain something particularly palatable to our brethren in the north; and we are willing to believe, that they think they are doing good by exposing a vicious system, and by diffusing a knowledge of those sounder principles of education, by which their own genius was fostered, and to which their supposed intellectual superiority is owing. But we would remind these writers, that though a student at Edinburgh or Glasgow is not at all bound to acquaint himself with the methods pursued in the English universities, though he may be persuaded without any injury to himself or others, that his own country enjoys a monopoly of science and of learning, yet the case is altered when the admirer of one system undertakes to reprobate another, and to bring forward public charges of deficiency and neglect. It is then expected, that he should make himself master of the subject which he is discussing; that he should state no fact, and declaim against no abuse, the existence of which he is not prepared to prove.

We are principally led to make these remarks by an article which appeared not long ago in a contemporary review, where, under the plea of considering the establishment of a new college in London, much ridicule and abuse were levelled at the English universities. We are aware, that the composition of this article has been ascribed to a gentleman of no mean talents, whose eloquence is extremely productive on the northern circuit, and commands great attention in the House of Commons. Whether general report be right in this point, we neither know nor care. The declamatory style of that gentleman, his known aversion to established systems, and his frequent assumption of unsubstan-

tiated facts, might perhaps incline us to think that the report was not untrue. And yet when we find the author in almost every page condemning prejudices which were never entertained, and suggesting remedies for defects which do not exist; when we find convincing proofs, that he either took no pains to acquaint himself with his subject, or that if he did he wilfully perverted the truth, we confess that we are unwilling to ascribe this attack to the honourable and learned gentleman.

It is our intention in the following pages to expose some of his mistatements, to answer some of his objections, and to set him right, as well as his readers, concerning some points in the system pursued at Oxford.

It is no new thing to have the system calumniated and abused: and we may add, it is no new thing to have the calumnies refuted and exposed. But the enemies of the university, though silenced at the time, break out at intervals into the same strain of ridicule and reproach; and they are perhaps surprised to find, that the university of Oxford continues equally pertinacious in following its former course, without profiting by the expostulation and advice, which have been so kindly and gratuitously bestowed. But so it is. Since a certain controversy, which took place about sixteen years ago, no material change has been introduced into the discipline or studies of Oxford. The same books are still read; honours continue to be conferred according to the same estimate of merit; and those who preside over the system, or watch its effects, see no reason to think that they are mistaken in their principle, or unsuccessful in their application of it.

The public has already been informed, that in the year 1801, the university of Oxford adopted some important changes in the examinations necessary for degrees, and consequently in the line of study preparatory for the schools. The classification of successful candidates for honours was again altered by statutes passed in 1807 and 1809; and a slight change was also introduced in 1825. It cannot be denied, that previous to the first of these changes, the current of learning in the university appeared to run extremely slow; it will be said by some, that it was altogether stagnant. But though the spirit of emulation was not then excited by the hope of academical honours, it is most untrue to say, that the soil was uncultivated, or that no fruit was matured. Genius was perhaps not so early developed, nor were there then so many instances of great talents making a premature display, and subsequently disappointing the hopes which had been raised. But there is great ignorance and great ingratitude in those persons who are now so fond of reproaching

the universities, as opposing themselves to every thing that was new, and adhering tenaciously to erroneous systems, merely because they were old. It is well known, that in those early days the universities were the liberal and profuse supporters of learned men, wherever they were to be found. We read of them bidding against each other to secure the talents of a professor, and sending even into foreign countries, to import so valuable a commodity at any price. We are speaking now of what may be called the flourishing period of the universities, the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. It is the boast of Tiraboschi, that Italy not only furnished professors for Bologna, Padua, Pisa, &c. but that Paris and Oxford looked to the same country, from whence they might fill their own professional chairs. Not Italians only, but scholars of every nation, were invited to Oxford, to read lectures upon theology, the civil and canon law, rhetoric, poetry, &c. and the names of Ludovicus Vives, Albericus Gentilis, Girolamo Balbi, and many others, might show that there was no great jealousy of improvement, no such excessive dread of new lights in those days, as some modern objectors would lead us to imagine.

All these professors, though many of them would have risen to eminence in any age, naturally followed the scholastic method of teaching, which, though it may be spoken of now as barbarous and ridiculous, cannot justly be brought as a charge against the individuals who pursued it, or the seats of learning which encouraged it. Such was the fashion of the age, and no other mode of teaching had as yet been thought of. But from the time of Bacon, the logic of the schools may be said to have been on the decline. Not that later writers have been worse reasoners or worse logicians; but a better and happier taste taught them to retain the substance of the science, and discard its technicalities. The lectures delivered in the universities, and the system of study pursued there, could not fail to be affected by this change; and accordingly we find in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that Oxford and Cambridge were no longer the resort of learned men from different countries, who were able to maintain themselves by delivering a course of lectures: but they became the favourite residence of real scholars, who preferred the calm and quiet of literature to public life; and who literally haunted the banks of Cam or Isis, because such scenes were more congenial to their minds, and supplied them with literary facilities, which could not be obtained elsewhere.

The same objectors whom we alluded to above would say, that dulness had now succeeded to scholastic pedantry, and that the colleges were not only filled with the opposers of every

improvement, but with men who did nothing. This, however, is a calumny easily refuted. The social meetings of scholars and philosophers, which ultimately led to the foundation of the Royal Society, may furnish no unfair specimen of the studies pursued at Oxford in the seventeenth century; and the lists of her professors will show, that learning could not be altogether at a stand, when there were such persons to foster and to teach it. But though the colleges were a delightful residence for men who cultivated letters for the enjoyment which they derived from them, it must be confessed, that the general mode of education was not well suited to stimulate the idle or to assist the willing student. The learning of the schools had been too deeply incorporated into the system, to be expelled by the altered taste of the age, without some great effort on the part of the university itself. Logical disputations still beset the only avenue to degrees; and though few persons really looked deep into the art of dialectics, yet every student was in theory and by statute a logician. The consequence of this was, that since academical degrees, (the only object with many persons for going to the university,) could be obtained by a false appearance of learning, by a proficiency in words rather than in things, emulation and ambition were seldom called into action; and many young men wasted three years of their lives, and perhaps contracted habits of idleness, which they could never shake off.

Such was the state of things which caused the university of Oxford, in the year 1801, to make the alteration in her statutes alluded to above. It will perhaps be allowed, that some merit is due to the governors of any large and ancient establishment, who thus undertake to reform themselves, and to correct abuses. But let it not be supposed, when we speak in commendation of these changes, that the university of Oxford made any radical and fundamental innovations, either in the studies to which the young men were directed, or in the persons who were to superintend them. These are the two points which the modern abusers of the university think proper to censure and condemn: and we shall now proceed to explain the system pursued at Oxford, and to clear it from some of the accusations and falsehoods which are advanced against it.

In the first place then the university of Oxford made no material alteration in the line of study, which she determined to be necessary as preparatory to a degree. Classical learning and mathematics were before, and still continue to be, the principal branches upon which college lectures are delivered, and a proficiency in which is the source of academical distinction. Here we are met at once by a host of assailants, and the ignorance

and the prejudice of Oxford are reprobated in no measured terms, because physics and metaphysics, together with moral and political philosophy, are so shamefully neglected in the schools. We are told, that to make Greek and Latin verses, and to solve difficult problems, forms the sum and substance of what is learned at Oxford and Cambridge: while every thing that is useful in science, and every new discovery in philosophy, is either altogether proscribed, or at least superficially taught. We are willing to allow, that to make Greek and Latin verses does not imply any lofty flights of human intellect; nor is real learning necessarily connected with the solution of difficult problems: but when the classical studies of Oxford are said to be bounded by the rules of prosody, we are compelled to suspect the veracity, or at least the classical attainments, of those who prefer the charge. Perhaps, indeed, our opponents have been taught to think, that the rules of prosody are the *ultima thule* of classical proficiency; for certain it is, if we may judge from the *Musæ Edinenses*, that an acquaintance with prosody is a perfection to which the highest flights of the Scottish muse have not yet attained: and it is natural that those, who have thus laboured in vain to acquire the mysteries of rhythm, should agree to decry a study which exceeded their own powers, and to ridicule in others what they found it impossible to arrive at themselves.

καὶ μὴν ἔχω γ' ὡς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξω κακὸν
μελοποιὸν ὄντα, καὶ ποιοῦντα ταῦτ' αἰεὶ. *Ranæ*, 1249.

Be it known however to all professors and pupils at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, (and we sound it in their ears for the hundredth time,) be it known to them all whether native or renegade, that the university of Oxford does not consider the scanning of a verse, to be the sole criterion of academical distinction. In England these matters are taught at school, and though a young man has opportunities of continuing and displaying his proficiency in Latin poetry when he comes to college, yet hundreds may and do pass through their education at Oxford, without ever being called upon to compose a Latin verse.

The university of Oxford considers that there are two points, which she has principally to regard in educating the young men committed to her care. She conceives that in the first place she is to teach them the religion which they profess; and secondly, she is to make them men and gentlemen. We suspect that in both these points there is a fundamental difference of opinion between the directors of education at Oxford, and the patrons of the new university in London: that neither of these

principles will be found in the latter seminary, we venture confidently to predict.

Perhaps before we proceed farther, it may be well to explain the course of study which is necessary for the degree of B. A. at Oxford. As soon as a young man has entered upon his seventh term, he may present himself to the masters of the schools to undergo the examination, which from an old form now obsolete, but the name of which remains, is called Responsions. He has then to be examined in two books, which he selects himself, the one Greek and the other Latin; beside which he is expected to translate some piece of English composition into Latin, and to answer questions either in logic or Euclid's elements, according as his own choice may direct. In the classical part of this examination, particular regard is paid to grammatical knowledge: and though a man might easily make himself master of his two books, so as to construe any passage, yet he can hardly hope to pass this ordeal without a tolerable acquaintance with the rules of grammar. Thus far little more is expected from the student than the knowledge which he ought to have brought with him from school: but the Responsions will remind him, that unless he has laid this foundation, there is little use in his proceeding farther.

The greater examination for the degree of B. A. is undergone by those who have completed their twelfth term, and not exceeded the sixteenth. In explaining the nature of this examination, we shall consider first the *minimum* or lowest degree of knowledge, which can entitle a candidate to obtain his degree; and secondly, we shall state the requisites for academical honours. It is indispensably necessary then, for every candidate, that he should be examined in two Greek books and two Latin. The choice of these rests with himself; but they must be of the better ages of classical antiquity; and it is expected, that one of them at least should contain matter of a scientific or historical nature, which may exercise the mind of the reader, and enable him to answer questions beyond those which arise from the language in which the book is written. He must also be able, as in the previous examination, to translate a piece of English composition into Latin; and an acquaintance with the elements of logic is no longer optional, or the deficiency to be made up by Euclid's elements; but the examiners are required by statute to exact a certain knowledge of logic from every candidate. Mathematics are not an indispensable part of the examination; and the great majority of candidates obtain their degrees without having their proficiency tried upon this point. There is one subject, however, which enters into the examination of every candidate, and in

which he must possess a competent knowledge, whether he is ambitious of gaining the highest honours, or whether he is satisfied with the smallest quantum of learning which will carry him safely through the schools. We allude to the study of divinity. Every candidate is expected to have read the four gospels in the original language, so as to be able to construe any part of them: he will also have to answer questions connected with the Bible history, and he must have studied the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. This foundation of religious knowledge is absolutely indispensable; and there is a remarkable difference between this and every other part of the examination. If a person should betray the greatest ignorance of the four classical authors which he has selected, still the examiners persevere with him to the end, and it is not till they have tried him upon every point that they pronounce him insufficient, and refuse to sign his testimonial. But this is not the case when the deficiency is in religious knowledge: this part of the examination takes precedence of every other; and if the examiners are not satisfied with the candidate upon this point, they proceed no farther; the failure is insurmountable; and no scholarship or science, not even the scanning of a Greek verse, or the solution of a geometrical problem, can atone for this defect.

Such is the nature of an examination where the smallest quantum of learning is exhibited necessary to obtain a degree; and our readers may easily understand from this, what is required of those who aim at academical honours. The examination in each case is substantially the same. A knowledge of divinity, as was stated above, is equally required from all. Logic also, and translation from English into Latin, enters into every examination whether honours are sought for or no. The candidate for honours possesses the same privilege of naming his own books; but the examiners have also the power of trying him in any other, and both parties are generally anxious to have recourse to this test. The course of reading, which if successfully pursued will place a man in the first class, will necessarily vary according to the taste of different scholars: but we may state generally that no candidate is likely to find himself in the first class, unless he can satisfy the examiners upon the following points. He must have read one or more treatises of Aristotle, viz. his ethical or rhetorical works, and be able to give an analysis of the argument. He must have studied the historians of Greece and Rome, and must show himself not only critically acquainted with the language of these authors, but he must understand and retain in his memory the general scope, as well as the detail of ancient history. The works of the best Greek and Latin poets also form an important part of his examina-

tion ; and so far is the university of Oxford from taking the hint concerning the barren and useless nature of prosody, that a critical knowledge of the Greek language has of late years been more and more rigorously exacted as a test of scholarship, and as a passport to academical distinction.

We have thus far only considered the classical part of the examination. It remains for us to state that the study of mathematics may also place a man in the first class ; not that he can gain this honour by mathematics alone ; for what has been stated above as the minimum of classical learning, is required of the mathematician as well as of every other candidate. It is this which in fact entitles him to his degree ; and his mathematical studies are a voluntary addition of his own, no part of which is required of him, and which he brings into the schools with the sole view of gaining academical honours. In this respect there is no distinction at Oxford between mathematical and classical proficiency. A first class is open to candidates in either branch of knowledge ; it rests with each individual to make his own choice ; and not a few have had their names recorded in the first class of *disciplinæ mathematicæ et physicæ*, as well as the *literæ humaniores*.

Beside the distinction which is to be gained by an examination in the schools, four prizes are distributed annually for the best compositions in verse and prose. A fifth has been added in the present year for a theological essay ; but the four others have been established for many years. The best Latin and the best English poem obtain the prize among the under-graduates : and the bachelors of arts have two subjects proposed to them for an English and Latin essay. The list of subjects will show that the Latin essay generally involves some question of Greek or Roman history ; and the English essay turns upon some point of criticism and taste, or of the moral and political relations of man.

Such is a brief outline of the studies pursued at Oxford ; and when we have stated what is the lowest degree of learning necessary for the schools, it must be remembered that for three years previous to his examination, every student has been in constant attendance upon college lectures and acquiring information upon the subjects described above. It is said, however, by the opponents of our universities, that nothing solid or valuable is learned in these venerable establishments. We are told that “ there is really no medium between almost entire idleness, and such skill in making Greek and Latin verses as would astonish a first-rate German commentator ; and such readiness in solving difficult problems as would surpass the belief—certainly far exceed the power of Sir Isaac Newton, were he again to visit the banks of

the Granta.”—“ They have no classes where hundreds daily resort to imbibe the learning of ancient, and the science of modern times: a few distinguish themselves by useless expertness and nimbleness of display, rather than by gaining any very solid learning; the great body learn little or nothing.” This sentence leads us to notice two points of difference between the English universities and those of Scotland and the continent. We mean the method of teaching, and the subjects taught. In the Scotch and continental universities the system of instruction is the following. A young man takes lodgings in the town, and having decided upon his line of study, he goes upon certain days to the room or hall where professors deliver lectures upon those branches of knowledge which he intends to cultivate. Beyond these public discourses there is no intercourse whatever between a professor and his class; he is not expected to superintend their studies, or to inquire into their progress and attainments; and the young man is left entirely to himself as to the use which he makes of the lectures which he hears. The system at Oxford is altogether different. The young man becomes attached to a particular college, to the discipline and regulations of which he is held amenable. He is consigned to the care of some particular tutor, who not only instructs all his pupils collectively, but examines each of them separately from time to time, acquaints himself with their learning and application, and prepares them for the examination in the schools, which is to close their academical career. We shall have occasion to consider presently which of these two systems is best adapted for the formation of moral and social habits: at present we shall only observe, that when it is objected to Oxford that it has no classes, “ where hundreds daily resort to imbibe the learning of ancient, and the science of modern times,” the assertion is either intended to mislead, or it is advanced in ignorance and mistake. It is not the system of Oxford to teach the peculiar studies of the place in classes where hundreds congregate together to hear public lectures. It is perhaps difficult to decide which of the two systems is best suited to impart knowledge, and to impress it lastingly upon the mind. They can at least only be compared in those branches which are taught in either manner. A tutor at Oxford does not profess to teach his pupils chemistry or political economy; and therefore it is useless to inquire whether the private or public mode of tuition is best calculated for teaching those sciences. But classical learning is taught in the Scotch colleges by public lectures, and in Oxford by the more private intercourse between tutor and pupil. Here perhaps we might hope to find a point of comparison; but not having had the advantage of hearing lectures upon Greek and Latin litera-

ture at Glasgow and Aberdeen, we do not pretend to understand the process by which hundreds of students can become classical scholars by hearing public lectures. We only know that the world in general does not imagine that critical scholarship is taught very successfully in those celebrated academies. When the scholars of the continent speak of their brethren in Great Britain, they speak of Gaisford and Elmsley, of Porson and Blomfield; but we fear that they have heard little of the public lectures given by Greek professors at Glasgow and Aberdeen.

We are told, indeed, that even in the department of classical learning the professors of Oxford and Cambridge neglect their duty; that their offices were originally instituted for the purpose of public lectures; and that these lectures have long since ceased to be given. We again repeat that this is not the mode of instruction pursued now; and many professorships have been established subsequently to the discontinuance of regular and constant lectures. In these cases it was the intention of the founder that lectures should be given precisely in the manner which is pursued at present; that is, that a short course of lectures should be delivered once or twice a year, by which a man might learn the outline of the science without neglecting the more important studies of the place. To say that such professors neglect their duty is manifestly unjust. It is not the practice, but the principle which should be objected to: and whether the professorships have been established two years or two centuries, we are prepared to maintain, that as a principle of education much more lasting good is effected by the young man not being driven to acquire his learning in a public lecture room. We know not how long it may be since a professor of Greek at Oxford delivered public lectures: the present professor certainly never did. But is it to be tolerated that he should be charged with neglecting his duty? He was appointed, we conceive, to promote the cultivation of classical learning: and are the works which he has published no proof that he has fulfilled his duty? These perhaps are little read by the patrons of the new university in London; and it is useless to appeal to them as a proof that the Greek professorship at Oxford is not at present a sinecure. These gentlemen also know little of the labour of superintending the university press, and directing its Herculean labours. If they were acquainted with this, and with the other literary concerns which pass through the hands of the professor, they would perhaps not think that he is negligent in promoting classical learning, or that his services are overpaid with the munificent salary of forty pounds a year.

Among all the charges which are brought against the university of Oxford, none is more absurd than the assertion that nothing

is learnt there beyond a proficiency in making verses. This limitation of classical learning to the rules of prosody and metre, can only proceed from ignorance of one or two kinds—an ignorance of classical learning itself, or of the manner in which it is taught at Oxford. If the objectors really know nothing more of Greek and Latin than what they learned at school, we candidly acknowledge that we are not writing for them: but if they have not been informed of the manner in which the classics are taught in Oxford, though we blame them for abusing a system which they do not understand, yet we will endeavour to give them some information which may save them from making similar mistakes in future. We have already explained what books are necessary to be read for an examination in the schools; and we have also observed, that for three years previous to the examination, the same books form the subjects of college lectures. Thus for three years of their lives, at a period when the mind is perhaps most capable of receiving impressions, the young men are making themselves acquainted with ancient history, with the philosophical systems of Aristotle and Cicero, and with those models of taste and composition which have been left us by the poets of Greece and Rome. And yet we are to be told that nothing is acquired at Oxford, but “useless expertness and nimbleness of display.” We know not what may be considered useless in certain quarters; but we humbly conceive, that the studies mentioned above are more suited to furnish the reader with lasting amusement, to enable him to bear his part in conversation, and, if his station in life or his inclination be such, to qualify him for the bar or the senate, than an acquaintance with dubious metaphysics, or the conflicting theories of political economists. Such subjects have their use, and a gentleman may find his account in learning their principles: but the directors of education at Oxford cannot forget that they have a sacred deposit put into their hands; that the nobility and gentry of England, that persons of all professions and all ranks commit to them their children, the dearest pledges of their confidence, and that they expect those children to be taught something beyond abstract sciences, something which will fit them for the active and honourable employments of life, which will improve the heart as well as the head, and send them forth into the world not as philosophers and theorists, but as honest straight-forward men, as enlightened English gentlemen.

In alluding to metaphysics and political economy, we have touched, we believe, upon one of the principal objections which is brought against the Oxford system. The university is repeatedly censured for neglecting these noble sciences, and she is accused of keeping her scholars in a profound and monkish

ignorance of the developement of genius and the march of mind. It is true, perhaps, that these and similar expressions are not much heard of in the schools of Oxford. It being the principle of that place not to teach every thing, but to select some particular branch of knowledge; by which the abilities of every student may be tried, as by a common standard. She has fixed upon classical literature and mathematics: the one, she thinks, is sufficient to exercise the head, while she is sure that the other will store and improve the mind. Her objectors are not contented with condemning her for neglecting other sciences, but they confidently assign the cause of this neglect, and say that it proceeds from a jealous fear, lest an introduction of new light should interfere with the monopoly of education which the universities now enjoy. Thus we were told several years ago, that a lecture upon political economy would not be tolerated within the walls of Oxford. We might say in answer to this, that at that very time the lecturer in modern history was actually delivering a course of lectures upon political economy: we might say, that in the year 1825, this dangerous and dreaded science was not only tolerated, but a professorship of political economy was actually established in Oxford. These facts are perhaps not unimportant, if we are to judge of the veracity of our opponents. But we do not wish the question to rest upon these grounds. We are not afraid of maintaining the position, that the studies pursued at Oxford are likely to produce, and have produced more solid and substantial fruits than speculations upon the origin of ideas, or upon the monied and commercial interests of men. The university of Oxford is not afraid of lectures upon political economy; but she does not think that they are indispensable, or even of general use. Her principle, as we observed above, is first to teach men religion, and secondly to make them gentlemen. She does not object to any or all her members acquiring a gentlemanly knowledge of any science: and she is glad that while a man is following the peculiar studies of the place, he may have an opportunity of laying a foundation of other knowledge, upon which he may subsequently build. It is not therefore her system to make men chemists, anatomists, or lawyers, though she secures the talents of able men, who deliver lectures upon chemistry, anatomy, and law. We had thought that the principle and the practice of Oxford in this respect were generally known. But when we find it brought as a proof of the superiority of London over Oxford, that medicine can only be taught in a great city; and still farther when it is said, that "the fine arts can nowhere be taught except in the grand resort of artists, the great mart of their productions," we are at a loss whether to

meet the observation with an argument or with a smile. What doating son of *alma mater* ever dreamed, that during his three under-graduate years he was to be taught by his tutor to feel a pulse or to carve a statue? The notion is ridiculous: and the person who brought the objection knew that he was combating a shadow. He knew it also when he wrote the following sentence:—"The most bigoted churchman can never get over this. He may cast out his panegyrics upon the antiquity of the old foundations—lose himself in rhapsodies upon the sacred haunts of the muses on Isis and the Cam, and mutter his imprecations against all who profanely imagine other places of instruction. But he never can pretend to teach as much surgery as would enable him to have a broken head dressed, hardly medicine enough to cure himself of a surfeit, certainly not painting enough to exhibit his features better than the signs of Barnaby and Bishop Blaise represent them. For these branches of learning the universities are, and ever must be, utterly useless: and to pretend teaching them in such places is the grossest imposition."

If we were inclined to adopt the elegant and temperate style of this sentence, the term *imposition* might perhaps be applied with more truth to certain places, where it is pretended that surgery and medicine are taught, where degrees in medicine are conferred without any examination of the candidate's attainment, and where a diploma is not looked upon as any test of knowledge, although obtained in a place where hundreds resort to public lectures, and imbibe the science of modern times. But the university of Oxford never did pretend to make surgery or medicine part of her academical studies. The writer must have known that she does not: and if he really thought that she pretends to teach the art of painting, we can only pity the persons who are in the habit of reading and admiring his lucubrations. We again repeat, that public lectures upon scientific and professional subjects are considered in Oxford as an appendage to the studies of the place, not as a component part of the studies themselves: they are the *ἡδύσµα*, not the *ἐδεσµα* of learning. Plutarch, or whoever wrote the treatise upon education ascribed to him, would perhaps have approved of this principle, when he said, "That the son of a freeman may gratify his eyes and ears with miscellaneous knowledge, but he should learn such things in a cursory manner, just so as to give him a taste:" and he adds by way of illustration, "It is a fine thing to visit several cities, but it is our interest to settle in the best."

We have said, that the university of Oxford has always been anxious to engage the talents of able men for her public lectures:

and the "Commentaries" of Blackstone, and the prelections of Louth will show that neither have her professors disappointed her, nor have their productions perished with them. If we come to the present day, we should not be afraid of maintaining our assertion.

Mr. Brande of London thought fit some time ago to inform the world that chemistry, as a branch of education, was either entirely neglected, or, what is perhaps worse, superficially and imperfectly taught in the English universities. We have already said that chemistry never was, and we trust that it never will be a branch of education at Oxford: as to the superficial and imperfect teaching of it, the calumny was amply refuted by the late professor. The geological lectures of Oxford would perhaps satisfy the wishes even of those who recommend classes, where hundreds may resort to imbibe the science of modern times. But though Oxford is justly proud of such professors, we imagine that she rests her hopes of doing substantial good upon what we have already named as the peculiar studies of the place; and we will now say a few words upon the study of divinity.

The introduction of divinity into the schools as an indispensable part of every examination, will cause some merit to be given to Oxford by all who have not yet learnt to identify religion with bigotry, and to think that both are to be proscribed as the signs of a weak and unenlightened mind. The portion of theological learning which is required of every candidate for a degree, has been already stated; and we feel it a duty to expose the falsehood of an assertion, which has been widely circulated and never yet retracted, concerning the study of divinity at Oxford. The writer, after noticing the *clamour* which had been raised at excluding divinity from the new university in London, makes this remark: "As to excluding theology, whereby it was said the youth were to be trained up without religious instruction, which of the lay youth, we would ask, at Oxford or Cambridge, ever attends or thinks of attending a single lecture on divinity? The handful destined for the church, no doubt, go to such lectures on theological matters as are there delivered: and so of necessity must the clerical young men of the new university go to some lectures on the same subjects, wherever they are to be heard. But what young man of fortune, or what youth intended for the army or for the bar, ever entered the door of a divinity-lecture room in either university?" In this sentence there is either intentional misstatement, or unpardonable ignorance. The writer had heard something of an annual course of lectures, delivered by the regius professor of divinity, which are attended by those persons only who are destined for the church. He chooses to call these

a handful, though the annual average considerably exceeds two hundred: but what is to be thought of the credit due to his assertions, when it is known to be a fact, that in every college in Oxford there are regular lectures in divinity, which every member of the college is obliged to attend, whatever may be his future destination in life? During every term of his triennial residence in Oxford, there is not a week in which the young man of fortune, and the youth intended for the army or the bar, does not attend lectures in divinity; not, as in other places, where the lecturer is the sole speaker, and all the rest are listeners: but every pupil is expected to take his part, and to testify his own progress by answering such questions as the lecturer may think fit to put to him. The sentence quoted above is exactly such as would be written by a patron of the new university, where instruction is to be given by public lectures. It is highly probable, that under such a system, the young men of fortune, (if any should be found there,) and the youth intended for the army or the bar, would not volunteer their attendance at lectures upon divinity; but the university of Oxford does not allow that attendance at divinity lectures should be optional; neither does she inquire into the future destination of the young men; and impart or withhold religious knowledge, according as she may think it necessary. She considers that such knowledge is necessary for every one; and when it is known, that young men of all ranks and prospects in life present themselves in the schools as candidates for degrees, it is absurd to say that religious knowledge is confined to persons intended for the church.

The same writer continues thus:—"We venture to assert, without the least fear of being contradicted, by the fact or the reason, that there is absolutely no religion taught and no attention to its observances inculcated, by the mere existence of divinity lectures, and the compliance with certain outward forms: and that whatever is learnt or imbibed of this sort at either university, is through the operation of private instruction." It is in vain to urge, that the writer has here made the proper distinction between public lectures and private instruction; he has staked his credibility upon the assertion, that none of the lay youth attend *a single lecture* on divinity, and that there is absolutely no religion taught by divinity lectures. Both these positions are entirely and absolutely false: the one involves a question of fact: for a refutation of the other, we refer to the examinations in the schools, and to the chaplains of our bishops, who can best tell whether religion is taught by divinity lectures at Oxford. We repeat, that if this writer means that divinity is not taught by *public lectures*, in his sense of the expression, i. e.

in classes where hundreds may resort to listen to a professor, we acknowledge it to be true, and we rejoice in the fact. We do not pretend to be acquainted with the system of divinity lectures in the universities of Scotland: but we have heard something of these lectures upon the continent; and what we know of the modern divinity of Germany, makes us rejoice that a lecture-room in Oxford is not made a theatre of display for the acuteness and originality of rival theologians. Where the lectures are confined, as they are in Oxford, to the scriptures themselves, or the expository works of our ablest divines, and while the business of the tutor is to ascertain the proficiency of his pupils, not to exhibit his own talents, we have some security for the soundness and uniformity of the religion which is taught. But in the German universities, every professor appears to think it is duty to furnish his class with something new. There is among them all a curious and speculating spirit, a leaven of philosophy and scepticism, which has well nigh excluded all idea of revelation, and has left the Bible in the midst of them as a book designed to exercise their ingenuity, upon which each one may build up a theory of his own, more novel and more fanciful than the former. We know that this rational and enlightened theology is highly approved of in certain quarters; but we are well assured, that church-of-Englandism, as it is insultingly and absurdly called, with all its prejudices and all its bigotry,—

“*Curius quid sentit, et ambo
Scipiadæ, quid Fabricius manesque Camilli,*”

is a far happier state of things for society at large, and for the souls of individuals, than that unsettled system of doubts and fears, that alternation of new lights and gloomy despondency, which is sure to visit the death-bed of the sceptic, if it has not been agitating him long before.

While we are upon the subject of divinity, we may notice another objection brought against education at Oxford, viz. that it is exclusively in the hands of clergymen. It is said indeed, that this defect is not peculiar to the universities, but that throughout the kingdom no person thinks of committing his child to any one else, but a clergyman of the church of England. This, we are told, is a radical defect in English education. We are sorry to find, that the whole kingdom has been suffering for so many centuries from a system which is so extremely vicious in principle and in practice. It seems natural to ask, what is the cause of this preference being given to the clergy? Is their influence so great, do they exercise such a tyranny over the minds of our lay nobility and gentry, that no person dares to

interfere with their undue monopoly ? The question must be answered by persons more competent than ourselves. If laymen are more fit than ecclesiastics to educate youth, we see no earthly reason why education should not long ago have passed into their hands : and the fact of its not having done so is some sort of proof at least, that public opinion is in favour of clergymen being on the whole the most general depositaries of useful learning. But, perhaps, though this has been the opinion in England for centuries, it may have been reserved for modern philosophers to expose the error of it. There is no law or statute, as far as we know, which hinders a layman from issuing his cards and opening an academy for the receptacle of young gentlemen. We suspect, that there would be one objection to it, and that moreover it is this objection, which hinders the practice from being general at present : we mean, that the lay school-master at the end of the year, would find his bedrooms and his pockets sadly empty. We are not philosophers, and do not pretend to investigate causes : but we are satisfied with the fact, that the nobility and gentry of England, when they want a tutor for their sons, a man who is to superintend their morals and improve their minds, do not look out for liberal philosophers, but for a well-bred and regularly educated clergyman of the church of England.

We allow that in Oxford, the tutors are generally, we might almost say invariably, clergymen : and we again appeal to what we laid down as the two principles of Oxford education, and ask whether a clergyman is not as likely as a layman to teach religion to his pupils and to make him a gentleman. If it was part of the Oxford system to make men physicians, surgeons, and painters, as some persons absurdly and ignorantly suppose, it might not seem so intelligible, why the teachers of these arts and sciences should all be in holy orders. But it is singular, that the list of professors at Oxford supplies a direct contradiction to the assertion, that every branch of education is in the hands of the clergy. In the university of Oxford there are twenty-five professors. Of these, it will perhaps be conceded, that the regius and Margaret professors of divinity may safely and consistently be clergymen. We might not unnaturally expect the same of the professor of Hebrew, and the two professors of Arabic : but it so happens, that one of the latter is a layman. Beside these there remain twenty professors, whose pursuits may be divided into those of a literary and a scientific kind. There is certainly no necessity for scientific lectures to be in the hands of clergymen ; and we are perhaps stating what is not generally known, when we say, that of these twenty professors

twelve are laymen: or if we take the whole list of twenty-five professors, twelve are clergymen, and thirteen are laymen. We do not make this statement, as thinking it of much importance; for we see no reason, why a clergyman who is resident in Oxford may not make himself master of any science as easily as a layman; nor why, if he reside elsewhere, he may not come up periodically to Oxford, and deliver his course of lectures. We only mention the fact as enabling our readers to judge whether there is that jealous and monopolizing spirit among the priests of Oxford, which some popular writers have not scrupled to ascribe to them.

We shall perhaps be expected to say a few words concerning the mathematical pursuits of Oxford; and when it is said that nothing else is learnt there but the art of scanning and constructing verses, we might lay some stress upon the fact of mathematics and classics being put upon a level, as to the admission to academical honours. We might also inform these objectors, that there are mathematical lectures in all the colleges, which every member is expected to attend up to a certain point; and if his inclination lead him to go on, he reads mathematics with the tutor till the time of his appearing in the schools. We do not, however, wish to dissemble, or to make out a specious statement. It is undeniable, that mathematics in Oxford are not held in the same estimation with classical learning; and we do not pretend, that the reading which will place a mathematician in the first class in Oxford is equal to that which is necessary for a senior wrangler at Cambridge. It would be invidious to enter into a comparison between the two universities: and an investigation into the relative attraction and utility of mathematics and classics would lead us into a wide digression. But, if we may borrow the language of modern times, these two branches of learning are certainly admitted at Oxford to the benefit of a free trade: we know of no bonus which is given to the importation of classics, nor of any restrictions which are laid upon mathematics. It is true, that a degree cannot be taken without some portion of classical knowledge, whereas an examination in mathematics is perfectly optional. But what we have described above as the minimum of Greek and Latin requisite for the schools, cannot be said to interfere materially with the pursuits of the mathematician; and the honours to be acquired by either study are precisely the same. Still, however, the proportion of mathematicians in Oxford is extremely small; and it cannot be said that the study is pursued with much eagerness or any great success. Classics seem to be the staple commodity of the place; and for some reason or other, the same soil which is suited to the growth of

the one, if not decidedly adverse, is at least not congenial to the other. May we not venture to conclude that there is something in classical pursuits more generally attractive to the youthful mind, than in what Burke was used to describe as the dry-bones of diagrams? We do not wish to depreciate the study of mathematics. On the contrary, we believe that what are called pure mathematics are as well suited to exercise the head, and to strengthen the reasoning powers, as logic itself: and the experiments of natural philosophy are not only amusing to the eye, but deeply convincing to the mind, and in their practical application may be made extensively useful to the human race. But all sciences must have their beginning: and we confess that we are not surprised that the elements of geometry have seemed tedious and uninteresting to many persons, who, so far from being indolent or stupid, have cheerfully consumed their midnight oil in tracing the events of ancient history, or in following the flights of the classic muse. Upon the whole, we may not be going too far in saying, that though mathematics may make a man independent of society, and furnish him with never-failing company when alone in his closet, yet if he wish to bear his part in conversation, or in the great political drama of life, he will find the main storehouse of his resources in the learning of the ancients, which will at once form his taste, purify his style, and enlarge his mind. Our readers will perhaps excuse us for concluding this part of the subject with a well-known passage from our great biographer:—"The knowledge of external nature, and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the rest is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove, by events, the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues and excellencies of all times and of all places: we are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary: our speculations upon matter are voluntary, and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergence, that one may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears."

—*Johnson's Life of Milton.*

We have devoted so many pages to the studies of Oxford, that we must not detain our readers long with the morals and

discipline of the place. Much has been said lately in various quarters of the profuse expenses into which a young man is led by the system of education at Oxford. There is perhaps some truth in the remark: and if the unavoidable expenses of a residence in college are so great as to deter persons of moderate income from sending their sons thither, it is undoubtedly a subject of regret. But we suspect, that a proper distinction is not generally made between the necessary expenses of education and those which are superinduced by the fancies and extravagance of individuals. It is true, that the mere fact of extravagant habits remaining without a check is itself an evil; and if the sons of the poor man are either tempted to keep pace with their wealthier neighbours, or are driven to the mortification of seeking inferior society, their residence in Oxford must, in some cases, be attended with danger and disadvantage. But let the blame be laid where it ought. If a nobleman or gentleman chooses to allow his son while at college five hundred or a thousand pounds *per annum*, it is most absurd and most unjust that he should afterwards turn round upon the authorities of the place, and blame them for not restraining his son from spending this money in an improper manner. “*Corrumpi mores in scholis putant: nam et corrumpuntur interim: sed domi quoque: et sunt multa ejus rei exempla, tam læsæ hercle, quam conservatæ sanctissime utrobique opinionis.—Utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus.*” (Quintil. Inst. i. 2.) We are quite sure, that the heads and governors of colleges are foremost to lament the large allowances which are made to young men in Oxford. They lament it not only as the means and encouragement of vicious excesses, but because it takes away from themselves the power of enforcing discipline, and often obliges them to have recourse to severe punishments. It must be remembered, that a young man of eighteen, who is just emancipated from school, and who in the society of the world finds himself treated as a man, when he goes to college will not submit to the restraint or the correction of a schoolboy. It is in vain to say that it is the business of a college to restrain and correct him. If his parents, instead of cooperating with the authorities of the place, supply him with the means of violating its rules, and complain of the severity of his punishments, let them bear their share of the blame. The follies and vices of a young man cannot be carried on without money: if he is supplied with a larger allowance than will pay his college bills, he is sure to find some way of spending it: and till a method is invented of visiting childish offences with childish punishments, or of limiting the

income of a young man by private rules, it is most unjust to make the university accountable for the profligacy and excess of which a profuse expenditure is the only cause.

The sum which is absolutely necessary for education at Oxford is perhaps not generally known. The customs of different colleges may vary in some respects, nor have we taken the trouble to inquire into all the different charges; but we happen to know, that in one of the larger colleges the expenses of a commoner may be estimated at the following rate: he pays to his tutor twelve pounds *per annum*; so that the whole sum which he pays for tuition during the four years preceding his taking a degree amounts to forty-eight pounds, and for this he has the advantage of attending his tutor's lectures two or three times in a week, of consulting him in private if he require it, and as the time of his examination draws near, his interviews are more frequent, if not daily, that he may be practised in every exercise necessary for the schools. A small additional sum, not exceeding ten pounds, is paid for lectures in mathematics and in logic; and this is the whole expense of education which is required of a commoner. We have not been favoured with a sight of the fees which are to be received at the new London university: but we much question whether every branch of classical learning, and a competent knowledge of mathematics, will be dispensed there at so cheap a rate.* It being the custom at Oxford, that the young men should live within the walls of a college, their lodgings and provisions are furnished by the college to which they belong, for which they pay at stated times. In the college to which we have alluded, a commoner pays about twelve pounds *per annum* for the rent of his rooms, and his other college bills, (including his ordinary meals,) may amount to an average of eighty or ninety pounds. Thus, the necessary annual expense of a commoner cannot be estimated at more than one hundred and twenty pounds; for which, as stated above, he is furnished with board and lodging, and with almost daily instruction from his tutor in every branch of learning necessary for the schools.

We are told that there is a great disadvantage in the Oxford system compared with that of the Scotch universities, and of the proposed new university in London; which is, that in Oxford young men are allowed to congregate together in colleges, while in the other universities they only attend public lectures, and at

* It may be mentioned, that the servitors, who are not numerous, and who form an order lower than that of commoners, are educated absolutely for nothing: and the tutors bestow upon them exactly the same portion of time and attention, without receiving any kind of remuneration whatever.

other times are under the superintendence of their parents. This statement involves such an obvious fallacy, that we should have suspected ourselves of misunderstanding it if we had not met with sentences like the following: "But suppose it were true, which it is not, that Oxford and Cambridge teach religion to the youth, is there no difference between young men sent away from home, and others kept carefully under your own roof?" And we are told of a parent being "careless enough of his children to send them unprotected among other young men as entirely left to themselves." These expressions are evidently aimed at the custom of young men living together within the walls of a college; and we repeat, that they contain an obvious and palpable fallacy. If the persons educated at the London university are all natives of London, whose parents continue to reside there, then it may be true that such persons "are kept carefully under their own roof." But if the London university become so popular, as we are assured that it must and will become, if it ensure such a decided superiority of talent in every branch of useful knowledge, multitudes will naturally flock thither from every part of the kingdom. Not only our artists and mechanics, but our nobility and gentry, will at length open their eyes, and abandoning those antiquated abodes of prejudice and ignorance, Oxford and Cambridge, they will send their sons to this new fountain of knowledge; and London will become the emporium not only of wet and dry goods, but of literature and science, and of every thing which exercises the reason and improves the mind. But in these halcyon days of universal philosophy, how are the children to be carefully kept under the roof of their parents? The parents are perhaps living in the north or in the west, and the son has secured to himself a cheap and commodious lodging in the vicinity of that favoured spot where all knowledge is concentrated and dispensed in public lectures. Now we have yet to learn that if a young man is sent to London to learn philosophy, he is thrown upon a spot where his morals and his principles are in the greatest security. Oxford and Cambridge may have their scenes of vice; but so, we imagine, has the metropolis also. Young men living together in colleges may initiate and encourage each other in profligate habits: and so, we imagine, may young men lodging in London, who pass a few hours in the morning in public lecture-rooms, and have all the rest of the day to themselves. Unless a separate university and separate lectures are established in every town, nay, in every village, in England, all that is said of young men being kept carefully under the roof of their parents is empty talk or wilful misrepresentation. The writer of such idle paragraphs would

not pretend that the students at Edinburgh or Glasgow are all resident in those towns under their parents' roofs; and if they are not, if they are living by themselves, subject to no rules and amenable to no punishments, who is bold enough to say that their morals are in less danger than those of young men who congregate in colleges, and who, though they may commit excesses, are yet superintended and watched, are limited by college rules and college hours, and who know that punishment awaits them if they are detected in forbidden practices?

After all, let it not be supposed that the members of the university of Oxford look with any jealousy or alarm at the foundation of a new university in London. They, perhaps, smile at the sanguine prognostications of some of its advocates; and if the scheme should fail, either in its infancy, or after struggling through a few years of inanity and disappointment, they will not have to reproach themselves for deluding the public, or for blindly following the fantastic whims of theory and experiment. Perhaps, indeed, there is one prejudice, which is deeply rooted in the university of Oxford; one which no experience has hitherto dispelled—which no new lights and intellectual improvements have hitherto inclined them to discard. They do look forward with some degree of anxiety to a plan of general education being established, of which religion forms no integral and component part. They are told indeed, that the London university is “a mere day-school, which the young men attend as they would the Royal Institution, or Mr. M'Culloch's lectures, or a French class, or a special pleader, or an attorney, or a fencing master, residing all the while at home, and *there* receiving religious, as well as moral instruction from parents and their pastors.” This comparison amuses them, but does not satisfy them: it reminds them of

Grammaticus, Retor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes,
Augur, Schœnobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit:

but why among the *omnia novit* is religion alone to be neglected or left to chance? Such sentences incline them to smile; but they are unwilling to laugh at what can only be considered as a mean and degrading apology for the systematic exclusion of religion. They read with fear and trembling, that “if the omission of theological studies became a matter of necessity, arising out of the fundamental principles upon which the new institution was to be founded, the exclusion of all forms of worship was still more manifestly required by the same rule.” If such indeed are the fundamental principles of the new system, or, which is nearly the same thing, if the writer of such a sentence is to be

one of its chief promoters, then the university of Oxford cannot bring herself to wish that such principles may be carried into practice. The university of Oxford has then no hesitation in saying, that her system is diametrically opposed to this. She may be called bigoted and prejudiced; she may be assailed with every epithet which ignorance and malevolence can employ, but she will find her reward in diffusing religious knowledge; in bringing up her youth as scholars, as gentlemen, and Christians; and in having raised her warning voice against that fatal philosophy, which calls evil good, and good evil; which puts darkness for light, and light for darkness.

ART. V.—*Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach.* Written by Herself. 2 vols. 8vo. Colburn, 1826.

“ELIZABETH M. B. A. B.,* Princess Berkeley,” was born youngest daughter of Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley, K. T., by his Countess, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Drax, of Charborough, in the county of Dorset, Esq., in December, 1750. She was a seven months’ child, and having been wrapped up in a piece of flannel and laid carelessly on an arm chair soon after her birth, narrowly escaped immediate destruction from her great aunt, the Countess of Albemarle, a portly woman, who was preparing to seat herself on that which she imagined to be a cushion. Lady Elizabeth Berkeley learned to dance so early, that she was taught upon a table, because the dancing master could not stoop to place her hands and feet upon the ground. She grew tall in her tenth year, and had auburn hair; her governess taught her to make beds; and gave her milk-porridge for breakfast in common, and water-gruel if she was unwell. She had a natural taste for all fine works, and none for plain work or arithmetic; so that in the end her “occupations and the clearness of her ideas produced delight in all who knew her, and became the cause of the comfort of both her husbands, and the primitive source of her common sense.” All these advantages she attributed (and so did the well-known Iapis Père Elisée, who once sagaciously enough observed to this lady, “*Dieu, comme vos idées sont claires et nettes !*”) to not having been dandled and tossed about, like other English children, in her infancy.

Though Lady Elizabeth was always complimented with phrases

* Quære ? *Musicæ Baccalaurea*, and *Artium Baccalaurea* ?

of being quite superior and otherwise gifted by nature, to the generality of her sex, she modestly ascribed such compliments or gifts to the effects of her education. At Paris, which she visited when thirteen, with her mother and sister, her auburn eyes and hair were much admired; this last was one of her greatest beauties; it was soft as silk, and so long that it reached below her knees: her skin, moreover, was white, suffused with colour, and, when exposed to the sun, covered with freckles.

In France, Lady Elizabeth was called *La Petite* by the servants, and was petted by her next-door neighbour, the Princess Guiménée, because she could speak French. Nothing, however, could excite vanity in her. She received instructions in dancing, painting, embroidery, and tambouring; and her masters, one and all, were delighted with her; for although lively to a great degree, the instant she was to learn any thing, a deep silence and an application to her pursuits seized her, so that she generally concluded all her lessons with a nervous headach, arising from too great attention.

The handsome Mr. ———, at a *bal masqué* at Paris, fell upon his knees before Lady Elizabeth, and told her that to see her, to love her, and to be miserable, were one and the same thing. She did not understand his meaning; and her mother, when he offered settlements, laughed at him. On her return to England, many other men talked love to her; all of whom she disliked; but she fell in love (though she did not know it till many years afterwards) with the Marquis de Fitz-James, who at the time was himself making love to Lady Isabella Stanhope, and who, on receiving a refusal from that lady, used to come every day and cry over his sad story with *sa petite cousine* as he termed Lady Elizabeth;—after all this, Lady Elizabeth married Mr. Craven without being in love with him at all, when she was but little more than sixteen.

Her talents were of the greatest use to her husband; her youth, modesty, blushes, and Court manners gained the heart of her near country neighbour, the Countess of Denbigh. The people of the city of Coventry took a great prepossession in her favour—used to crowd round her carriage, offer her cakes, and cry, “God bless your pretty face!” Horace Walpole, Johnson, Garrick, and Colman were among her numerous admirers. Sir Joshua Reynolds did not conceal his high opinion of her; and Charles Fox almost quarrelled with her, because she was unwilling to interfere in politics. Dr. Jenner saved her life when she was sent by six physicians to Bristol, in order to die; and Lady Elizabeth, in return, many years afterwards, erected a monument to his memory, with an epitaph of her own writing.

Lord Craven (for such he became at the death of his uncle) had received a promising education; he had been left at Oxford till he was one and thirty, to live as he could on eighty pounds a year. His life was one continued ramble, to hunt in Leicestershire, to drive the Oxford stage coach, to see a new play in London, and to visit his uncles; he had no taste for music or the fine arts; and he disliked reading any thing but a newspaper; he spoke once only in Parliament, and then somewhat briefly.

"Fox never could get me to interfere in politics, although he often attempted it. He came to me one day with Lord Abingdon, and exclaimed, 'A miracle!—a miracle!' It was in Lord Craven's lifetime. I inquired what was the cause of his sudden surprise? 'Craven,' said he, 'who never till yesterday opened his lips in the House of Lords,—spoke.'—'Indeed!' I said, 'what did he say? for he did not tell me on his return that he had spoken.' He then described to me, with much good humour, a speech which Lord Sandwich had made, who was the first Lord of the Admiralty, and who ended it by asserting as a fact, what was only his own invention. Lord Craven rose, to the astonishment of the whole House. Loud murmurs of disapprobation at Lord Sandwich's assertion, had passed into a deep silence, to give audience to a Peer about to speak, who before had never uttered a word. Lord Craven, looking steadfastly at Lord Sandwich, exclaimed, 'That's a lie!' and immediately sat down again. The House burst out into a convulsion of laughter."

After living thirteen years in much amity with his young and lovely wife, he picked up a *nymphe galante*, the refuse of a captain and a colonel, at an inn at Reading; and as among the other qualities of this facile lady, she had that of being a good bottle companion—her ascendancy soon became unlimited. Its result, naturally enough, was a separation between Lord and Lady Craven.

Lady Craven with her youngest child, Keppel, set off for Paris; *her daughters* were left under their father's care. The effect which her husband's conduct produced upon her was of a singular nature, and must be related in her own most expressive words: "Contempt," says she, "rose like oil on the surface of water, uppermost in my mind, and steeled my heart, while it sealed my lips."

Having fixed herself at Paris, she found that Madame Elizabeth's milliner was employed by that Princess and the Queen, as a spy upon her conduct. The woman who held this honourable office one day acknowledged the fact with the following compliment: "*Vous êtes si aimable que je me fie à vous*;" and added, that the Queen wished Lady Craven to take a house in Versailles, in order that she might forget, in the charms of her society, the

forms and the falsehoods of courtiers. In return Lady Craven told the milliner, that it was not the Prince de S—— (as the she *mouton* suspected) who came so often to see her, for that his character was so bad that she had never permitted him to be presented to her; but that it was the Margrave of Anspach, who had known her from her childhood, and who had conceived for her the same partiality that all who had known her from her infancy retained for her. This is the first mention of her future Lord.

Madame de Polignac asked the Duke of Dorset a great many questions respecting Lady Craven; to all which he answered, (and he took good care to acquaint her Ladyship with his answer,) that there were twenty women at Court more handsome, *mais, pour les graces et l'esprit pas une*.—Marie Antoinette and the Princess Elizabeth soon afterwards curtsied to her in the gallery at Versailles, and said, *Restez avec nous, Madame*, so that the people wondered, and Lady Craven hurried away as fast as she could, filled with many reflections.

At Versailles, Lady Craven had cows, and a fine dairy on the side of the court of her pavilion, opposite the entrance gate. One day, while she was standing there, a Capuchin friar came up, and addressing her, “Lady Craven, I presume?” presented a letter from her friend, the Duchess de Villhermosa.

“I begged him to refresh himself, and inquired how he could guess that I was Lady Craven? He replied, ‘From the description which the Duchess gave me of your person, and still more so from your employment.’ In the course of our conversation, I asked him why the wines in general were better in the Abbayes than in other places. He then told me the process, which was, that, after the juice of the grape was pressed out, it was closed up hermetically, instead of being allowed to ferment in the open vat.”—vol. i. p. 115.

In the autumn of this year, Lady Craven quitted France to join her brother, Lord Berkeley, at Florence. On her route she remarked that the baths of Pisa were kept in good repair; that Pisa itself is contiguous to Lucca, and that the leaning tower proves that fancy is often mistaken for taste. At Florence she was highly gratified with the Venus de Medicis, which corresponded with the ideas she had formed of it.—“The Venus de Medicis resembles a rose which appears at the earliest dawn, and vanishes with the rising sun. She is entering upon that age when the vessels of the body begin to distend, and when the bosom takes its consistent form. In contemplating her attitude, I figure to myself that *Lais*, whom *Apelles* instructed, and by whom he was fascinated.”—The *Niobe* family exceeded her expectation; but

the Apollo disappointed her ; “ it had not altogether the commanding look of the God of day.” And yet in another place she observes with some difference of judgment ; “ The most exact idea of perfect manly beauty is characterised in the Apollo Belvidere. This god unites the dignity of maturity with the delicacy of youth. He appears to glow with health, and his brightness is like that of Aurora. There is a sublimity of character which impresses a claim of the highest rank.” Of another celebrated group, her ladyship remarks, with no inconsiderable knowledge of comparative anatomy, “ The epidermis of the Laocoon, to use the expression,” (Qu. *what expression?*) is like the skin of the first Greeks, which was not distended by the use of the bath, nor relaxed by the repeated rubbing which the Romans employed when rendered effeminate by luxury.” Again, “ The effervescent blood from the bite of the serpents, is carried with rapidity to the bowels, and through every part of the body.”

Venice and Vienna were her next *séjours*. The Emperor sent her word by his Minister, Prince Kaunitz, that he never had seen any woman with so modest and dignified a deportment, and ordered one of his own houses to be prepared for her reception. Lady Craven immediately replied, that it was not in her power to stay, and forthwith set off for Russia.

“ The emperor had no wife, and the opinion which he had formed of me, and which was repeated over all Germany, terrified me ; and, fearful lest injurious reports should be spread of me, which was what I could not bear.”—vol. i. p. 132.

Lady Craven continued her journey through Warsaw, which, as she justly remarks, “ lies on the Vistula, and is almost in the centre of Poland.”

“ The Polish ladies are very vigilant over the conduct of their daughters, and intrigues are not so easily carried on here as in England ; and in some districts, (which is perfectly ridiculous !) they are {forced to wear little bells, both before and behind, in order to proclaim where they are and what they are doing.”—vol. i. p. 148.

Unencumbered by this troublesome appendage, Lady Craven proceeded on to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Constantinople, and through Greece back by Vienna to London. Hence she accompanied the Margrave of Anspach to Franconia, where the joy of the Margravine at seeing her was very great.

Christian-Frederick-Charles-Alexander, Margrave of Brandenburg, Anspach, and Bareith, Duke of Prussia, Count of Sayn, was born in 1736. His mother was eldest sister of Frederic the Great, and Queen Caroline, wife of George II., was only sister to

his father. He was carefully educated at the expense of the English monarch, and "his young mind received great stimulus to improvement in the year 1748, when he travelled into Holland with MM. Bobenhausen and Bebra, his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, where he remained till 1750." In this "seat of learning" he acquired "his desire of universal knowledge, filtered through the maxims infused by the academicians of Erlangen." At the age of fifteen he was married to a Princess of Saxe Cobourg, who "was born with an inward defect of bodily constitution;" but nevertheless from whom he never would consent to be divorced. In 1757, he succeeded to his paternal Margraviate; in 1769 to that of Bareith, both of which, on his death without an heir, were to become annexed to the crown of Prussia.

Christian-Frederick-Charles-Alexander was a great breeder both of horses and cows. Lady Craven after her fixture at his Court assisted him in these pursuits, and took much pains in manufacturing his cheese and butter. The Germans, however, were jealous of these innovations. Her ladyship never suggested any thing, but did voluntarily every thing which she thought would cheer his hours. Among others she turned an old riding-house into a theatre, and formed a *corps dramatique* from the young nobility.

Before Lady Craven arrived, Mademoiselle de Clairon a celebrated French actress had become acquainted with the Margrave:—

"Well aware of the candour of this prince, of his noble and unaffected simplicity, of the tender and constant interest which her society must excite if her plans were well arranged, she determined at once to effect a superiority over his heart, which she knew must, from his unfortunate situation, be vacant. She resolved, therefore, on visiting Anspach, and on sacrificing herself, as she averred, for the happiness of a sovereign, and for the glory of a nation. Under the pretence of disinterested affection, she therefore quitted Paris, to extend her sensibility over a soul which she well knew was capable of the utmost refinement."—vol. i. pp. 205, 206.

Under these circumstances she had openly lived with him as his mistress, but stung to the quick by Lady Craven's superior ascendancy, she first expostulated in an angry letter, and then finding all her efforts ineffectual, "she determined to make a merit of necessity, to arm herself," as she said, "with reason, and to console herself for her sufferings, by calling to her mind those comforts which she still possessed." Furthermore, in explanation we have nothing to add; for what it was that Mademoiselle Clairon determined to do, or what in point of fact she really did, is far from being very clear to our comprehension.

Mademoiselle de Clairon was the heroine of a marvellous story which made a great noise in Paris, and which Lady Craven appears implicitly to believe. Among the admirers of the actress, was a M. S——, son of a merchant in Bretagne. Her rejection of his offers drove him into melancholy, under the effect of which he died, having in his last moments in vain requested the object of his adoration to see him once more :—

“ Clairon was at the time living in the *Rue de Bussy*, near the *Rue de Seine* and the *Abbaye St. Germain*s. On the evening of that day, the mother of Clairon and many friends were at supper with her. She had just finished a song, when, as the clock struck eleven, the most piercing cry succeeded. Its doleful modulation and its length astonished every one present. She fainted away, and remained in that state a considerable time. Some endeavoured to joke with her when she recovered, by saying that the signals of her rendezvous were rather too loud ; but the pallid hue of her countenance, and the tremour which remained, put an end to these remarks, and proved that she was ignorant of what it might be. She entreated some one of the party to remain with her during the night. Her friends reasoned with her on the nature of this cry ; and it was agreed for some of them to watch in the street, in order to ascertain, if it should be heard again, what was the cause and who the author of it.

“ Her friends, her neighbours, and even the police, heard the same cry, at the same hour, always underneath her windows, and appearing always to proceed from the air. She was convinced that it was made only for herself. She rarely supped in town ; but when she did, it was generally heard, and sometimes even in the streets, when she was returning home from any party. All Paris was acquainted with this history, and it was a subject of general conversation. After various scenes of this kind, it ceased for some months, and she imagined that she had got rid of it ; but she was mistaken.

“ Having proposed to accompany Madame Grandval to Versailles, to see a spectacle which was to be exhibited there, she found a difficulty in obtaining lodgings. At three o'clock in the morning, she offered that lady to partake of her bedroom, which contained two beds, that had been prepared for her in the avenue of St. Cloud. She accepted her proposal ; and when she got into bed, Clairon prepared to enter hers. Whilst her *femme-de-chambre* was undressing her, she said pleasantly to her, ‘ We are now at the end of the world : it is dreadful weather ; the cry would find a difficulty in reaching us here.’ It instantly pierced their ears. Madame Grandval imagined that the region below had thrown out all its terrors : she ran *en chemise* from the top to the bottom of the house ; and none in the house dared to close their eyes the remainder of the night.

“ Seven or eight days after, whilst in conversation with the society which generally surrounded her, when the clock had struck eleven, it was followed by the firing of a gun as it were directly into her windows. Every one heard the report, every one saw the fire, but the

window received no injury; and all concluded that some person had made an attempt upon her life, that he had failed, and that it would be necessary to take precautions for the future. One of her friends flew to M. de Marville, who was lieutenant of police, and his particular friend. They came immediately, and inspected the houses opposite to Clairon's. The street was filled with spies of all kinds; but all their vigilance was ineffectual. Her own house was thoroughly examined; and yet, notwithstanding every precaution, this noise was heard for three months, the light from the explosion was seen, striking always at the same hour, on the same pane of glass, and no one was ever able to discover whence it proceeded. This fact has been marked down in the registers of the police.

"She now began to be accustomed to this extraordinary phenomenon, when one evening, it being very hot, she opened the window, and, with a gentleman then present, went out upon the balcony. The clock struck eleven; the report went off, and they were both, from the shock, thrown into the apartment, where they were taken up for dead. The day following, being requested by Madame Dumesnil to be one of a party to a nocturnal feast, which was to be given at her house at the Barrière Blanche, she took a *fiacre* at eleven o'clock, with her *femme-de-chambre*. It was a bright moonlight night, and they arrived at the Boulevards, when her *femme-de-chambre* asked if it was not here that M. de S—— died. After all the accounts that they had given her, she said it ought to be (pointing with her forefinger) in one of those two houses directly opposite to us. From one of them, at that very instant, came the report of a gun similar to that which had pursued them: it passed across their coach, while the coachman, imagining they were attacked by thieves, drove on as fast as he could. They arrived at the place appointed, hardly possessing their senses and overwhelmed with terror. This was the last time of the fire-arms.

After these explosions there succeeded a most violent clapping of hands, given with a certain degree of time, and then redoubled. These applauses, to which she had been accustomed from the public, did not induce her at first to think much of them; but her friends did for her. One evening they imagined they were watched: it was eleven o'clock; the noise was made under her apartment. It was heard, but no one was to be seen; it could be nothing but a consequence of what had been experienced. To this succeeded melodious sounds; and it appeared as if a celestial voice accompanied her, which it frequently did, from the crossway of Bussy, and finished at her own door. At length every thing of the kind ceased, after a period of two years and a half."—vol. i. p. 222-228.

A lady who attended the unhappy lover on his death-bed, afterwards informed her of the following particulars:—

"His passion consumed him, and your last refusal hastened his death. He counted every minute, when, at half-past ten, his servant came to announce decidedly that you would not come. After a few moments' silence, he took my hand, and, with a force of despair which

terrified me, 'The barbarian!' he exclaimed, 'she shall gain nothing by her cruelty; I will pursue her even after my death, as I have persecuted her during my life!' I attempted to calm him;—but he was no more."—vol. i. p. 232.

It was probably not long after the fall of Mademoiselle Clairon, that Lady Craven found it necessary to appear in man's clothes. The dilemma in which she was placed thereby is amusing:—

"I remember, when I was obliged to have a Spanish male dress made for me, the Court tailor brought the clothes for me to try; the waistcoat was at least four inches too long for me; my breeches were not long enough; and when I pointed out to him repeatedly that it would be impossible for me to wear them, he said, "*Ca, il fait rien!*"—"Comment?" said I with great emphasis: he replied, "*Si la culotte est trop courte, la veste est trop longue, et cela revient à la même chose;*" and as I knew nothing could drive it out of his head, I sent him away, gave my suit of clothes to another performer, and had quite a new one made for me.

"At another time, a nobleman of the Court, looking at some copies that were hanging in my room of the Cardinal Virtues, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds for the university of Oxford, asked me what they were; to which I answered, '*Les Vertus Cardinales, copiées en petit d'après ceux en grand, que le Chevalier Reynolds avait fait.*' After looking at them some time, he said, '*Sont-ce des Cardinaux de Rome ou des Evêques Anglais, car ils sont de très-belles figures?*'"—vol. i. pp. 258, 259.

She had been asked at Florence before this by a Frenchman of distinction, whether Sir Joshua Reynolds built St. Paul's cathedral.

"Murder and assassination," remarks her ladyship, in some very general reflections, which occupy a greater part of her seventh chapter, "are not only destructive in themselves, but, if possible, still more destructive in their consequences. The practice of shedding blood unjustly, and often wantonly, blunts conscience, and paves the way to every crime. This observation is verified in the ancient Greeks." Again: "There is no moral principle more evident, than that punishment can only be inflicted with justice upon the guilty; and yet in Greece (alas! for Greece once more) the involving of the innocent with the guilty, in the same punishment, was authorized even by a positive law."—"Money is a species of property of such extensive use, as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be industrious; and the beautiful productions of industry and art, rousing the imagination, excite a violent desire for fine houses, ornamented grounds, and every thing gay and splendid." "Hesiod says, that God has placed labour as a guard to virtue. Integrity, therefore, ought to be found amongst the industrious. I approve of every regulation that tends to prevent idleness." We are not very deeply versed in *political economy*; but all this

sounds to us like most of the very good writing which we have seen in that notable science. If it does not belong to this division of knowledge, we are unable to classify it elsewhere.

The Margrave wished Lady Craven to accompany him to Naples, and she "of course acceded to his proposition." There she gained the heart of the Queen; and at the same time, by her adroitness in killing game, by her skill in horsemanship, and by her indifference to her person in rain, wind, or fatigue, endeared herself much to the King. The residence at Naples was interrupted by the discovery of a plot at Anspach, which induced the Margrave to repair to Berlin, *incog.* Lady Craven at his request was one of the party. Of what passed in his interview with the King of Prussia, we are not informed; but the Margrave on his return to his own dominions, first deposited Lady Craven safe in her English garden at Triesdorf; then without sitting down, ran to his stables, ordered a horse to be saddled, rode at full gallop to Anspach, caught his *Secrétaire de Cabinet* M. Schimdt, ill in bed, horsewhipped him, saying, "you rascal give me the key of your bureau," opened all the drawers, took one letter out, showed it to Lady Craven and terminated the conspiracy. During this visit at Berlin, and another under the pretext of the Carnival, the Margrave negotiated the cession of his dominions to the King of Prussia.

The first Margravine and Lord Craven very opportunely died within six months of each other. "Without fear or remorse," Lady Craven immediately (within six weeks) accepted the hand of the Margrave. Their nuptials were celebrated at Lisbon on their route to England, and "attended by all the English naval officers, who were quite delighted to attend as witnesses." Mr. Walpole, the English minister, did not, however, pay his respects to her ladyship on this or any other occasion. At Madrid, her reception was most flattering. The Spaniards one and all, "seemed to try (which was not necessary) to make the Margrave feel the value of his wife." The Margravine's residence in this Capital after her marriage, affords her an opportunity of concluding her first volume, by a detail of the chief events of Buonaparte's invasion of Spain since her visit, by which she ingeniously profits.

Drawn by eight fine horses from the royal stud, over the sandy plains of Prussia, the bride and bridegroom once again reached Berlin, and here, with similar dexterity, we are presented with a history of Frederic the Great. The patronage which this monarch afforded to *les esprits forts* made Berlin, as we are assured, "the asylum of the persecuted, and the nursery of truth." So also the object of the *Illuminés* was "to unveil

the mysteries of superstition, to enlighten mankind, and to render them happy ;"—“ to extend the sphere of knowledge universally, not so much in depth as on the surface ; (are we reading of *Mechanics’ Institutes* and *London Universities* ?) to introduce reason and good sense ; to ameliorate the condition of men by an insensible operation ;”—“ to abolish the slavery of despotism, to destroy ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to favour the liberty of the press, and to unveil mysteries of every description.” Hence we are naturally led on to Freemasonry, and the *ὑπὸνέτοι* who regard the secrets of that order with gaping wonderment, may have their curiosity satisfied by the Margravine of Anspach, provided they have intelligence enough to develope the esoteric meaning of her dark oracles.

“ As no woman can possibly be a mason, every woman has a right to endeavour to penetrate the mystery. It is admitted that Adam was the first mason : he founded the first lodge—he had all the instruments necessary for the purpose—he produced the mortar ;—without Eve there would have been no lodge. Where is the mystery of masonry, if the idea be followed up ? Having created the lodge, he made members for it : those members created others, and the society extended over the globe ; and while the globe exists, members will never be wanting. Over this secret I will throw the apron.”—vol. ii. pp. 27, 28.

The Margravine considers Voltaire’s *Pucelle d’Orleans* to be the *Hudibras* of French poetry. We have no doubt that her Serene Highness is well acquainted with the first of these productions, but from the parallel which she establishes, we may be permitted to question whether she has ever read the last. Of the philosopher of Ferney she has recorded some interesting traits. He wore a dirty dressing gown, and an unpowdered tie wig, with a cap over it ; his *salle à manger* was very nasty, and his servants often waited in their waistcoats. While writing, he sat with his back to the fire, probably to secure his eyes ; at table he never came in with the company, and on entering he rearranged all the dishes, which, as the Margravine pointedly observes, showed a kind of monarchical spirit in this great man. He kept hawks, and amused himself by seeing them tear up his domestic hens and chickens ; his mistakes were pardonable errors, for he did not attend to trifles ; he was fond of hunting spiders ; also of eating oranges, dates, and pomegranates. He drove a whisky, sometimes at an immense rate, and then all at once he would fall into a slow solemn pace, as if he were composing some great work ; finally, he “ tore the *mask* of superstition from the human mind ; that dreadful *chain* which fetters the understanding, and which is imposed on us by nurses in our infancy.”

The reception of the Margravine on her return to England, was not equally brilliant with that which had been afforded her in foreign Capitals. But then our nation has always been distinguished by a homebred illiberality. A letter was put into her hands signed by her three eldest daughters, stating that "With due deference to the Margravine of Anspach, the Miss Cravens inform her, that out of respect to their father, they cannot wait upon her." Lord Craven, her eldest son, totally neglected her. Lord Berkeley, her brother, wrote her a letter filled with reproaches. The Queen refused to receive her at Court *as Margravine*, upon which her Serene Highness (adopting a course which has since been imitated by the Princess Olive) drew up an appeal to the House of Lords, which (like herself) was *not* presented. When the Emperor Francis created the Margravine, Princess Berkeley of the Holy Roman Empire, her application for reception at Court was renewed; but to this no answer was returned. When his present Majesty assumed the Regency, the Margravine asked an audience first as Princess Berkeley, and then as a Peeress of England. She was informed that her requests were innovations.

Under these mortifications, the Margravine consoled herself by her taste for music and poetry, and her "style of imagination in writing chastened by experience." She wrote *petites pièces* for the theatre in Brandenburgh-house, she composed various airs of music, she invented *fêtes* to amuse the Margrave, and she laid out with her own hands the willows and the poplars, which used to weep and wave so picturesquely over the melancholy mud banks at Hammersmith.

Neither the Margrave nor Margravine when in society ever talked politics, religion, or love. Of the Margravine's countenance Madame de Vacluse once said, *J'ai vu des femmes plus belles, peut-être; mais, pour sa physiognomie, Grand Dieu! j'ai lu, j'ai écrit, beaucoup de Romans, mais elle les a tous dans sa physiognomie*, which, to us at least, conveys a notion that the good French lady thought the Margravine's face something like a circulating library. The Margravine was sadly afraid that Lord Macartney would tell Johnson that she wrote poetry; for Johnson admired her so much as once to assure her that she could push a drunken man into the kennel with her finger, and once again that "the little he perceived" in her conversation pleased him. If her Highness's conversation is as plain as her style of writing, Johnson might have perceived a good deal in it. The anecdotes printed in vol. ii. pp. 123, 124, will explain our meaning. We cannot venture to transfer these to our own pages, but the following is couched in a foreign language, and though *un peu*

forte for a lady's pen, may create less scandal than those to which we cannot do more than point :

"When Italian music first began to be fashionable in England, a *Soprano* married a female singer of the opera. The *virtuosa*, two months after her marriage, declared to her husband that she was in expectation of becoming a mother. "*Cara consorte*," said the happy man, "*questa non me l'aspettava*. *Nulladimeno*," added he, "*si vede oggi tante cose straordinarie nel matrimonio, che si vuol vedere anche questa*."—vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.

In 1806, when the Margravine was at Southampton, she saw, from her back window, Lord Landsdowne overset in a pleasure boat.

"I was so alarmed for his Lordship's safety, and terrified at his danger, that I ordered all my servants to run up to the Marchioness, who was residing at her castle, to inform her of the catastrophe, and urge her to hasten down to the shore and render him assistance.

My presence of mind at the same time induced me to order out my boats instantly to rescue the party from a watery grave. I had the satisfaction of seeing the Marquis return in safety, with his friends, although completely wet, having remained in the water more than an hour. I had previously prepared wine, to refresh the drenched experimentalists.—vol. ii. pp. 176, 177.

It was very kind to prevent the Marquess from catching cold, but why was it necessary first to frighten the Marchioness out of her wits?

The Margrave and Margravine continued to divide their time between Brandenburgh-house and Benham, "in every enjoyment which human life could afford." But alas! all human enjoyments have their close; the Margrave was approaching to the age of man, and duly aware of the uncertainty of his longer existence, he obligingly prepared the Margravine for his probable demise with an unexampled dexterity of tenderness.

"He had a favourite grey horse, which was to run for the Derby, and which, from his own and the public opinion, there was every reason to believe was likely to gain the stakes of that year. One morning he called me to him, and with much earnestness said, he had one favour to beg of me, if he should not be alive in the spring when those races were to take place, 'If I should be taken from you,' said he, 'let me entreat of you on no account to be persuaded by any one to withdraw the grey horse from the course, as I am certain, if fairly used, he will win the Derby.' I begged of him not to talk in such a manner, as I hoped he would live to see his horse come off victorious that year, and live to see many others. I perceived, from the earnestness of his manner, that he had something more upon his mind; when he informed me that he was aware that he had a complaint which would baffle the skill of the faculty, and that he

was resigned to his fate, whenever he should be called away.”—vol. ii. pp. 370, 371.

In strict accordance with this fatal presentiment the Margrave really did die, and his widow devotes a sufficient number of pages to his eulogy, concluding with an apostrophic interrogation which no one can answer so well as herself;—“ Could I do less for such a man than accept his hand ?”

After the battle of Waterloo the Margravine resided for a short time at Naples. In the summer of last year she returned to England and borrowed two marquées of the Duke of York ; with a deserved panegyric upon whom, and upon his present Majesty, these memoirs concludes.

Our readers will perceive that we have endeavoured as much as possible to let the Margravine of Anspach speak for herself. Over the latter half of her second volume we have proceeded at a rapid pace, for it embraces a much wider field than our limits will permit us to enter upon. After describing the motives which induced her Serene Highness to commence the study of history, merely because she considered it as “ a most interesting pursuit,” giving us “ a picture of the world of which we form a part ;” she expatiates after the manner of Sir Walter Raleigh and Rollin, though not under a strict chronological arrangement, on the fortune of divers nations, persons, and things. Thus we are presented with a history of the French revolution, of womankind in general, of Queen Elizabeth in particular, of love, of the female line of the house of Brunswick, of Catharine II. of Russia, of Margaret Roper, of Henry VIII., of the Constable de Bourbon, of Cardinals Richelieu, and De Retz, of the Earl of Chatham and Mr. Pitt, of Colonel O’Kelly, Charles XII., Horne Tooke, and Buonaparte. Of the last we are told that he wholly disapproved of the murder of the Duc d’Enghien, that when he heard the intelligence of it he was so overwhelmed with despair that “ *he attempted to destroy himself,*” and that “ Josephine was obliged to have every instrument which could be used for such a purpose concealed from him, and his sword and pistols removed from his sight.” The paroxysm lasted for no less than fifteen days. But the Margravine is not always quite correct in her details of secret history, or her literary illustrations. She assures us that Josephine had been married to the Marquis Beauharnois, and she quotes from the *Henriade* as if it were written in stanzas. These are small blemishes however ; and can but little detract from the merit of two volumes which may securely be pronounced without a parallel in modesty, accuracy, veracity, originality, delicacy, and good taste.

- ART. VI.—1. *An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation, with Notices of above Three Thousand British Edifices, preceded by a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders.* By Thomas Rickman, Architect. 3d Edition, 8vo. London and Liverpool. 1825.
- 2.—*Specimens of Gothic Architecture selected from various ancient Edifices in England, consisting of Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Parts at large, calculated to exemplify the various Styles, and the practical Construction of this Class of admired Architecture. Accompanied by Historical and Descriptive Accounts.* By A. Pugin, Architect, vol. 1 and 2, 4to. London, 1821 and 1823.
- 3.—*Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, traced and deduced from the ancient Edifices of Germany, with References to those of England, &c. from the Eighth to the Sixteenth Centuries.* By Dr. George Möller, first Architect to the Grand Duke of Hesse, &c. Translated from the German. Priestly and Weale, 12mo. London, 1824.
- 4.—*Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, including Screens, Fonts, Monuments, &c. &c.* By John Preston Neale and John Le Keux, with *Historical and Architectural Descriptions*, 8vo. and 4to. London, 1824, &c.
- 5.—*History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain. Illustrated with a Series of highly finished Engravings.* By James and H. S. Storer. 4 vols. 4to and 8vo. London, 1814.

THERE are various grounds upon which the study of Gothic architecture may claim a high degree of importance among the pursuits and researches of the present age. To the historian and the topographer it frequently affords the only conclusive evidence of the accuracy or inaccuracy of traditional assertion; a guide which generally makes up by confidence that which is deficient in tangible proof. Architects are now frequently called upon to erect places of religious worship, or even ordinary domestic buildings, in that very style to which the name of Gothic was given as a designation of reproach. It is almost (would that we could say it is quite) admitted, that uniformity of design, with the original style and plan, ought to prevail in the necessary repairs which our parochial churches are daily requiring; and it is evident that not even the smallest portion of this design can be

carried into effect, without a patient study of the most minute points of architectural detail. Hence the labour of the scale, the compasses, and the drawing pen. Gothic architecture may aptly be compared to one of the dead languages. If it be desirable to understand the remaining manuscripts that are written in it, all its rules of construction must be studied. If again we would compose a work upon its existing models, we must be careful to have authority for every member which we introduce. We regard a moulding of incorrect form or proportion in the terrific light of a *false quantity* in a copy of verses. Again, as in language, the idioms of different periods or ages must not be confounded and used simultaneously; so in architectural design even the most minute ornament which belongs to one period, must never intrude itself into a design of which the leading features belong to some earlier or later era. It seems strange that it should be at all necessary to urge those maxims of uniformity, which have in the general principle been so universally admitted and acted upon, in the imitations of Grecian architecture. But be the cause what it may, daily observation upon the efforts in the Gothic style calls upon us thus to appeal to the sound principles of taste. The passage is too trite for quotation, but the opening lines of Horace's "Art of Poetry" must constantly occur to the minds of those who enter upon a minute survey of many of our modern Gothic piles.

With these principles in view, we proceed to call the attention of our readers to several very interesting publications on architectural subjects. The two first on our list may with convenience be brought under notice at the same time. Mr. Rickman's is intended as an elementary treatise for general instruction. Mr. Pugin's as a work of reference for the architect; and each is good of its kind. The first pages of Mr. Rickman's book are devoted to a very compressed synopsis of the terms used in Grecian and Italian architecture. The author then proceeds to the main object of the work, "An attempt to lay down rules for the discrimination of the periods and styles of Gothic architecture in this country." Few and widely scattered are the fragments of information which the writings of our early annalists afford in aid of such researches. These have, however, been collected with avidity by many of our writers, but it has not fallen within Mr. Rickman's plan to make use of evidence of this nature. His scheme consists in observing the distinguishing features in buildings of known date, and then applying these characteristics to ascertain the period at which any others may have been erected. Such, at least, is the view we take of his performance; although perhaps little more meets the eye, than

that he had laid down classes of characteristic marks, which appear to be referable to certain assumed periods; and then has described a very considerable number of ancient edifices in the terms of a nomenclature so deduced. He has performed this task with a most praiseworthy degree of industry and with corresponding accuracy of judgment.

The two volumes of Mr. Pugin's work contain short but excellent prefatory dissertations, which, as the advertisement informs us, are written in common with the rest of the letter-press by Mr. E. J. Willson, of Lincoln. To these prefaces we looked with interest, from a vivid recollection of the pleasure we had experienced in examining an admirable restoration executed by this gentleman, upon the late but beautiful chapel of Bishop Longland, in Lincoln cathedral. The second of these dissertations contains remarks upon the styles of different periods, with observations upon the terms by which they are designated. It has not fallen in with the purpose of either of our writers, to enter upon any elaborate examination of the various theories which have been brought forward to account for the origin of the pointed arch. Neither have they entered the lists as very decided partisans of any of those champions who have claimed, for different nations of the earth, the honour of this invention.

We shall transcribe Mr. Rickman's appropriation of styles and periods, and then examine Mr. Willson's proposed variations upon some parts of that plan:—

“It may be necessary to state, that though many writers speak of Saxon buildings, those which they describe as such are either known to be Norman, or are so like them that there is no real distinction. But it is most likely that in some obscure country church, some real Saxon work of a much earlier date may exist; hitherto, however, none has been ascertained to be of so great an age.”—p. 45.

Mr. Rickman's appropriation of styles is as follows:—

“1. The *Norman Style*, which prevailed to the end of the reign of Henry II. in 1189, distinguished by its arches being generally semi-circular, though sometimes pointed with bold and rude ornaments. This style seems to have commenced before the conquest, but we have no remains really known to be more than a very few years older.

“2. The *Early English Style*, reaching to the end of the reign of Edward I. in 1307; distinguished by pointed arches, and long narrow windows without mullions; and a peculiar ornament, which, from its resemblance to the teeth of a shark, we shall hereafter call the toothed ornament.

“3. *Decorated English*, reaching to the end of the reign of Edward III. in 1377, and perhaps from ten to fifteen years longer. This style

is distinguished by its large windows, which have pointed arches divided by mullions, and the tracery in flowing lines forming circles, arches, and other figures, not running perpendicularly; its ornaments numerous and very delicately carved.

“*Perpendicular English.* This is the last style, and appears to have been in use, though much debased, even as far as 1630 or 1640, but only in additions. Probably the latest whole building is not later than Henry VIII. The name clearly designates this style, for the mullions of the windows and the ornamental panellings run in perpendicular lines, and form a complete distinction from the last style; and many buildings of this are so crowded with ornament as to destroy the beauty of the design. The carvings are generally very delicately executed.”—p. 45.

It has been argued by many writers, but nowhere more ably than in the works of Mr. Whittington and Mr. Gunn, that the progress of architecture throughout Europe from the time of Constantine to about the commencement of the twelfth century, consisted of little else than a series of imitations of Roman works. These imitations were more or less faithful in proportion to the communication of the country or place wherein the architect was employed, with the examples of better times or more approved masters. Still it appears from all that we can learn of the few vestiges of edifices of the eighth and two succeeding centuries which yet remain in France and Germany, though altered, and in fact owing their preservation to their having formed the sub-structure upon which later works are erected, that in general features the circular arch and the massive column underwent no change during that period, save in slight matters of proportion and ornamental decoration. Thus it is, that as the architecture of the Saxon age in this country, and of the Normans in Normandy and subsequently in England, are but twins born of the same parent, the resemblance is very strong between them. In fact, although we have but few specimens, and those of uncertain appropriation to Saxon times in this country, yet it seems to be sufficiently clear that the Norman conquest effected no further change in the architecture of England, than that which is recognised in the increasing lightness of proportion, arising from the gradual progress of improvement throughout the whole of civilized Europe.

The period at which this style fell into disuse is stated both by Mr. Willson and Mr. Rickman to be about the close of Henry II.'s reign. Objections have been brought against the term *Saxon* which had been applied to this style, on the ground that it was incorrect thus to designate the works of Normans subsequent to the conquest. The full force of these we admit; but we would

also urge that *Norman* cannot be a correct term to apply to a style neither invented by, nor peculiar to, the architects of Normandy. On these grounds we willingly adopt the term *Romanesque* proposed by Mr. Gunn in his elaborate essay, and are happy to find that, although he has not altogether adopted it in his work, Mr. Willson concurs with us (Pugin, vol. ii. note, p. xii.) in admitting its happy appropriation.

With regard to the duration of the subsequent style, the *Early English* of Mr. Rickman, our two authors do not quite agree. Nor is this a fact of importance; for it is obvious that all such classifications can only attempt to fix an approximate date for general purposes. Mr. Rickman makes this style to end with the death of Edward I., while Mr. Willson says—

“It is impossible to ascertain exact periods for this and the succeeding changes of style; but as the reigns of certain kings coincide with sufficient exactness to the times when each style became known, their periods have been computed from the accession of the contemporary kings of England. This period comprehends the reigns of Richard I., John, and Henry III.”—*Pugin*, vol. ii. p. xii.

There is, however, between these gentlemen a more important subject of discussion in the name to be given to this style. We say important, because correct and universally understood nomenclature, is the very soul of accurate verbal description. The term “*Early English*” Mr. Willson does not adopt. In this we agree with him; for in doing so we might be thought to assume, as some writers have done, that the honour of the invention of the pointed arch is due to England. We are not of this creed; for we think that Mr. Whittington has established the superior claim of France. On this point Mr. Willson says:—

“The several appellations of *Early Gothic*, *Simple Gothic*, *Lancet arch Gothic*, *English*, and *Early English*, have been given to this style. Perhaps the description of this, as well as of the other styles, would be conveyed in the most certain and simple manner by reference to some well-known and authentic example. Thus, Salisbury cathedral being the most complete specimen of this style, there could be nothing obscure, nor improper, in describing any building of similar character as ‘of the Salisbury style.’”

Now, although Mr. Willson has foreseen and fairly met the probable objection to his proposed term, we are not quite convinced that he has overcome it. We still think that the *Salisbury Style* would convey to a foreigner either no information at all, or else that it might imply an assumption in favour of that cathedral which no prudent writer would choose to hazard. To say nothing

of the foreign specimens, there are several instances in this country of the use of the pointed arch prior to the building of Salisbury cathedral.

But those who object to a term may perhaps fairly be called upon to endeavour to produce a better. We confess that we are unable to propose one that is quite satisfactory even to ourselves. On the whole we are inclined to revert to the old phrase, "*Early Gothic*." *Gothic* itself, as applied to the style in general, may be objected to as having been a term of reproach. Such it was intended when first introduced; but all ideas of contempt have long ceased to attach to so beautiful an effort of human skill, and even the hypothesis which would have marked the origin of the science, by the application of this name, has now we believe few or no advocates remaining. The phrase "*Gothic Architecture*" conveys no reproach; does not necessarily imply any hypothetical belief; and as it seems confined by universal consent to that style which, however otherwise varied, is ever characterised by the pointed arch, we see no reason why the first efforts in the developement of this style should not be called *Early Gothic*.

For the period of the subsequent style which Mr. Rickman calls *Decorated*, he selects the reigns of Edward II. and III., while Mr. Willson includes also the reign of Edward I. On the designation of this style the latter writer says—

"That part of Lincoln minster which extends its length beyond the upper transept, is incomparably the richest specimen in England of its date; and this profusion of ornaments will show the futility of the terms *Ornamented*, *Decorated*, *Florid*, &c. &c., intended to characterise the later styles. York nave is not much later in date; the nave and choir of Exeter also belong to this style, and exhibit beautiful patterns of tracery in the windows."—*Note*, p. xiii.

There is this strong objection to the terms *Decorated*, *Florid*, &c.; they have been applied even by contemporary writers to widely differing styles. The taste of some persons leads them to prefer the style of the nave of Exeter cathedral, while the taste of others is more gratified by Henry VII. or King's College chapel. Both styles are highly ornamented, and hence it has happened that these brilliant terms of description have at times been applied to both styles of building. Nothing short of a new term can extricate us from the confusion arising from this source; and as Mr. Willson has not proposed any corresponding phrase, we venture to offer one. Perhaps the most marked distinction between this and the succeeding style, is to be recognised in the tracery of the windows. In the earlier, all this tracing consists of curves, while in the later every one must have remarked that it is entirely

formed of right lines. Might we not apply the term *Curvilinear Style* to the former? There would be this advantage at least in the term, that it would be understood by persons of every country.

We come now to Mr. Rickman's "*Perpendicular English*" style, and here again we shall be found in the class of objectors. We quote, however, Mr. Willson's words rather than make use of our own:—

"The term *perpendicular* originated with Mr. Thomas Rickman, architect of Liverpool, (Birmingham,) who applied it to all English buildings erected after the accession of king Richard II. down to the final disuse of the pointed arch."

The origin of the term is quoted, as in our first extract from Rickman, and the passage is continued:—

"The sound of this term seems rather barbarous at first; but the analogy on which it is formed is fair and scientific. The extent of its application by Mr. R. seems liable to certain objections, founded on the striking difference of style which the obtuse arch produced after the middle of the fifteenth century; a difference which is strangely overlooked in his '*Discrimination*' of styles."—p. xiv. vol. ii.

With a very slight alteration, however, the term might become an excellent one. It is not merely the vertical mullions that run in straight lines, but the horizontal transoms also. In short, an elaborate window of this style is a series of panels formed by perpendicular and horizontal right lines. Hence we would call this the "*Rectilinear Style*."

The distinction pointed out by Mr. Willson of two eras in this style is, we think, just and necessary; and for these the terms of *early* and *late rectilinear* might be employed. The transition from one to the other is supposed to be most marked about the year 1460.

We have thus examined, with some degree of care, the construction of that scale by the application of which these authors have enabled us to ascertain the ages of ancient edifices. Mr. Rickman proceeds to describe the peculiarities of each style and period under the following heads:—"Doors, Windows, Arches, Piers, Buttresses, Tablets, Niches, and Ornamental Arches or Panels, Ornamental Carvings, Steeples, Battlements, Roofs, Fonts, and Porches."

Through these ramifications it is impossible that we should follow him here in detail; but we must express our high degree of satisfaction at the manner in which he has executed his task. We feel that he has produced the best elementary book which has appeared

upon this subject. The admirable essays by most able antiquaries which we have long possessed were dissertations upon disputed points, and therefore must have been deficient in interest to the generality of readers, who would be unable to appreciate the diligence, learning, or ingenuity of the writers. The plates are neat and illustrative. More than half the book consists of short descriptive notices (arranged by counties) of more than three thousand of the churches of England. This part of the work is of inestimable value to the architectural tourist, and we can speak from personal experience of its general accuracy. With some care we might be able to point out a few, but those venial instances, in which the report of others seems to have misled Mr. Rickman in his description of places which he has not visited in person.

The introductory matter prefixed to the first volume of Mr. Pugin's book, contains a short sketch of the revival of Gothic architecture in this country. The earliest efforts of this nature seem to have been exerted in repairs or additions made to ancient structures of the Gothic style, in which, for the sake of harmony, the same features were adopted, though the task was by no means suited either to the acquired knowledge of the architects, or to the taste of the age. Such are the unfortunate towers of Westminster Abbey, erected by Sir Christopher Wren, though in other instances—as at Salisbury, Winchester, and Lincoln (cloisters)—that celebrated architect did not scruple to introduce Italian work in the midst of Gothic. Happily in the two former cases it has been subsequently removed. A few wretched imitations gradually found their way into our cathedrals; but in these points public taste experienced considerable amendment during the reign of George III. Horace Walpole might claim the honour of having been the author of the revival of the Gothic style for domestic purposes. His writings and example called public attention to the subject; and he and some of his followers, setting the laws of uniformity at defiance, voluntarily undertook the erection of Gothic dwelling-houses.

“Mr. James Wyatt, whose skill in Grecian architecture had long before placed him at the head of his profession, was consulted in 1782 by Thomas Barrett, Esq., for the improvement of his seat at Lee, near Canterbury. Wyatt designed several plans, some Grecian, some Gothic. The latter was adopted; and the success of the imitation soon made both the place and the architect highly celebrated. This was Mr. Wyatt's first work in the style of our old English architecture; and, as such, it deserves particular notice, although he afterwards produced several much more sumptuous specimens of that style.”—*Pugin*, vol. i. p. xvii.

This performance at Lee obtained a very high degree of

applause from Mr. Walpole; and with due regard had to the state of the science at that time, the commendation does not seem to have been undeserved. At least, we look back with satisfaction upon any efforts which in their ultimate result tended to restore one of the most cultivated and perfect of the sciences to its just rank in the scale of human knowledge. Still, it must be confessed, that Wyatt left many specimens of most unfortunate design in our cathedrals, of which, as a striking instance, we may cite the west end of Hereford. The gradual advancement towards a more correct taste has however removed some, and will, we doubt not, ere long effect the removal of more of such anomalous specimens.

During the period intervening between the Gothic works of Mr. Wyatt and the present time, we fear that our science has not made those advances towards accuracy which might have been hoped for and expected. Doubtless every Englishman may assert his right to build his house in whatsoever shape is most pleasing to his fancy; but with our feelings about consistency of design, and uniformity of period, in a building which sets out by professing to be an imitation of the work of some given age, we cannot but experience regret when we see, as at the magnificent castle of Belvoir, windows of Romanesque character placed over others with arches from four centres, in imitation of the work of the fifteenth century. In gazing upon the walls of a cathedral or castle, we expect to read, as it were, a historic record. If the building be in reality an old one, it stands in the light of a genuine history; if new, but after ancient models, it is a fiction; but with the "verisimile" preserved, it still presents a pleasing effort of ingenuity. The history told by the massive round tower of Belvoir, is that a Norman early in the twelfth century did "conyngely" construct a tower poised high in air, but without any base for it to stand upon; and that some future possessor in the fifteenth century, either doubting its security or disliking its appearance, built the lower part for the support of the upper.

A similar confusion of styles is in some degree apparent in the new county courts recently erected at Lincoln.

It is chiefly in a tendency to correct errors of this sort, that the merit of Mr. Pugin's work consists. He professes to give accurate drawings, not only of the appearance, but also of the detail of each specimen, fitted to the artist's hand. For such a purpose, exactness in the measurement is indispensable; and although it is impossible for us to judge of this in all his drawings, there are many respecting which no doubt can be entertained, and we hope that the obvious utility of the work may lead to its further extension.

The details of some Gothic ornaments to be cast in iron have

been given by Mr. Cottingham, to whom also we are indebted for a beautiful publication on Henry VII.'s chapel. There are cases in which cast-iron may be employed with great advantage, especially in the minute ornaments of interior work. We have seen a very elegant rood-loft restored, by having casts made from the remaining fragments of similar patterns, to supply deficiencies in the wood carving. In more massive work it seems desirable to make the iron-work hollow, in order that the mass be not too heavy, and that just proportions may at the same time be preserved. In the costly Gothic mansion of Earl Grosvenor, at Eaton, there are mullions of windows cast in iron, which do not seem to be of sufficient substance in proportion to the openings. It may be a good plan, both for durability and economy, where many windows are required of the same pattern, to cast the frames, &c. in iron; but such proportions should always be preserved as that the appearance may be exactly that of the stone ones they profess to imitate.

There is appended to this work a glossary of ancient terms connected with architecture. This also is Mr. Willson's task; and from the curious information which is thus collected into one view, we can only regret that it is not more extended. We would even hint that these few pages might form a good basis for a small separate work.

The small volume next occurring is an English translation of the introductory essay prefixed to a very splendid German architectural work, the "*Denkmaehler der Deutschen Baukunst. Dargestellt George Von Möller:*" folio, Darmstadt, 1821, &c. Memorials of German Architecture, &c. Unquestionably the chief interest of this great work arises from the plates, in which we have a series of eighty-four lithographic views, designed to illustrate the progress of architecture in Germany from the earliest authenticated specimens down to the present time; and in so doing the author has glanced at the disputed questions of the origin of the pointed arch and Gothic architecture. Whatever Dr. Möller's views may be, and how much or how little soever he may have proved in his essay, the plates at least are a valuable addition to our stock of architectural drawings: and although the coarseness of lithographic engraving be not well suited to the minutiae of architectural detail, yet by the magnitude of these plates this evil is in some degree removed. We shall hail with joy the day in which we can purchase, at the moderate price which lithographic engraving affords, equally good representations of the numerous and interesting architectural remains of this kingdom.

Of the preliminary discourse, which (possibly for brevity's sake)

is not very elaborate, we need only give a faint outline. The doctor at the outset adverts to a source of slight vexation, in which (having frequently experienced it ourselves) we duly sympathize with him. The cicerone of some ancient pile, or even the "Stranger's Complete Guide," which is more faithful than its shadow in abiding by every place of interest, will persist in asserting every building to be much older than the evidence of your senses will, from the style of its architecture, allow you to believe. Woe betide the luckless traveller who shall dare to doubt the accuracy, or question the knowledge of his living guide. Neither crypts nor relics will be unfolded to his infidel gaze; and if a cathedral verger be the offended dignitary, he will have no chance of obtaining a seat during service. It is in consequence of confounding the historical date of the first establishment of a church in any place with the erection of the existing fabric, that this mistake arises. To give a deeper interest in the building exhibited, the earliest historical record is chosen, and no account is made of successive destructions and rebuildings. Dr. Möller complains that in this manner the nave of Strasburg cathedral, in all the published accounts, is asserted to have been built by Bishop Werner in 1015-1028; when in fact it is a work of the thirteenth century.

Having disclaimed all theoretical views, and professing to avoid any attempt at expressive nomenclature, Dr. Möller says, "I shall content myself by designating the different styles of architecture by the century and the country in which they flourished." (p. 10.) He then proceeds to trace the "Romano-Grecian style of architecture from the introduction of Christianity, as the religion of the state in the Roman empire, to the eighth century, and its influence upon the architecture of the rest of Europe." To the conclusions at which he arrives with regard to that style of architecture, which in this country is sometimes called Saxon or Norman, we fully subscribe. He says:—

"I cannot possibly accede to the opinion of those connoisseurs who ascribe an individual and peculiar style of architecture to the Goths and Lombards in Italy and Spain, to the Franks in Gaul, and to the Saxons in England. On examining their works, it will be found that the Roman architecture of the fifth and sixth century, with some few modifications, prevailed in these countries; and the circumstance is easily explained. The conquerors did not exterminate the old inhabitants, but left to them exclusively, at least, in the first periods of their invasion, the practice of these arts of peace, upon which the rude warrior looked with contempt. And, even at a later time, the intimate connection with Rome, which the clergy, then the only civilized part

of the nation, entertained, and the increasing and generally continued use of the Latin language in the divine service, gave considerable influence to Roman arts and sciences. This must have been so much the more the case, from the constant obligation of all free men to devote themselves to war; whereby the practice of the arts was left almost exclusively to the clergy. The taste for fine proportions was almost entirely lost in these barbarous ages, and architecture became little less than a mere slavish imitation of earlier forms.”—p. 25.

The most important specimens mentioned as having existed in Germany from the eighth century, are the cathedral of Aix la Chapelle, and the portico of the convent of Lorsch near Worms. Of the ninth century, Dr. Möller professes not to know of any specimen; but of the tenth and eleventh, he quotes Spire, Worms, Mentz, and some others. Of more recent edifices, Germany can produce a copious and rich assemblage.

It was to be expected that we should not part from the doctor, without obtaining his opinions upon the origin of the pointed arch, and we looked with interest to that feature in his work. He has traced the science of architecture, or at least its elegancies, from Greece to Rome, and has in common with other writers allowed that its influence and habits spread themselves over northern and western Europe, and then inquires in what quarter the deviation from a horizontal architrave first took place. For the solution of this problem, he looks for a country in which the climate would require certain modifications of the original plan; where high roofs, and of course pointed gables, would be more efficient than the open porticoes of Greece, or the flat roofs of Italy and Portugal. “We shall be obliged,” says he, “to look for its origin in a country which has a northern climate, and in which the ancient style of building prevailed. Consequently, in the north of France, in England, or Germany.” With the specimens which France might produce in this contest, he professes himself imperfectly acquainted from the want of engravings; and having noticed but to reject the claims of the cathedral at Paris, (which in fact is nothing to the purpose, as it is of an earlier age,) he quietly excludes France from the arena, and prepares to combat the claims of England.

It is by no means our intention at present to enter warmly into this contest; the weapons we should need must be sought for among facts widely scattered throughout Europe, and the requisite space cannot here be afforded. We speak of the Gothic arch in its widest and most generally understood acceptation, not caring whether the archivolts rest against each other, or are locked by a keystone. Neither do we here give an opinion whether Germany did or did not precede England in the adoption

of a style of architecture, in which the pointed arch and the aspiring pinnacle are leading features. But, for truth's sake, we feel bound to show that Dr. Möller has (we believe unintentionally) stated the grounds of evidence on our side unfairly; and his reasoning at best is very unsatisfactory.

His argument is made to rest upon York cathedral, and shall be given in his own words:—

“Among the more ancient English churches, none is more celebrated than York Minster, which was built towards the latter end of the thirteenth and in the beginning of the fourteenth century. As the English lay such positive claims to the merit of having invented and improved the pointed arch style of the thirteenth century, a closer examination of this church will not be deemed superfluous. Its main forms, the low gable roof, and the flat towers, evidently belong to an originally southern style of building. The whole ornamental system, on the contrary, is of northern origin, and stands in evident contradiction to these leading forms. The pointed gable which crowns the middle window, and is repeated in all the ornaments of the edifice, does not harmonize with the flat gable of the roof. The flat roofs of the towers correspond as little with the other parts of the building; they should necessarily have terminated in pyramids, as all the smaller towers of the aspiring pillars have the pyramidal form. All this shows the incongruous combination of two completely heterogeneous styles of building, and prejudices us so much the less in behalf of the originality of the English ecclesiastical architecture, as at the time when the York Minster was built, the German churches already displayed the completest developement of the art.”—p. 80.

From this statement, we are to understand that the imperfections of design, which Dr. Möller thinks he discovers in York cathedral, prove that this style of building was then in its infancy in England, while it had attained to maturity in Germany. The comparative merit of design in the nave of York, when contrasted with Strasburg, Friburg, and Oppenheim, we leave to the decision of the doctor himself, when he shall have seen them all. But, to the question of priority; if Strasburg, Friburg, and Oppenheim be brought forward as specimens of the pointed arch previous to its existence in this country, and they, upon the doctor's own showing, were built in “the second half of the thirteenth, and in the beginning of the fourteenth centuries,” we would, in as few words as possible, remind him that the south or north ends of York transept have the pointed arch in great beauty, the former being the work of Walter Grey, about 1227, and the latter of John le Romaine, treasurer of the church, about 1269. Canterbury choir, also, (1175-1180,) and the whole of Salisbury cathedral, (1220-1258,) to say nothing of the disputed clerestory of St. Cross.

Dr. Möller has not said a word about any transition of style, or we might name portions both of cathedrals and abbeys in which the features are Romanesque, but the arches have a cusp or point, though scarcely perceptible. Such are Buildwas and some others of the twelfth century.

With regard to the flatness of the towers and the low pitch of some of the roofs, which, says our author, "evidently belongs to an originally southern style of building," and from which he would infer that in these points English architecture had not fully emancipated itself from the Romanesque style, the truth is, that they are the very latest parts of the edifice; and whether the "absence of pyramids," which our author considers a vestige of barbarism, be good or ill, it was the choice and style of practised architects more than a century advanced in point of time.

We come now to the work of Messrs. Neale and Le Keux. The title will sufficiently explain the intentions of the two distinguished artists who have undertaken to conduct the work.

It were preposterous to expect that such a publication should extend to any very considerable portion of the churches of this country. Although it would be difficult to find any really old church that should not afford to the antiquary or the architect some portion or fragment worthy of notice, yet the extent of the demand for engravings must be limited to the prevailing state of public taste in this department. It is obvious, that a judicious selection of the best specimens must be the first principle to be kept in view by the publishers. Generally speaking they have done so; but even in that portion of the work now before us, we think there are some plates which might easily have been devoted to more striking and worthy subjects. Of this Sawbridgeworth is an instance.

Except in the case of accurate specimens of Gothic detail, directed towards some specific object, we hold that views of the interiors of churches are quite uninteresting, and that a very few well-chosen cases might be quite sufficient to exhibit the picturesque effect of a fine Gothic interior. Hence it will not be surprising that we object to the views of the interiors of Sawbridgeworth, Little Malvern, and even of Croydon. The same observations apply to the multiplied views of Great Yarmouth.

We could have wished that tombs had not entered into the plan of the book at all, especially when we have before us the beautiful work now publishing by Mr. Blore. But it was the professed plan of the authors that tombs should share their attention. As long, therefore, as the specimens were selected

from those of high antiquity, as in that most interesting one from Ingham church, we could have little to find fault with. But we venture to protest against the whole race of Italian tombs: it cannot surely be said that they afford any illustration of "Gothic architecture;" and, in short, we look upon them with jealousy, as the progeny of that race of architects, by whom the Gothic style was at first debased, and, finally, ejected from this country.

Having said thus much rather in the way of "caveat" towards the future, than of censure upon the past, we turn to the more pleasing task of assuring our readers that the work is well worthy of extensive encouragement. The letter-press descriptions, though brief, are frequently well drawn up; and the execution of both drawings and plates, though on so small a scale, will be found to afford to the architect and antiquarian a most useful series of subjects for reference. We speak of the book at the present period, and hope that it will continue to display equal merit. We may perhaps be pardoned in expressing some little fear, that the number of engravings executed by the masterly burin of Le Keux appears rather on the decline.

The last work on our list is that of Messrs. Storers, which has been some time before the public. The drawings possess a very commendable degree of accuracy, and the plates are well executed. The descriptions are historically good, but in some cases the architectural notices are not sufficiently ample. Of this, a striking example is found in the pages devoted to the cathedrals of Oxford and Llandaff. We remark, that the letter-press for the latter part of the work is not from the same pen which prepared the former part; and that the change has not been an advantageous one for the subscribers. A few unimportant points might be selected from the descriptions for animadversion; but these will be easily overlooked by the candid reader, in consideration of the mass of graphic reference which these four volumes afford him.

Having thus given a brief account of the publications which we undertook to introduce to the notice of our readers, we must now request their attention to the very important subjects which recur again and again to the minds of those who either from duty or for amusement direct their thoughts to the ecclesiastical architecture of their country. The first is the necessity of taking some immediate and decisive steps for the preservation of our old churches.

In a country which has always been wealthy, and in which Gothic architecture was brought to a degree of perfection surpassed by no nation in the world, it cannot be a matter of sur-

prise that so many interesting and magnificent specimens should yet remain. The ruthless violence of civil warfare has, it is true, at times passed through our land, and the wild rage of fanaticism has been let loose to destroy and deface some of its most splendid ornaments; but after all, few of our cathedrals or churches exhibit those lasting evidences of siege and battery which must be remarked and lamented in many of the similar edifices of France and Germany. The suppression of the monasteries struck the heaviest blow upon the ecclesiastical architecture of this country. At that time many of the finest specimens became private property, and frequently being regarded only in the light of plunder, that was to be turned to the best account instantly, for fear of restitution, the buildings were sold for the sake of the materials. Others have shared the same fate, when in succession they became the property of needy individuals, devoid alike of taste and feeling. In other cases, the domestic buildings of the monastery were removed, and the church became parochial; but, stripped of its funds, it remained almost a burthen upon its parish, from possessing an extent of fabric which it was difficult and expensive to keep in repair. As instances from among many others, the abbey churches of Romsey, Christchurch, Beverley, Selby, and St. Alban's, may be mentioned. Beverley has probably greater resources than most, but it is greatly indebted to the care of the corporation, its temporal guardians, and to the taste of those presiding over its affairs. More than all is it indebted to the unwearied patience of its present master-mason, who proceeding on the just principles of strict restoration, seems to be producing work which even in the most minute points of detail is worthy of the best age of Gothic architecture. Selby, with a magnitude and richness of detail that might afford study for months, has, in some degree, participated in the renovating spirit of the present day. Christchurch, (Hants,) with most limited resources, and in fact dependent upon parochial liberality, has, by the zeal of its clergy, and the taste of neighbouring inhabitants, been enabled to obtain some very necessary repairs and cleansings, all conducted in the best manner. Of St. Alban's and Romsey we are not able to give the same satisfactory account. Too many of their windows are filled with bricks and mortar instead of glass, and the exterior of the latter is much decayed, and very incorrectly repaired. But the abbey churches form a small portion of our ecclesiastical edifices, and both in them and the cathedrals, though much is still required to be done, the spirit of improvement is at work, and we do not apprehend much further mischief. Our fine old parish churches are in a very different situation; and if some of the managers of

parliamentary committees would call for returns upon this subject, the public would be astonished at the devastation which has already taken place, and anxious to check its further progress. We speak advisedly when we say that such returns, if made in reply to a judicious set of queries, and accompanied with delineations of each church, would show, that without some important and speedy alteration in the mode of repairing churches, the beauties of our old ecclesiastical architecture will be swept from the face of the earth. That we may not be suspected of hazarding such assertions without due inquiry, we subjoin a list (which it would be very easy to enlarge) of churches which deserve the most careful preservation, and which are, or lately were, unrepaired or ill-repaired to a most deplorable extent.

In Bedfordshire, Dunstable priory and Luton are curious churches, with great want of repair in the exterior stone-work. Bebbington church in Cheshire, a beautiful composition, is rather dilapidated. In Derbyshire, the tower of All Saints, Derby, is very fine: but its details are gradually disappearing. The outside stone-work of Chesterfield church is in very bad condition. The highly ornamented east window of Dronfield church is stripped of its tracery, and partly bricked up. In Repton church there is a beautiful crypt, which is still neglected. Trinity church, originally the lady chapel of Ely cathedral, but now parochial, is in very great want of exterior repair. In Gloucestershire, part of Cirencester church and its fine porch are much decayed. Elliston, a curious Norman relic, is decaying for want of attention. Tewkesbury, although recently repaired, has the east window, and many monuments, in bad condition. The fine church of Romsey, in Hampshire, is very much out of repair. In Lancashire, the east window of Holland chapel, a very fine specimen of Mr. Rickman's *early decorated* style, has been unsafe for many years; and the chancel window of Winwick has lost all its tracery, which has been very fine. Lincolnshire formerly contained more magnificent churches than any other county, and the devastation has been proportionably extensive. Navenby and Leadenham, two very fine churches, have lost their tracery, and are losing their stone-work. The fine north porch of Grantham is much dilapidated. Kirton Lindsay is in a deplorable state of decay. Heckington, the finest specimen in the county, has been despoiled of the tracery of its north transept window. Horbling, Swayton, Morton, Hacuoby, and Bourne, all very handsome, have many portions decayed and dilapidated. At Ripingale, the south chancel, containing some of the finest *decorated* monuments in England, is used for a boys' school room, and treated accordingly. At Helpringham

and Gosberton similar evils exist. The fine church of St. Mary's, Stamford, has lost some portion of its exterior stone-work; and the west entrance to Crowland abbey, which is as handsome as any thing of the kind in this country, is in such a state that the first frost may be expected to throw it down. In Norfolk, St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, is despoiled of its pinnacles, and patched; and St. Nicholas chapel, Lynn. The church of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire was extremely fine, but has lost much of its stone-work. In Oxfordshire, the windows of Adderbury have been deprived of their fine tracery; and the curious church of Burford much decayed. In Rutlandshire, Great Casterton has a good church in very bad condition, while Little Casterton has an inferior church, but so well repaired by the Rev. E. Twopenny, that it is quite a model of what may be done even at a very small expense. The abbey church at Bath is closely surrounded by houses and despoiled of pinnacles. St. Mary's, Stafford, a fine church, is very much decayed; and the windows of Tamworth church have lost their tracery. The tower of Lavenham, Suffolk, has been despoiled of its pinnacles. In Sussex, Arundel chancel is in a wretched state of dirt and dilapidation, but we learn with pleasure that there is a prospect of its immediate restoration. Rye church is in a very bad condition, and part of it turned into workshops and store-rooms for the paupers of the parish. In Warwickshire, the stone-work of St. Michael's, and St. John's, Coventry, is sadly decayed; and the same may be said of Brails, Southam, and Stratford. Worcestershire presents Aldminster, St. Andrew Droitwich, Great Hampton, Kidderminster, St. John's Bedwardine, Pershore, and Little Malvern, all of which contain decayed parts, or windows despoiled of fine tracery. While in Yorkshire we have Headon, despoiled of tracery; Howden chancel, one of the most elegant *decorated* buildings in England, in ruins; Trinity church, Hull, Selby, Old Malton, and St. Michael Malton, all fine and curious churches, and all with parts of the stone-work much decayed. Ottery St. Mary, in Devonshire, a most interesting structure, is in a grievous state of abuse and neglect.

This is a formidable list; and that no one may accuse us of picking out bad cases, we subjoin an account recently received from a gentleman of the highest respectability.

In a tour from which he has just returned, he passed thirty churches and chapels. Of these, twelve may be called modern, i. e. from one hundred and fifty years old downwards: some are brick, some stone, but most, if not all, excessively ugly. The remaining eighteen were originally ancient churches; and of these, eleven have decayed parts, fourteen have mutilated

portions, such as pinnacles, battlements, and tracery ; fifteen are patched, that is, have been irregularly mended without regard to the original work ; twelve have modern porticoes added of a very discordant character. In two cases the additions are in tolerably good style, and there is one, and only one, in good order. These remarks allude to the outside alone ; no opportunity having been afforded for remarking or registering the barbarisms or the rottenness which are probably to be found within. Is it not worth while to inquire into this subject, when nineteen out of twenty ancient churches are unrepared, or ill-repared ?

The parish church is now, as in justice it ought to be, the care of those who are supposed to worship under its roof ; but, unfortunately, between the proverbial parsimony of a vestry, the manœuvring contrivances of churchwardens to serve their own ends, and the lamentable ignorance of country builders, the damage done in a greater or less degree to all our parochial churches seems almost irreparable. The facility with which builders' work is executed may be in some degree the cause of this. In the olden time, if a great work were to be carried on, it was necessary to invite and establish a portion of the wandering tribe of freemasons : but from this apparently formidable scale of preparation, there ensued the utmost precision of design and perfection of execution. In the present day, the vestry has its share of artificers ; a neighbour or a townsman has a reasonable claim to preference ; and thus it happens that a work requiring great taste, study, and learning, is committed to the hands of persons whose stock of scholastic attainment was thought complete when they had accomplished themselves in the mysteries of the "golden rule of three." Far the greater part of our parish churches have no guardians but the churchwardens. From a neglect of small defects the churches sink into decay, and parishes are called upon for an expenditure which they might have prevented, but can very ill afford to defray. Then comes the sad time : an aisle or a transept is pulled down, if the size of the church will permit. The windows are decayed, and away goes all the tracery. Are one or two pinnacles, or a piece of the battlement, out of order, the whole are swept off, or committed to the improving hand of some barbarous bricklayer. If one part of the church is much out of order, a plain brick tower, or chancel, or chapel, is put up to churches of the best character ; and if a vestry or a school is wanted, a brick wall is run up to cut off part of the arches, and spoil a fine church. Add to all this loads of white and yellow wash, and the reader is in possession of the newest and most approved plan for putting an end to our ancient ecclesiastical edifices. "I am pretty well convinced,"

says an experienced architect, who has attended particularly to this subject, "that if taken *now* and judiciously distributed, all the church rates (on an average of seven or ten years) would repair all the churches; but if the mode of expenditure is not looked into, and the patching system prevented, our best churches will gradually moulder away, or be pulled down and rebuilt by a hedge carpenter and rough masons, in a way that will require in the next half century double and treble the cost to repair slight edifices that would now repair substantial ones."

We are not certain that the plan we have recommended is practicable; but at least it deserves consideration. If all our ecclesiastical edifices were surveyed and registered, those which are good might be aided and preserved; and those which are bad, instead of causing a great waste of money in repairs, might be replaced by buildings, which, however plain and inexpensive their characters may be, would have a real church-like appearance. But if the care of such matters is allowed to rest upon fifteen thousand churchwardens, nothing can be reasonably expected but a rapid progress of mischief.*

That we may prove ourselves not quite alone in these views of the principles on which the restoration and preservation of ancient edifices should be conducted, we will now quote a passage from Dr. Möller's work before mentioned :—

"The neglect of the architectural works of Germany has lately, however, been succeeded by a more correct estimate of their merits, which are daily more appreciated. Since such eminent men as Göthe, Herder, and George Forster, have so loudly proclaimed the veneration in which they hold those master-pieces, the attention of the public has at least been awakened. But as the number of ancient buildings which either have remained unknown, or are only imperfectly known, is so very considerable, and as many of them are perishing from year to year, it is very much to be wished that the governments of the several German states would publish historical and critical catalogues of the remarkable ancient buildings in their respective dominions, in which the bad should be carefully separated from whatever is worthy of being preserved. Independent of affording correct information of the buildings still existing, those works would thus be placed under the safeguard of the public eye, and the fear of public disgrace would put a stop to the vandalism of ignorant subordinate magistrates, who

* Some good, however, may be done by very simple means. The earth heaped up by funerals against the outside walls of churches, and the imperfect ventilation which is provided for them, are the two great causes of premature decay. The former may be removed with very little trouble. The latter might be secured by opening the churches every other day from morning till night, and erecting lattice doors which will admit the air, and keep out intruders.

in many places do not scruple to consider and use such ancient buildings as excellent stone quarries.”—p. 60.

Mention is made in a note of the restoration of the magnificent castle of *Marienburg* in Prussia, which was proposed, and is now under the direction of President von Schoen, by means of voluntary contributions, a “distinguished instance of a proper estimation of the monuments of art extant in that country.” But the most important document is the proclamation issued by the Grand Duke of Hesse in 1818, having for its object the illustration and preservation of the architectural antiquities of the dutchy. Anxious as we really are, not to exhaust the patience of our readers, we cannot forbear from transcribing this proclamation; and that avowedly with the desire that some similar plan might be found, tending to the same ends, and suited to the condition of public and private property in this country:—

“Louis, by the grace of God, Grand Duke of Hesse, &c. &c. Considering that the monuments of ancient architecture still existing, are among the most important and most interesting documents of history, and afford instructive views of the early manners, civilisation, and civil constitution of the nation, thus rendering their preservation highly desirable, we have decreed as follows:

“1.—Our Board of Works is to procure correct catalogues of all the remains of ancient architecture, which either in an historical point of view, or as works of art, are worthy of being preserved, and to have their present situation described, and the other monuments of art extant in the same, as paintings, statues, &c. particularly mentioned.

“2.—The said board is to invite the learned of every province, who are best acquainted with its history, to cooperate in the historical preparation of such catalogues, for which purpose the requisite documents are to be communicated to them out of the archives.

“3.—The principal of these buildings, or such as are in the most ruinous state, are to be delineated, and the designs, together with the descriptions, to be deposited in our museum.

“4.—The Board of Works is to submit to our approbation the list of the buildings deemed worthy to be preserved or delineated, to correspond respecting their repairs with the requisite authorities, and to make the requisite proposals to us on the subject.

“5.—If it should be thought proper to make alterations in any of these buildings, or to pull them down, it is to be done only under the cognizance of the said board, and with our approval in the requisite cases.

“6.—If in digging, or on other occasions, relics of antiquity should be discovered, our public functionaries are to take care that they be carefully preserved; and notice of their discovery is to be immediately sent to the board of works, or to the managers of the museum.

"7.—All public functionaries are enjoined carefully to watch over the preservation of all the monuments recorded in the aforesaid catalogues, for which purpose the latter are to be printed and communicated to them."

"Darmstadt, January 22, 1818."

(Signed) "Louis."

But to leave repairs and come to our new churches, it must be admitted, that a more extensive field for argument exists wherever an absolutely new church is to be erected. We can readily imagine that the taste of some may lead them to prefer the appearance of a Grecian edifice, but we confess ourselves of the class (and that not an inconsiderable one) who think that there is in the Gothic fane an imposing solemnity of appearance, most admirably fitted for inducing upon the mind the calmness and reverence of worship. From the façade or the vestibule of the palace to the very columns and capitals that support the architrave of the shop window, all is Doric and Corinthian; but how few and failing have been the attempts of those who wished to bring down the sublime of the fretted aisle to the usages of common life. The Gothic pile in this country at least conveys to the mind of an Englishman the idea of a place of worship, and so may it long continue to do. The strongest argument against the use of Gothic architecture for new churches is one which requires a further hearing. The Gothic style is said to be much more expensive than the Grecian. This, if true at all, is an evil which is daily decreasing. Greater practice, and the publication of such works as those of Cottingham and Pugin, must add greatly to the facility with which the architect prepares his plan: and with regard to the stonemason or mason the admirably directed works which have for some time been carried on at the cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Winchester, and Beverley, have proved so many schools for the initiation of able workmen in the reopening mysteries of their craft. To this list we may now add Rochester, which has commenced the work of restoration under able superintendence.

The new church in St. Pancras fully proves that rich Grecian architecture may be most costly. No one can suppose that rich Gothic architecture can at the present price of labour be otherwise; but we assert from facts in our possession that restorations have been executed in plain but pure and elegant Gothic forms, and some churches have recently been built possessing great accuracy and beauty, for such sums of money as to render this style a fair rival to its Grecian opponent. Of a considerable number of new Gothic churches which we have examined, we name

with satisfaction Exmouth, erected by the liberality of Lord Rolle, Birkenhead, and the small church of the Holy Trinity, in Dorchester, also the new nave of Ilminster.

The new church of St. George at Birmingham, built under the authority, and from the fund of the commissioners for building new churches, is an admirable example of that style which Mr. Rickman, its architect, has chosen to designate by the term decorated. It is a clerestory church with a light and elegant tower at the west end, and it accommodates between nineteen hundred and two thousand persons. The cost of its erection did not amount to 13000*l.*, a sum which would have been fully required to build a plain Grecian church of the same size.

Another more costly but very exquisite specimen of the same style, is the church now building by Mr. Rickman, at Hampton Lucy in the county of Warwick. And the chapel at Erdington, near Birmingham, is a very skilful adaptation of the general character of the same style to the uses of a plain country church. In the first and last of these buildings, and we believe at Hampton Lucy also, the mullions and tracery of the windows are hollow iron castings of proper proportion, which are not distinguishable from stone, but are much more durable and far cheaper in execution. These have been found to answer extremely well. The stone which Mr. Rickman has employed at Birmingham and Erdington is an oolite from Tixall in Staffordshire, a very fine grained and durable stone, and admitting of great clearness and delicacy in the carvings; but the great difficulty of finding blocks of sufficient size for some parts of the work, has induced him to discontinue its use, and he now procures his stone from quarries of oolite between Gloucester and Cheltenham, where he has found blocks of very large dimensions and a very superior quality of stone.

The church of St. Luke, Chelsea, built by Mr. Savage, has a tolerable general appearance; and though far from possessing that rigid accuracy of detail which we could desire, it may be mentioned as an instance of the superior effect of Gothic over Grecian churches. St. Dunstan's in the East, by Mr. Laing, must also be mentioned with great commendation, and we have yet to learn that the cost of its erection is to be compared with that of St. Pancras or St. Marylebone. The restoration of St. Saviour's Southwark, is a most praiseworthy specimen by Mr. Gwilt. We are aware that large sums have been expended upon some Gothic churches, and we trust that there is no disposition to continue the practice. The church of Theale, in Berkshire, is rich and good, but it cost 15,000*l.* and can accommodate three hundred persons. The new church of St. Luke, Liverpool,

now building, is better than most modern Gothic churches, but we understand that it will cost 32,000*l.* and hold about one thousand four hundred persons; and we cannot but regret an expense which tends to bring Gothic architecture into unmerited disgrace. Let the admirers of Grecian churches refer to the size and commodiousness of our modern London churches, to St. Andrew's Holborn or St. James's and St. George's Westminster, and we must admit that their case has some strong points; but while they appeal, as is commonly done, to Mr. Hume's argument, cheapness, they ought to produce a new Grecian or Roman church as good and as unexpensive as St. George's Birmingham.

The decreasing expense of Gothic work, arising out of its more frequent execution, will, we hope, prove an argument of some weight, even where new churches are to be erected. The public has been long accustomed to hear the expense of Gothic advanced as an overwhelming argument for its rejection. The following facts therefore are worthy of attention. By the last parliamentary report (1825) it appears that there are in progress forty-three new churches under the auspices of the commissioners: of these only nine are Grecian; so that in the country at large, Gothic work does prevail. And with regard to the expense of such works the following rough calculation was made from the same report. The cost of the nine Grecian churches was added together and divided by the number of people they are designed to contain; thus the expense of providing for the accommodation of each individual appeared to be 8*l.* 13*s.* A similar average was made from the first ten Gothic churches upon the list; by which the cost for each individual stands at only 6*l.* 8*s.* !!

There are a few other topics to which we must advert. It may be a matter of no importance whether a church be placed with any regard to the cardinal points of the compass or not. The rite of baptism may be as well performed at a font placed within the altar rails, as seen after modern codes of beautifying; but we are childish enough to be pleased with the ancient allegoric form which required the font to be without the church, or in the porch, or at most only within the western walls; to show that to the neophyte it was a ceremony of initiation, and that to arrive at the more full communion of the altar, there was an intermediate stage of instruction and preparation to be passed over. The sanction of high antiquity, the usage of the earliest ages, are perhaps the only authorities that could be adduced in favour of several of our rites that still stand uninjured; but they equally contend in defence of those forms, the

violation of which we are now regretting: and if caprice or slight local convenience be permitted (as it frequently has been) to change those already mentioned, we fear that under such guidance, other and more important abolitions may ere long be attempted.

It has been said by one well qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, that "all cements are the bane of ancient architecture. No other material but stone should ever be employed." The introduction of cements, though doubtless of utility in some cases of repair, will never, we hope, be generally resorted to in great public works. The colour is liable to change. There is no comparison between the sharpness and clearness of well-worked stone, and the gummy mouldings of cement. Even were we to admit (which we do not) that well prepared cement possessed all the durability that its greatest advocates contend for, we feel that we are entirely at the mercy of the mason; he may err through ignorance, or he may wilfully cheat us in the composition, and we shall not discover our misfortune until it is too late to obtain either remedy or redress. No sufficient proof can as yet be advanced in favour of the durability of cements; that work may only show a few cracks and flaws after ten years' service, which in twenty or an hundred may have entirely crumbled into dust, and until it can show an uninjured endurance of eight or nine centuries, cement is no fair rival to the native stone of our island.

Whilst we are on this subject we may be allowed a word upon the materials, which have been employed at different periods in this country. With a view to ascertain the durability of the various kinds of stone, we have instituted a tolerably extensive personal examination of the ancient edifices throughout England and Wales. Generally speaking it will be found that the locality of every structure, whether for warlike or religious purposes, has as might be expected exerted a predominating influence upon the choice of the building material. Castles especially are built for the most part of the nearest tolerable stone. The fashion of the period, during which the greater part now remaining were erected, (*viz.* between the Norman conquest and the death of Edward I.,) and the purposes for which they were designed, required but little of minute ornament or delicacy of finishing; though in some instances, where the common stone of the country was extremely bad, the quoins and parapets were formed of some better material, brought from a distant quarry. For good and obvious reasons, however, these niceties were much more regarded in the case of religious edifices. It was hoped that their character and purpose would in a great

degree protect them from violence ; and that as time was the only enemy whose attacks they were to be prepared to resist, a greater extent of duration might remain an uninjured memorial of the taste and piety of the founders. Although stone equally good may be selected from that which this country affords, yet such was the reputation of that from Caen in Normandy, that it was employed in more than one of our cathedrals, and even in some of the parochial churches on that side of our island most favourably situate for its importation.

Their position upon a stratum, containing rock easily worked, but lamentably deficient in durability, has had a most unfortunate influence upon some of our cathedrals and churches. Of this, Chester, Lichfield, and the fine spires of Coventry are striking examples. We do not hesitate to pronounce the "new red sandstone," as it is called by geologists, the very worst building material of this country. Some of the softer chalk or clunch beds might almost rival its demerits ; but that material has not been employed in great ecclesiastical edifices, save for interior works, or the vaulting of sheltered roofs, a purpose to which by its lightness it is admirably adapted. Durham cathedral has to regret its proximity to the coal mines ; being formed of a grit from thence which has suffered greatly on its exterior from the action of the weather. The beds of the magnesian limestone, under the names of Tadcaster stone, Bramham Moor, and other provincial appellations, have afforded an admirable material for the minsters at York and Beverley, and for other edifices of that district. But it is to the extensive and varying series of the oolites, that we are indebted for by far the greater number of our ancient buildings. As this district forms a sort of zone across the centre of our island in one direction, the facility of carriage has aided the goodness of the material, in bringing it into very general use. Lincoln, Peterborough, Oxford, Salisbury, Bath, Wells, and some other cathedrals are of this family ; but the excellence of this stone is by no means of uniform character, throughout all the subordinate strata of this formation. It is easy to recognise different beds employed in the construction of Lincoln cathedral, and it must be acknowledged that some of these which have been quarried near to the city, though tolerably good, have not quite all the degree of durability, that as admirers of that splendid edifice we could have desired. Upon another part of the outcrop of the same formation, we arrive at those quarries which have produced, almost without an exception, the splendid churches of Northamptonshire, and the marsh district of the county of Lincoln. The most celebrated quarries are at Ancaster, Barnack, and Wilsford, all not very distant from

Sleaford. Peterborough cathedral is of an admirable stone of the same nature, but from some nearer quarry. This, which we are inclined to regard as the very best building material which has ever been made use of in this country, consists of an oolitic limestone, mingled with an immense quantity of comminuted shells. It must formerly have been held in great esteem, for in almost every part of the kingdom, and far distant from its natural position, we have frequently recognised it among the most delicate works of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries. This preference it eminently deserved, for it has uniformly resisted the action of the elements, and even from the earliest period named, where it has been subjected to no greater violence, the edges remain as sharp, and the ornaments executed in it are as delicate, as when they first left the freemason's hand. The magnesian limestone, its only rival, has a finer texture, and when new, a colour rather more pleasing to some; but minute examination has satisfied us that although very excellent in that respect, it is rather inferior to the shelly oolite in durability. The Ketton, Bath stones, and Portland oolite differ little, except in the absence of the minute fragments of shells; by this change they become more easy to be worked, but we think the durability is impaired. There are, however, in the same oolitic series, strata which afford a stone greatly deficient in durability; space cannot here be afforded for particulars, but Oxford and its neighbourhood will afford numerous instances in confirmation of our position.

We are greatly in fear of pursuing this subject to an unwarrantable length; but it cannot be denied that in these building days it is one of universal importance. In early times, granite seems to have been little used in this country; probably, from the difficulty experienced in working it. The question must remain for the decision of future times, whether its apparent hardness is accompanied by a proportionate degree of durability, and like all kinds of cement to be used instead of stone, it seems to us at best an untried friend. Untried we must deem it, with reference to our climate. It is true, that in those stupendous monuments which Egyptian art and patience executed in granite, the smoothest surfaces have remained uninjured by the suns of two thousand years; but that does not seem the most severe trial to which the elements could have exposed them. The alternations of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture, and more than all, the effects of frost, are in Egypt little felt. The perfect smoothness of surface seen on these statues, we consider a great protection, but it is a safeguard far too costly for our ordinary purposes. If we may judge from the surfaces of exposed granite

rocks, or if, being compelled in argument to resort to worked surfaces, we examine the granite pillars used for common posts in the yard of the British Museum, we shall find that, in some way or other, these have undergone great change. Either the felspar suffers decomposition, and the mass disintegrates, or else the moisture which seems to insinuate itself around the crystals, is expanded by frost, and the stone gradually falls to pieces.

Stonehenge and many druidical monuments are formed of a fine-grained grit, of which the parent stratum, probably a looser sand, is supposed by geologists to have been removed, during some of those changes to which the surface of this island has been subjected. The choice was indeed an admirable one; for although the nature of the stone would scarcely have allowed of its application to the delicate purposes of Gothic architecture, it has formed an unchangeable material for the rude purposes of these early times. The labour of working it even to a slight extent must have been immense, and yet in the largest masses of Stonehenge, the supporting and the supported blocks are fitted together by mortise and tenon. Many of the early crosses attributed to the ninth and tenth centuries, are formed of a very similar substance. Few specimens remain with inscriptions, and still fewer are now legible; but such are the highly interesting crosses at Lantwit and Margam. Those ornamented with knots and rude figures, are frequently, but not invariably, of this substance. The very ancient small shrine or tomb in Peterborough cathedral, to which the name of the Saxon Hedda has somehow been appropriated, together with some fragments of the same period in the wall of the chancel of Fletton church, seem to be formed out of the shelly oolite beforementioned.

Having said much that is referable to the laws of taste only, we now conclude with a word upon the laws of civil polity. It is with unfeigned satisfaction that we regard those salutary enactments of our legislature, by which the current repairs of our ecclesiastical edifices are placed under the direction of the higher dignitaries of the church. The chapters of our cathedrals are gradually on their own authority and by their own resources removing much of the inappropriate stall and screen work, introduced at periods subsequent to the Reformation; and it must be admitted that many of these strange compositions were designed by architects of distinguished reputation. Of course, in this and every repair, some cathedrals have taken the lead of others; and it may be mentioned as a singular fact, that some of the most accurate restorations have been made under the direction of ecclesiastics of the present age. Thus have some members of this body

spontaneously returned to a pursuit, which now can only be considered as an elegant amusement, but which centuries back held a very conspicuous station among the most dignified branches of their knowledge. The parochial churches are, however, placed in a position very different from that which the cathedrals enjoy. The archidiaconal power is not yet lost, and there are proofs in several dioceses that it may be exerted effectually. But cases still exist in which that power lies dormant; and, perhaps, if it were exerted with all possible vigour and judgment, the result would only prove the necessity for some new enactment. It is a subject which does not admit of delay; for the churches, which we are anxious to preserve, will be lost if many more sessions are allowed to pass without interference of some kind or other. Returns, at least, might be called for without trouble or expense, and without pledging the government to any particular course of action. This point, therefore, we earnestly press upon the attention of the prelates and friends of the church; confident that inquiry will show the importance of our suggestion, if not the practicability of our plan.

ART. VII.—*Ann Boleyn: a Dramatic Poem.* By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, 8vo. pp. 168. Murray, 1826.

THE vocation of a Poet (and we would here be understood to speak not of a *popular* Poet, but rather of one *cui non sit publica vena*) is of all others with which we are acquainted the most exclusive and engrossing: and little can any votary of the Muse expect to share her favours, unless he devotes the whole energies of his being, without reserve or compromise, to her undivided service. Woe worth to that half-blooded Bardling who admits a doubt either of the general divinity of his art, or of his own private and peculiar *afflatus*! If he does not esteem all other objects of human wit to be mean and lowly when compared with the cultivation of song, he may saunter round the foot, but he will never climb the summits of Parnassus; and the few flowers which he may gather during his idle walk will be withered before he can braid them into a wreath for his brow. An overweening assumption of the superiority of his own pursuit, which in studies of a severer cast might be deemed misplaced, impertinent, and

affected, is in correct keeping with that which is not only the *permitted*, but the *exacted* fervour of a mind wherein imagination is the vital and predominant quality : and if the enthusiasm which is to wing the Poet to worlds of his own invention is once suffered to droop, even for a moment, his fall is no less certain and no less hopeless, than that of him who perished on a directly opposite account—because he soared too high.

The *Introduction* prefixed by Mr. Milman to his Poem has led us into the above remarks, which indeed we feel every possible inclination to pursue to a far greater extent than would be compatible with the immediate purpose of a review. But the very nature of the subject has perhaps seduced us already to pace a level road a little too much on stilts ; and we check ourselves in due season, and turn at once to the obnoxious passage.

“The subject of the following drama had long appeared to me peculiarly adapted to the purposes of poetry. I had some time ago imagined a sketch, in a great degree similar to that which I have now filled up. *The course of professional study which led me to the early annals of our Church* recalled it to my remembrance, and, as it were, forced it on my attention.”

Now we complain that, in this statement, there is rather too great a show of anxiety to shuffle the lyre out of sight under cover of the cassock ; something too much of bo-peep, if we may so say, between the Muses and Mother Church ; of apology for being at once a Parson and a Poet, which is uncalled for by either character, and unworthy of both. Hall and Corbet were strangers to this feeling ; yet they were Bishops. Donne cherished it not, and he was a Dean—Mason was a Precentor and a King’s Chaplain to boot—and Tom Warton wrote his *Panegyric on Oxford Ale*, from the very chair which is now occupied by Mr. Milman. “The course of professional study” has led to—what ? to the perusal of Strype, perhaps, and Heylin, and Burnet, and the villainous calumnies of Father Saunders (either hot from their fœtid source, or crystallized and bottled up for constant use by Lingard) if these last be not too indecorous for the bashful eye of an ecclesiastic. These are the chief works connected with “the early annals of our church” which are likely to recall Ann Boleyn to remembrance ; and there is not one of these with which every well informed layman is not likely to be full as much acquainted as the soundest divine amongst us.

Again :—

“It may appear almost superfluous to add that the manner in which this poem is written, as well as *the religious nature of the interest*, must for ever preclude it from representation,”

We are by no means surprised that Mr. Milman should feel some degree of soreness, when he calls to mind the theatrical piracy which was effected on his *Fazio*: and we agree with him (if such be his meaning) that, for the sake of avoiding occasion of offence to the weaker brethren, it is as well that a clergyman should abstain from writing avowedly for the Stage. It is not with his principle, then, but with his pretext that we quarrel; for, in good truth, we are wholly unable to discover any thing in "the religious nature of the interest," which he claims for his present Poem, by which it should be eternally precluded "from public representation."

True it is, no doubt, that the turbulent passions of the tyrannic Henry were powerful instruments in the hands of Providence towards the progress of the Reformation in this country. True that

Gospel light first beamed from Boleyn's eyes.

But the chief interest of the drama before us is not derived from this circumstance: on the contrary, it is founded upon our strong personal commiseration for the misfortunes and death of a wronged and beautiful woman; and as such the Stagyrite would have selected it as peculiarly embracing *pity* and *terror*, and therefore as peculiarly well fitted for Tragic representation. Aristotle indeed never contemplated the existence of a drama abstracted from the scenic apparatus which he considered to be an essential part of it—*πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ ἀναγκῆς ἂν εἴη τι μῦθον τραγῳδίας ὁ τῆς ὀψέως κόσμος*—and, probably, he would have held a Closet Play to be as huge a monster and anomaly in Poetry, as a dry-land man of war would be thought in ship-building. *Athalie* and *Esther* are both directly taken from Holy writ; yet both *Athalie* and *Esther* were acted. *Samson Agonistes*, by Pope's assistance, would have shared the same fate; and the only obstacle which prevented its appearance was the committal of Bishop Atterbury, at whose suggestion it was preparing, to the Tower. We confess, however, that Bishop Atterbury is not likely to afford a very favourite precedent in ecclesiastical matters; nor do we cite the instance which we now bring forward, as evidence of the good taste which he otherwise evinced so largely in literature. Our only object is to show that dramatic Poems closely and immediately *tirées de l'Ecriture Sainte* have not escaped the profanation of the Stage, even long since the days of *Mysteries* have passed away; and therefore that the much more indirect connection which such a Poem as *Ann Boleyn* possesses with Religion, is by no means sufficient to secure it from the sweeping condemnation which Prynne or

Jeremy Collier, could they once again start up to judgment, would level against it, as a sinful, heathenish, lewd, ungodly, and carnal composition. In spite then of his hyper-orthodox squeamishness, if Mr. Milman should hereafter write as he has written heretofore, he must be content to be denounced as a Poet; and, however grievously it may sound in his ears, when it is remembered that out of his six publications five have borne a dramatic form, he will be stigmatized by the whole race of Histriomastigists (and they are far from being yet extinct) as no better than Shakspeare himself,—as a veritable playwright.

Whether it be from this doubt concerning the real nature of his own being, this presbytero-poetical confusion of entity with which Mr. Milman seems painfully oppressed, or from some other cause, we know not, but assuredly in his present effort he appears to us to be far less fortunate than in any which have preceded it: always excepting the soporific and sonorous *Samor*, which we cordially hope to see excluded from any edition of his collected works. It is unnecessary to repeat here at length the high estimate which we have already more than once before expressed of Mr. Milman's powers, or to state again that which we have always thought, that he had formed himself on loftier and more correct models, and was treading in a securer path for enduring fame than any of his contemporaries. *The Fall of Jerusalem*, *The Martyr of Antioch*, and *Belshazzar*, make up a triad which, in their line, is not surpassed in our literature. We regret that we cannot persuade ourselves to bind up *Ann Boleyn* in the same volume with these.

Little need be said of such a household and familiar story as that which Mr. Milman has chosen: we wish indeed that it were not requisite to say any thing of it; for in the additions which he has thought fit to append to historical truths, are to be found, as we think, the greatest faults which he has committed in the conception of his Poem. It is well known that out of the five persons who were imprisoned at the same time with the unhappy Queen, the Lord Rochford her brother, Sir Henry Norreys, Groom of the Stole, Sir Francis Weston and Sir Ralph Brereton, both of the King's Privy Chamber, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, the last was the only one who appears to have been at all successfully tampered with by the base agents whom Henry employed for the subornation of perjury. None of them, as Cromwell writes, but Smeaton would confess "as to any actual thing;" and there can be no doubt that this confession was extorted by the promise of a pardon: a promise afterwards as iniquitously violated as it was in the first instance untruly pledged. This cowardly and treacherous menial (who, not being

a gentleman by birth, was hanged, while the others were beheaded) is transformed by Mr. Milman into an overwrought sentimentalist, cherishing a secret and fantastic passion for his royal mistress, and, in the end, blasting her reputation by a false avowal of adulterous intercourse, in order, as he foolishly believes, to preserve her life and obtain her divorced hand. To the commission of this wicked and silly act he is persuaded by the dark machinations of a purely imaginary character, Angelo Caraffa, a Jesuit; who, with as much propriety as the disguised Knight Templar in *The Rovers*, is brought on the scene several years before the society of which he is represented to be a member was organized. It is but just, however, to give Mr. Milman all the benefit which he can derive from the honest avowal which himself has made of this untoward anachronism; so that he has sinned in it prepensely and with his eyes wide open. The tempter having gained his end, which he is made to work out for conscience sake in order to overthrow the new heresy, by the death of the Queen who was its nursing mother, leaves his victim to his fate; and Smeaton perishes on the scaffold not long before the object of his hopes.

It is evident how much the simple pathos of Ann Boleyn's real story is diminished by this unnatural underplot. The machinery is cumbrous and perplexed, and it works as heavily as it is framed. Caraffa has little to distinguish him from the many villains of the same class, with whom of late years we have been saturated. He is very boisterous, very clamorous, and very foul-mouthed; professing to devote himself entirely to heaven, and certainly devoting other folks very largely to hell. We should have looked for him rather in a turban and capote than in a cowl and scapulary. Read his expressions of triumph after Henry's jealousy has manifested itself in acts of open fury:

The game is won ere play'd!

It fires beyond our hopes, the sulphurous train
 Flames up, they're hurl'd aloft, but not to Heaven.
 Wake Hell! and lift thy gates; and ye, that tenant
 The deepest, darkest, most infuriate pit,
 Th' Abyss of all abysses, blackest blackness,
 Where that most damning sin, the damning others,
 With direst, most remorseless expiation,
 Howls out its drear eternity, arouse
 The myriad voices of your wailing; loud
 As when the fleshly Luther, or the chief
 Of his cursed crew have one by one gone down
 To tread your furnace chambers!—Rise! prepare
 The throne of fire, the crown of eating flames!
 She comes—the Queen, the fatal Queen, whose beauty

Hath been to England worse, more full of peril,
Than Helen's was to Troy, hath seal'd for death,
For death eternal, irremediable,
Whole generations of her godless sons,
And made her stately church a heap of ruin !—pp. 84, 85.

His pupil Smeaton is taught the same language. This "soft and timorous boy," as he is called, thus avows his intention of bearing false witness :

I'll do't

If fiends stand plucking at my soul, and Hell
Yawn at my feet ! Thou, Father, thou wilt ease
My soul in adamantine resolution.
I'll save her, if I die, on earth—for ever !
Do with me as thou wilt—I'll speak, I'll swear,
I'll pull down good men's imprecations, Heaven's—
No, Heaven will pardon if I save the heavenly !
Upon my head rain curses, contumelies,
She will erewhile be taught to bless me ; ways
Will sure be found to teach her why I've dared
Thus 'gainst my nature, bold and false—she'll know it,
She'll know it all—my pains, my hopes, my truth !—pp. 103, 104.

To this may be added part of their dialogue, after Caraffa has admitted the deceptions which he has practised :

Devil ! no man of God ! unmeasured liar !
My soul is sick at thee. Thou hold the keys
Of Heaven, thou bloody wretch forsworn ? thou worse,
If worse can be than mine own perjured self,
I spurn thee, curse thee, execrate thy faith
And thee !

ANGELO.

Die, then ! die lost, accurst for ever !
Go with thy leprous soul unwash'd to Hell,
To see what hideous torments wait on perjury.—pp. 153, 154.

Avaunt ! away !—

Wash thine own soul from thine own sins : kneel thou,
Howl for thy crimes, thy treasons, and thy murders !
And, if Christ give me power to pardon thee,
'Twill more avail thee in thy hour of need
Than all thy formal conjuring absolutions.
With her—with her—the gracious, good, and chaste,
I'll take my everlasting portion ; trust
Even where she trusts ; go where she goes—Oh ! no,
My perjuries ! my murders ! when my soul
Would rise to track the starlight path of hers,
They'll hiss me, howl me down, down, down to blackness,
To horror, now the element of my soul.—pp. 155, 156.

King Hal has always been an accredited and privileged blusterer, and he talks in character :

KING.

Refuse our mandate—shut their Abbey gates
Against our Poursuivants—refuse our oaths—
Now, by St. Paul, not one of them shall wear
His shaven crown on his audacious shoulders !

CRANMER.

Your Majesty will hear your faithful servant.

KING.

I'll none of it—their heads or their allegiance.
God's death ! have all our Parliament and Peers,
Our Rev'rend Bishops, given their hands and seals,
And shall we thus be mocked and set at naught
By beggarly and barefoot monks ? Archbishop,
Out of our love to thine own reverend person,
We do refuse thy most unwise petition.
Good foolish man, not one of them but urged
By that old Priest of the Seven Hills would burn us,
Body and soul. We'll have no kings but one,
None but ourself.—Tut, not a word. How now ?
What, Nan ? what blank ? what all a mort ? Thy jests,
And thy quaint sayings, and thy smiles——

QUEEN.

My Liege,

I have been sued to be a suppliant
For those that, fall'n beneath thine high displeasure—

KING.

'Sdeath ! ye've our answer—as I pass'd but now
Jane Seymour was set on t' entreat our mercy ;
We yielded not, nor thought of being wearied
At every step with the old tedious tale—
Art answer'd ?

QUEEN.

What I am, I owe your grace,
And in most deep humility confess it ;
But being as I am, your grace's wife,
I knew not that my maid's rejected prayer
Precluded further speech——

KING.

Why, how now, wayward !
Your maid ! good truth, Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter's
Right nobly served. I'd have you know, proud woman,
What the king gives, the king may take away—
Who rais'd up one from dust, may raise another.
Look to thyself, I say—thou may'st have cause ;
Look, and be wise—be humble. For your grace
We've business in our council—not a word—
Our queen's our subject still.

QUEEN (*alone.*)

And this is he,

The flower of the world's chivalry, most courtly
Where met the splendour of all courts! When Europe
Sent its three Sov'reigns to that golden field,
Which won all eyes with liberal noble bearing?
Which charm'd all ears with high and gracious speech?
Which made all hearts his slaves by inbred worth
But English Henry? by his pattern all
Moved, spoke, rode, tilted, shaped their dress, their language,
And he that most resembled England's king
Was kingliest in the esteem of all. This he
That lay whole hours before my worshipp'd feet,
Making the air melodious with his words?
So fearful to offend, having offended
So fearful of his pardon, not myself
More jealous of my maiden modesty;
The bridegroom of my youth, my infant's Father!
Ah! me, my rash and inconsiderate speech,
My pride, hath wrought from his too hasty nature
This shame upon mine head: he'll turn, he'll come
My prodigal back to mine heart—if not,
I'm born his subject, sworn before high Heaven
His faithful wife; then let him cast me from him,
Spurn, trample me to dust—the foe, the stranger
That owns no law of kindred, blood, or duty,
Is taught, where every word is Heaven's own oracle,
To love where most he's hated. I will live
On the delicious memory of the past,
And bless him so for my few years of bliss,
My lips shall find no time for harsh reproach;
I'll be as one of those sweet flowers, that crush'd
By the contemptuous foot, winds closer round it,
And breathes in every step its richest odours.—p. 63-67.

We need not point out the beauty of the three last lines in this quotation; if the thought is not uncommon, still it has never before been more exquisitely clothed. The following conception is more original; and elaborately rich (to a fault) as is the general diction of Mr. Milman, we recollect no instance in which it exhibits brighter or more appropriate finishing:—

The bounty of the king, Heaven's delegate,
Should be as Heaven's: the Sun, that through the grate
Of some barr'd dungeon lights the pallid cheek
Of the poor prisoner, is a gracious gift;
But that which argues the great God of Nature
Is the rich prodigality of light,
That kindles the wide universal sky
And gladdens worlds.—p. 22.

We have not room to extract, nor would our readers thank us if we did so, a most portentous and polymetrical *Protestant's Hymn to the Virgin*, sung to Queen Anne by Lord Rochford, and accompanied by Smeaton. It consists of eight stanzas, each of eighteen lines: and it would not easily be tolerated by a congregation of our own times, who are very well satisfied with the clerk, whenever he gives out no more than two verses and these in short measure.

We close this volume with regret, as we have commented upon it with reluctance. So to do was owing both to Mr. Milman and to the public taste, and painful as the task might be, we dared not shrink from it. Were it not for our sincere admiration of that which he has already achieved, and our equally sincere conviction that he is capable of yet greater achievements, we might have assumed a different tone, and perhaps have criticised less searchingly: but we are neither unconscious of nor indifferent to his reputation; and the loudness of our warning, therefore, when we perceive that it is exposed to danger, will be proportioned to the jealous tenderness which we feel for its security.

- ART. VIII.—AMERICAN NOVELS.—1. *Seventy-six*. By the Author of *Logan*. 3 vols.
2. *Brother Jonathan*. By the same. 3 vols. 1825.
3. *Koningsmarke, the Long Finne, a Story of the New World*. 3 vols.
4. *Lionel Lincoln; or, the Leaguer of Boston*. By Mr. Cooper. 3 vols. 1825.
5. *The Spy; a Tale of the Neutral Ground*. By the same. 3 vols. 1823.
6. *The Pilot; a Tale of the Sea*. By the same. 3 vols. 1824.
7. *The Last of the Mohicans; a Narrative of 1757*. By the same. 3 vols. 1826.
8. *The Pioneers; or, the Sources of the Susquehanna*. By the same. 3 vols. 1823.

If we may be allowed to speak conformably with our subject, “we some guess ’twill take a pretty considerable share of patience to read ‘Logan’ slick right away;” and that our friends will content themselves with the summary of that most kill-cow production, which we gave in our last number. Of “Seventy-Six,” it is our purpose to say less, as in spite of a liberal sprinkling of the faults which characterise “Logan,” it is well worth the

trouble of reading. We will not deny that our fancy may have been somewhat taken by the motto prefixed to the work,

“ Our country !—right or wrong.”

One of those honest thorough-going sentiments which it is easier to enter into cordially than to defend gravely, but full as respectable as “ the pretty milk and water ways” of modern cosmopolitism. We partake in it sufficiently ourselves, however, to suspect that it has misled the author on some points, and to doubt the accuracy of the stories which he relates of the treatment of American prisoners ; and we must remind him that the revival of such offensive matter is in direct contradiction to his own principles, as expressed in the preface to “ Logan.”

As a mere military or political narrative “ Seventy-six” will be found deficient in clearness and arrangement. The history of the war is told only by fits and starts ; and the greater part of the book is taken up by the individual feats and feelings of the imaginary narrator himself, and his friends and family, recounted often in a style of morbid sentiment and outrageous braggadocio. On a second perusal however, both the hero and his narrative improve a good deal upon us, especially when regard is had to the intention of the author, and the nature of autobiography. American literature will and probably does abound with accurate and well digested narratives of the revolutionary war, in all those leading features which the world is acquainted with ; and when, as soon must be the case, the last comrades of Washington shall have disappeared from the stage, their countrymen will be anxious to know how those felt individually and privately, who composed the bones and sinews of the war, and from whom all their highest blood will in future times be traced : rustics like Shamgar of the ox goad, and the Hay of Cloncarty, who seldom start up more than once in the history of a country.

With many of these men Mr. Neal may, in the course of nature, have possessed the personal acquaintance necessary to give his narrative character and truth ; and that he duly appreciates them, is shown in the following vivid appeal, put into the mouth of his imaginary hero :—

“ I knew personally, and intimately, the leading men in this drama. Most of them have gone down to their graves, dishonoured and trampled upon, in their old age :—many are yet wandering, helpless and dejected, among the beautiful and vast proportions of that edifice, which they built up with their blood and bones—like the spirits of venerable men, that have been driven away from their dwelling places by banditti—and died in a foreign land :—like shadowy sovereigns, coming back to a degenerate people, haunting

the chambers of their greatness, in olden time, and retreading, with an air of authority and dominion—which is the scorn and mockery of men, whose fathers could not have stood upright in their awful presence—the courts where they have been dethroned—the ancient palaces, which they built with their own power and treasure—and from which they have been banished, day by day, with insult and derision———yet, at my bidding, they will appear! and harness and array themselves—and stand before you, as I have seen them stand before GEORGE WASHINGTON—a battalion of immovable, impregnable, unconquerable old men.”—vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

Possessing this strong interest, and these opportunities, Mr. Neal does well to adopt for his purpose the form of autobiography, which when well executed is capable of more nature and truth than any other, and which is not subjected to the same restrictions as a narrative written in the third person, where the hero ought to march in the train of public events, instead of striking into it just as much as suits his purpose. In the one case, the chief actor must be described as he appears to the world, in the other, as he appears to himself. As the teller of his own tale, his feelings and ideas should all radiate from the centre of himself, and his immediate connections; his digressions should be unpremeditated; his view of affairs should be coloured by the prejudices natural to his character; and if a few traits of uncouthness and self-importance be judiciously thrown in, they will add to the fidelity of the picture. This art was well understood by Defoe, and such appears to have been the author's conception, in putting the tale of the American war into the mouth of a genuine brother Jonathan, a warm-hearted and stout-handed novice, taken, as it were, from the plough tail, and suddenly matured from boy to man by the influence of overwhelming events; a complete child of nature, whose acuteness and good sense are characteristically alloyed by a good deal of self-conceit, but who writes in the consciousness of having earned a right to egotism by privations, wounds, and dangers. This conception is so well maintained throughout, that however tempted the reader may feel to laugh occasionally at honest Jonathan, (or as he likes better, by his own confession, to be called,) John Oadley, he thinks entirely of the said Jonathan, and never once of the author, whose purpose perhaps cannot be better effected.

The essential part of Jonathan's history may be given in a few words. Mr. Oadley, his father, a plain New England farmer, whose opposition to the English government is for some time confined to the non-consumption of imported goods, is at length driven by the remonstrances of his second son Archibald, the

real hero of the story, to take up arms, and join the army of Washington at the most critical and unfavourable period of the contest. Exasperated by the violation of his wife, the supposed murder of his niece Mary Austin, and the burning of his farm by the Hessian troops, he continues to set a distinguished example to the younger men of his family, and falls at length in a desperate action. The rest of the narrative is occupied by the exploits and the lovers' quarrels of his two sons, and certain other young officers of their acquaintance, who partly instigated by patriotism, and partly driven distracted by the vagaries of their respective mistresses, thrust themselves into situations of danger from which they escape miraculously. In short, a complete eight-quadrille of cross purposes, rather tedious withal, is executed by Jonathan and three other cavalry officers, assisted by their four fair partners; diversified occasionally by a spirit-stirring grande ronde of fighting, by the cavaliers seuls, and then winding into as many perplexed figures and evolutions as the Lancers, Hussars, or Cuirassiers. At length comes something like a grand finale, in the shape of a platoon-wedding, at which, as one of the young brides justly observes, "a regiment of men stand up to be married to a regiment of women." Our friend Jonathan, as he himself informs us, responds with a decorum which bespeaks an exclusive compliment from the worthy clergyman, to whom another of the bridegrooms behaves with little more ceremony than Petruchio; and three couples out of the four are yoked, each according to its kind, and its own peculiar manner. Just, however, as Archibald and his betrothed are about to follow the example of the rest, the lady requests a private interview, and makes known to him a tale of former dishonour. Archibald breaks furiously away on horseback, after marking her with a bloody kiss, which occasions much of alarm and mistake; the Petruchio above-mentioned gallops after him on the clergyman's horse, and gets a severe fall in the attempt to shoot him. It is but justice to Mr. Neal to say that this scene is more overdrawn and eccentric than any other which occurs, and that the subsequent history of Archibald, though rather spun out, is worked up with truth and pathos, as is indeed the whole episode in which he is concerned. Our attention is first drawn to his fiery and decided character by the manner in which he takes the lead of his whole family, in confirming the wavering purpose of his father.

" 'I know what you are thinking, Archibald,' said my father: 'and I cannot blame you. You have not forgotten my words, when the Declaration of Independence was read to us—have you?'

“ ‘No, sir!’ said my brother, his pale face growing still paler, and his slender form shivering with the depth and excess of some inward and unknown feeling—and then added, in a manner that awed me, as much as if a dumb creature had suddenly found his tongue—for such had been the melancholy, deep, and solemn abstraction of his nature, from the age of about eighteen, that we had learnt never to attempt any conversation with him, leaving him alone and unmolested to his thought, as a poor distempered creature, whom it was a pity to worry in his humours:—and now, when he broke out upon us, much after the following fashion, our amazement held us speechless; and that of my father was dashed with a feeling of shame, that even I could see, for the red blood shot over his temples, and up through his bald forehead, showing that he felt the rebuke of Archibald—even to his old heart.

“ ‘No, sir! I have *not* forgotten it;’ said my brother, standing motionless before him—‘And I did believe that not one of this house would ever forget it. But now!—*now*, in the time of his tribulation, when all that is dearest to us, our home and country, is about to be laid waste with fire and sword,—they that have sworn to stand by George Washington, though Heaven itself rained fire upon their heads—(your own words, sir)—are the first to abandon him—withhold their succour—drive off their cattle to the woods—bury their provisions—and refuse the currency of the country—nay, more!—the first to quail at the sound of cannon—the first to lay their hands upon their own children, and say, you shall *not* fight the battles of your country.’—He faltered, as he concluded, and when he had done, and the echo of his own words came back loudly to him from the ceiling, he started—and looked about him, with a troubled air, for a moment, and then put his thin hands to his forehead, and buried them slowly in his rich brown hair, as if astonished at the sound of his own voice.

“Nor were we less so—my cousin Arthur and I exchanged two or three glances, and the fire streamed from his black eyes, as he ran up to Archibald, and seized him by both his hands, and shook them, for a whole minute, as if he would shake them off, trying two or three times, but in vain, to speak—and at last turning away, and wiping his eyes—without uttering a word—

“ ‘Archibald,’ said my father, rising majestically, and coming forward to meet him, ‘it is hard to abide the upbraiding of a child, our own child, our youngest born.’—

“Archibald’s head drooped, and the red heat went all over it—like the light of a furnace.

“ ‘Yet it is harder,’ continued my father, ‘to bear that of our own heart’—(laying both of his hands, emphatically, upon his left breast, as he spoke)—‘what would you have me do?’

“It was a whole minute before Archibald replied, and his chin worked up and down, all the while of his preparation, and a mortal lividness overspread his face, while his long, dark eyelashes gave an animated sadness and shadow to his beautiful eyes—and when he did reply, it was by lifting his head, slowly, to our father’s, planting his

foot, and compressing his folded arms upon his chest, as if to keep down a rebellion there—

“ ‘ Shall I speak the truth ? ’ said he.

“ ‘ Assuredly, ’ answered my father, while Arthur pressed up to me, and whispered,—‘ What possesses the creature ? ’—is *that* Archibald—the weak, peevish boy ?—I shook my head ; I knew not what to think of it.

“ ‘ Well, then, ’ continued Archibald, in a voice that was just audible ; ‘ you ask me what I would have you do ? I answer thus. Sell all that you have. Give all that you have to your country. Shoulder your knapsack ; put another upon John, (he always called me John,) and another upon me ; let each of us take his course through the country, and collect as many as he can of the stout yeomanry—and then go before George Washington, and tell him to be of good cheer, for, come what will, we, at least, will abide with him to the death. ’ ”—vol. i. p. 26-31.

Much skill is shown by the author in combining the force of intellect and resolution which gives Archibald the ascendancy among his comrades, as well as the nobler qualities which win their affection, with the sensitive boyish pride consistent with his age and previous habits. From ignorance of the sex, and morbid reserve, he lets slip, in the first instance, the affections of the object of his choice ; of whose loss he is not more jealous, than of the light manner in which Clinton, his more favoured rival, dares to speak of her.

“ ‘ Archibald, ’ said he, ‘ this is a damned foolish affair. Will you forgive me ? there is my hand. These cursed women are eternally in my porridge. I——’

“ ‘ I reined up, expecting to hear the report of a pistol ; but Archibald went by me, showing no sign of agitation, except a vigorous swelling of the nostrils, and a little more steadiness of eye.

“ ‘ I never was out on a foraging party in my life—curse it, Rocket, stand still ! can’t you ? Have *you* been among the idiots too—hey ! ’

“ ‘ Rocket leaped out, almost from under him ; and Archibald I saw, with his hand—riding abreast of Clinton, nearly at a gallop, upon Rocket’s mane. Their ill blood was not quite down, I saw, and therefore I took the liberty to dash alongside too.

“ ‘ Hold in a moment, ’ said Archibald, through his shut teeth, ‘ let the troop pass out of sight. Brother, leave us awhile. ’

“ ‘ I will not, ’ said I.

“ ‘ Archibald looked astonished ; but, seeing that I was determined, he waited in a dead silence till the last man had turned the road in our front, throwing his head round as he did so.

“ ‘ Archibald then wheeled short, and came up to Clinton, so that their horses’ heads touched. ‘ Well, gunpowder, what’s the matter now ? ’ said Clinton, with a laugh, ‘ you seem quite as ready for a shot just at this moment, as I was ten minutes ago. ’

"It was a minute before my brother could speak; and twice, before he uttered a sound, his hand was upon the holster—and twice, as if the wounded arm of Clinton had not been thought of, till he was ready to bring him from his horse, was it withdrawn. 'Clinton!' said he at last, 'do not make me shoot you—upon the spot—hate you—curse you, and despise you—do not!'

"'Why, what the devil is all this about?—a drivelling girl! Dam'me! when you have been in the army as long as I have, you will laugh at such Quixotism—pho—pho. I love the wench—that's the truth on't—but, damn it, you are not in earnest, Oadley!—Mr. Oadley! don't let him murder me!'

"I had just time to lay my hand upon Archibald's arm; when, struck himself at the peril of his own temper, he turned pale as death—took out his pistols, and discharged them at a tree. The bark flew at each shot, and Clinton changed colour—and well he might, for there wasn't such a marksman in the state.

"'Clinton,' said my brother in a low voice, 'I am unwilling to believe that you are a fool or a scoundrel. I am trying hard to persuade myself that this is all a sham. Tell me, Clinton, if you wouldn't break my heart—tell me that you do love her.'

"'Love her!' cried Clinton, touched by his manner, till his feet shook in the stirrups—'Yes! I do love her, Archibald, more than all the women upon earth—more than I ever thought that I was capable of loving any woman on earth—any thing.'

"'Thank you,' said Archibald, 'but—'

"'Any thing but *Rocket*, I mean,' said the incorrigible Clinton.

"I was obliged to speak. 'This levity, Colonel,' said I, 'to say the least of it, considering my brother's situation and mine, in regard to that family, is neither thoughtful nor generous—(his eye kindled)—but I have no disposition to quarrel with you. I am principled against duelling, and prefer spilling my blood, and seeing yours spilt, for our common country, and—'

"'Mighty fine! Mr. Oadley; but I shall find a time—'

"'When you please!' said my brother, striking his hand upon his thigh, and looking up in his face. 'Country or no country—*when* you please!—*where* you please!—*how* you please. Across a table—left-handed.'"—vol. i. p. 238-243.

The reader will not be surprised to learn that this ill blood vents itself in a duel, to which Archibald is provoked by Clinton, and in which the latter is killed. The struggle between forbearance and rising passion in Archibald, and the deadly violence with which he at length lets his superior skill loose on his insulting antagonist, is as graphically described as the scene which we last quoted, and may bear, in some respects, an advantageous comparison with the untempered blood-thirstiness of Matthew Wald on a similar occasion. The remorse natural to a generous mind, and the shock of the disclosure already mentioned, on the

eve of his marriage, increase the mental and bodily fever for which he has hitherto sought relief in desperate service. A deep decline, whose progress is indicated by dreams, omens, and fits of despondency, saps his remaining strength without abating the restlessness with which he rushes into action "to die with harness on his back." At last, aware of the immediate danger which his friends do not perceive, he makes a voluntary sacrifice of his pride to the feelings of his mistress, Lucia Arnould, and goes to the altar a dying man.

"The benediction was pronounced. Archibald turned—bent forward, and put his lips to the mouth of his bride—trembled from head to foot—attempted to rise—but he could not—again and again—but his head fell on her shoulder.

"'God of heaven!' cried Mr. Arnould, thunderstruck at his mortal paleness, and the strange helplessness that came over him: 'I never saw a human being so agitated in all my life: why, even Lucia is firmer. Lean on me, Archibald.'

"'No, father,' said Lucia; 'no! I am his wife now. He shall lean on no living creature, while I am able to support him—my—*husband*!'

"'Lucia, my *wife*!' he uttered, faintly, pulling her forehead down to his lips, while she stood over him, pressing his damp temples to her heart. "I—ah! one kiss love! *one—one*—be prepared Lucia—I—ah!—"

"He stood suddenly erect upon his feet; the light flashed over his face. It was the face of a dead man. He fell upon the floor: a loud shriek followed. Where were we?—*Where!* We ran to him—we raised him up. It was too late! Almighty God! *it was too late!* HIS WIFE WAS A WIDOW!"—vol. iii. p. 351, 352.

This termination it must be acknowledged approaches too nearly to a *coup de théâtre*, and partakes strongly of the bad taste which is the prevailing fault of this highly descriptive and powerful novel. It is no exaggeration to say that half the genius and originality displayed in its composition, would in more judicious hands have produced a much more agreeable effect, and that a second deliberate perusal is necessary in order to draw out all its merits. Something may perhaps be sacrificed to the consistency maintained between the character and style of the supposed narrator Jonathan, who, though his single-hearted admiration of his brother and his other social qualities, entitle him to our good graces, is evidently intended for a most self-sufficient rustic; and, moreover, one of those pestilent talkers peculiar to New England, who, according to our friend Knickerbocker, "*frightened every bird and beast out of their neighbourhood, and so completely dumb-founded certain fish which abound on their coast, that they have been called 'dumb-fish' ever since.*" He takes care to make

ample amends for the honest confession, that his reputation for daring originated in an accident, by the information that "no mortal man could have stood before him;" that "there are few men on earth in whom it would not be presumption to alter what he has written," and that he could have "torn a wild beast limb from limb;" besides repeated praises of the beauty of his own face and his hair, out of which the powder had been knocked by a romp, to his great discomfiture.

The little which is said of Washington is in good keeping with the idea which history teaches us to form of him, and on the whole conveys a more vivid and satisfactory notion of the man than even the portrait of him in Mr. Cooper's "Spy." With respect to the minor imaginary characters, they are drawn with a distinctness which impresses them strongly on our recollection, though that impression is not the most favourable; and those whom Jonathan intends to be the most dignified and fascinating, please us as little as the "Mr. Brisk" whom John Bunyan meant for a beau and a cavalier. Colonel Clinton, the gallant gay Lothario of the story, would in manners hardly pass muster among a division of volunteer cavalry in a fourth rate country town; and Mr. Arnould, whom his son-in-law, Jonathan, with laudable sincerity considers "the most perfect gentleman he ever saw," is more disgusting still, in spite of the following unintelligible cant:—

"He was a profligate, a voluptuary, a sensualist, perhaps, for he fed his mind upon loveliness, and banquetted all the day long upon colour, and sound, and perfume, with celestial creatures. His very children were a sort of spiritualities; and though I loathed and abhorred the earthliness of his passion for women, yet he had the art of so sublimating and colouring whatever he chose to touch with his enchantment, that it was perilous as death to listen to him when set upon conquering your reason."—vol. i. p. 120.

Is this gravely written? or is Jonathan, according to his frequent practice, bantering himself and his own style of expression? We have not space to settle the question, nor to remark on sundry uncouth expressions and postures used by the different parties, which often give a ludicrous effect to interesting passages. Time and experience, it might be hoped, would have cured the author of such vagaries, were it not for the evidence of his last work, "Brother Jonathan." This is a strange farrago of sense and nonsense, of acute practical remarks on life and manners, and touches of the same atrocious nightmare style of writing, which astounds us in "Logan." Instead of puzzling our brains to make out whether or not Mr. Neal is laughing at himself, his subject, and his readers, and indulging in a practice which he himself

calls "walking into you," and Lancashire men style "trotting you," we should recommend the said readers to skip or skim rapidly over the professedly serious part of "Brother Jonathan," and confine themselves to the vivid and eccentric pictures of American life and character with which it abounds. Of the main thread of the story we hardly know how to give a summary with any degree of distinctness. Like Billy Lackaday's dreams, "it is all about love and murder," with the due portion of impenetrable mystery, and a sufficient property-box of blasted trees and accursed spots of the "Logan" cast. There are, as in the "Rovers," several "children, fathers, and mothers unknown;" some twins, some not, some with the Indian cross, some pure Yankee; some nearly burnt by the Cow-boys, others crushed in mill-wheels; respecting whose identity, as well as that of their fathers and mothers, there is as perpetual a puzzle kept up as in the "Comedy of Errors;" a Mohawk witch; an Indian prophet; a warrior of the same blood, very much given to taciturnity; a sectarian preacher, in whom by his own account the habit of lying is so intense as to have become a necessary pleasure; a strutting stentorian dwarf, by name Chesterfield Æsop Narcissus Montgomery, proud of his own deformity, whose daughter dies of love before she can distinctly ascertain the object of it; her lover, a young mercantile wet-quaker beau, and a more intense liar than the presbyterian pastor; Edith Cummin, a Virginian romp, and a sort of inspired idiot; and last, not least, a father and son whose relationship to one another cannot be mistaken, though they are for some time kept in ignorance of it, in order to rival one another in the affections of the romp aforesaid,—an arrangement copied, as too good a thing to be lost, from "Logan." The father, Jonathan Peters, from whom the story is denominated, is in every sense our author's great white bear. He seems born to contradict and annoy, right and left, every person with whom he comes in contact,—differing in this respect from the insinuating Carwin, from whom however, in most points, the character is an obvious plagiarism. To make amends for the want of that rare gift which serves the Biloquist as a coat of darkness, Peters, alias Savage, alias other names, seems to possess a sort of Doppelganger, or walking wraith, or independent shadow like that of Peter Schlemihl; (for particulars, see pp. 312, 313, vol. i.) In other matters, such as irregular propensities, habits of loitering, and spunging on substantial householders, a most ungainly appearance, and a voice which the tenderhearted women never hear without emotion; he is Carwin to the life. It is but justice to add that Brown's sketch is filled up and improved upon considerably, so as to exhibit a marked

picture of a man at variance with the world and himself, and sore with the recollection of crimes and misfortunes :—

“ These fits of strange reverie were not uncommon with Peters. More than once, they had seen him stop short in the middle of a sentence ; lose himself entirely ; forget where he was ; and leave it, unfinished :—as if, during all the previous argument, however serious—or anxious—he might have appeared, he had been whiling away his time with children ; amusing himself with ‘ make-believe ; ’—and had, in truth, no sort of concern with any thing, or any question, which he might have been disputing, a minute or two before ; perhaps, with all the warmth of his heart, and all the power of his understanding. Many a time, too, they had seen him, while raising the large brown mug of cider to his mouth, as if he ‘ loved ’ it ; as if it were a comfort—many a time, they had seen him stop short ; relapse into a fit of musing ; and pass it on, to some country neighbour—the squeaking poet, perhaps, whom he abominated—without swallowing a drop.

“ A stranger, at such a time, would have thought him a little disordered ; a little—so suddenly would he stop, in the warmth of dispute ; and so steadily would he rivet his large eyes, for half an hour at a ‘ go,’ upon some part of the wall, or fireplace ; or, perhaps, on a large empty chair.

“ Even while in conversation with you, Peters would not appear to be conscious of your presence ; or even to see you, though he were looking into your eyes the while. It was more as if he saw through you—beyond you—into the eyes of somebody else, behind you. He would hold on his course, too, very oddly ; sometimes, for a full hour ; the same voice ; the same tone—rather nasal by the way ; with eyes nearly shut, and a continual glimmering in the wet heavy lashes ; very much as if he were only communing with himself aloud ; or in conversation with something—a spirit—invisible, for ever, to all but himself.”—vol. i. pp. 81, 82.

Edith, the romp, though in many respects a repetition of Ellen Sampson in “ Seventy-six,” is one of those lively and inveterate portraits which instantly strikes us, without any knowledge or recollection of the original itself :—

“ She had a thousand childish ways with her ; innocent, simple ways, which there was no speaking seriously about, absurd as many of them were ; a sprightly, sincere temper ; without one atom of art, or affectation. She had a knack, too, quite her own, of bringing the water into your eyes, and a smile about your mouth, at the same time, and always (which was the charm, after all) without intending it, or knowing it, or even caring for it, if she did know it. She loved romping ; ‘ *that* she did : ’ and would go without her dinner any time, for a good long race with her cousin Watty’s large dog, under the elm trees ; or any thing else, for a few hearty tumbles, all alone—head over heels—in the long fresh grass, or the newly mown hay,

before the rich clover blossoms were dead. And yet, she would never tumble about, romp or kick up her heels, like any body else, or with any body else. It was always in a way of her own; with 'only herself and Panther,' (Walter's dog;) or a little boy, from 'down east,' whom she was teaching, all one summer, to ride on a cane; herself, the while, mounted on a broomstick.—During these pastimes, it was amusing enough to see, with what an air she punished all intruders; not even excepting her 'dear, dear cousin Watty,' whom, in the language of old Virginia, she loved, 'mighty bad; so she did.' In such a case, at such a time, Edith would look and speak, much more like a dwarf woman, caught perhaps with her nightcap on, or slippers off; than like a sad little tomboy, as—begging her pardon—she certainly was.—Her large eyes would sparkle,—so the men 'allowed'—like the mischief; and she would stand a tiptoe, with a dignity, quite heroic, for such a diminutive little creature.

"She was perpetually doing what nobody was prepared for—perpetually making people jump; and had, if there be such a one, the faculty of unexpectedness, within her; like a Leyden jar, always ready to be let off. At one time, it would really appear, as if she had been lying in wait, like a torpedo-fish, in the water, for an opportunity to set people tingling: at another, as if she enjoyed, in her very soul, the confusion of those, especially if they were grown up, who, led astray by her manner, and size, had mistaken her for a child. A word, or a laugh, was enough: just when some stranger, perhaps, who had been looking at her absurd gambols, with a large dog, was on the point of pulling her into his lap, for a fine romp—only a word, or a laugh; and he would start back, as if he had been playing with an electrical machine; or had put his hand, by mistake, upon one of the little wood-women; the North American fairies, who have bonnets like human hair, and faces like masks, which they can put off, or on, at pleasure; while they run about laughing and shouting in the star-lighted wood; counterfeiting the voices of children that live near; mimicking the whip-poor-will; and stopping the holes, where the rattlesnake hides, when she hears them coming.

"Between the upper and lower parts of her face, there was a remarkable contradiction. Judging by her forehead and look, you would call her much older; by her mouth, much younger than she was. Her large eyes were sometimes full of strange, womanly meaning; solemn and beautiful, beyond any thing that we see in the eyes of children; while her mouth was always—no matter where she was—no matter though her eyes were full of tears—her mouth was always just ready for a laugh."—vol. i. p. 27-30.

Last, not least in some respects, (as we are frequently told of his "great* head, great eyes, great hands, and great teeth,") comes Walter, the lover of Edith, and son of Peters; a self-willed and self-important boy, who has, like a young cuckoo in a

* See the tale of Red-Riding-Hood.

hedge-sparrow's nest, completely outgrown the authority of his supposed father, the dissenting preacher. His favourite companions are the wild Indians and his great dog Panther; as to his foster brother Jotham ("lubberly Jotty") who whenever he is awake, is as brave, and much more rational, he holds him in utter contempt.

Such are the serious personages of the story, whose conversations are kept up in a sort of oracular freemasonry, very edifying no doubt to themselves, but conveying no distinct idea to the reader, of their relation to each other, their previous history, their wants, or their intentions. The most intelligible part of the story is the episode of Walter in the character of

"Yankee doodle come to town,"

as the national song hath it. Like Harold, to whom he bears a strong family resemblance in temper and disposition, he goes forth to seek his fortune with but slender preparations, and like him also, finds a welcome ready made to his hands in a strange town. His foster father, it appears, has not accompanied his approbation of Walter's plans with a single cent to pay his way; and the latter, after expending half his worldly substance in a breakfast at the hotel in New York, fortunately discovers an old Quaker merchant, a quondam lover of his aunt Harriet, who receives him into his household. Here he commences life as a beau, a whip, and a Corinthian Jerry, under the auspices of Harry Fleming, the renegade young Quaker before mentioned; meets with his old acquaintance and real father Jonathan Peters, in the new character of Colonel Warwick Savage of the revolutionary army, and at his invitation turns soldier; the war of 76 being then at its height. In this capacity Walter cuts but an equivocal figure. Being jammed among a press of American troops, whom the author impartially acknowledges to have run away from the Hessians, he "struggles, gasps, screams," and as soon as his recollection returns, fairly runs a-muck at friend and foe:—

"Up he sprang, with a cry of transport; grappling a weapon that lay near; and swearing, with a loud voice, to show no pity for friend, or foe;—to sacrifice all, whoever they might be, that should crowd upon him, again. He kept his word; he stood his ground; he showed no mercy to friend, or foe; no pity for either, in the fierce paroxysm—the deplorable, though brief alienation, that followed. He knew not where he was, in truth; nor what he was about. Under the furious instinct for self-preservation, which overcame the gentle, sure, sweet instinct of humanity for a while, in the boy's heart—changing the very nature thereof—he struck blow after blow, at men—large men, whose

very faces, he never saw ; at men—old men, perhaps, who never saw *his* face ; or heard his warning ; or lifted a finger, for their own preservation, while they tottered in his way ; wounded men—dying men—dead men, perhaps, who only moved, when there was room to fall ; smote every one that staggered upon him, whether old, or young—without mercy, and without pity ;—laid about him, like the angel of death, till his delirium abated.”—vol. iii. pp. 99, 100.

The whole scene marvellously reminds us of the desperation of a great kitchen-fed cur, driven mad by the terrors of a pendent canister ; or of the frantic exertions of a showman's hare belabouring a drum ; but Colonel Savage soon puts a damper to his son's energies by riding over him on a great black stallion ; whereat Walter creeps behind an ambush, and further illustrates the song before quoted :—

“ Yankee got behind a bush,
And found himself grow bolder ;
He saw a Colonel passing by,
And shot him in the shoulder.”

The colonel however lives to plot against Washington, and be expelled the army with disgrace ; and Walter, after being wounded, cured, and half-hanged, gladly retires from military life to the domicile of friend Timothy Ashley ; has a child by a common woman whom he is on the point of marrying ; falls very ill, sees visions, dreams dreams, and listens to the tedious lies of his friend Harry Fleming, who turns out his cousin. These, gentle reader, as well as many other matters neither praiseworthy nor uncommon, are related in a style much more exclamatory than explanatory, dealing a great deal in “ beauty” and “ power,” and “ death,” and such catchwords ; and what is more offensive, impregnated with that pseudo-biblical twang, which is hardly tolerable even when borne out by first-rate literary merit. At length, thank goodness, comes an explanation which enables us to account for rant, cant, and all past eccentricities. The parties, it appears, have most of them been *pow-wowed* by a certain Mohawk witch, more or less connected with the colonel's family, and from whom probably the mad dwarf bought his phantasmagoric pastilles, (see vol. iii. pp. 167, 168.) This Indian Meg Merrilies, after giving, in her own particular fashion, an explanation of past matters to Jonathan and his son, (which if unintelligible to us, at least produces the good effect of terminating their jealousy,) retires while they are coming to an understanding, cuts the mad prophet's throat, and reappears breaking cover with a pack of Indian hounds in pursuit of her. These nondescript quadrupeds, whom the author styles

(see p. 428) "a species of new four-footed spirituality," (perhaps crossed from the Wild Huntsman's pack) pursue her to the brink of a precipice conveniently at hand : over which she goes, like a wild-cat, in the jaws of the leading hound, bequeathing "delirium, barrenness, and death," as a bridal blessing, to her astounded connections. Thus, to the no small satisfaction, we opine, of the reader, "bow-wow," puts an end to "pow-wow," and in spite of the prophetess's legacy all matters go well, as we are informed in the twenty-four words which conclude 1324 closely printed pages :—

"Walter and Edith were happy, and Warwick Savage, alias Jonathan Peters, alias Robert Evans, he, though no longer happy, was no longer bad, nor foolish."

It is provokingly unaccountable that an author of the strong sense and acuteness evinced by Mr. Neal's articles in *Blackwood*, should thus persevere in outraging truth and nature ; that with the power of conceiving and vividly executing characters of the stamp of the elder Oadley and his son Archibald, he should wilfully devote three huge close-printed volumes to the adventures of profligates, misanthropes, maniacs, liars, and louts, for such are the serious personages of "Brother Jonathan." We are really at a loss to divine any thing like a moral or a leading idea throughout the book. Either, as we before remarked, he is "poking fun into us, I guess," or, like Elijah Winslow, his seven-foot corporal, he has been out "Mohawking," a frolic described and explained in the first volume, and which certainly unsettles the brains of Walter. It should seem, by the by, that the sight and company of wild Indians produces peculiar mental effects, which are as unintelligible to us matter-of-fact folk of the mother country, as the freaks attributed to the lycanthropes, nympholepts, and Bacchantes of old, at the sight of Pan, or some such monstrous mythological Mumbo-Jumbo.

In the more familiar and everyday parts of the book, where nothing superfine or miraculous is attempted, the author is himself again. We are not only introduced to the wrestling matches and quilting frolics of the country, and divertingly jumbled in a stage waggon, passengers, pigs, gunpowder, hardware and all, but, which is better and more difficult, fairly seated round a New England fireside, a genial scene, we conceive, of that rough old-fashioned kindness which marks our common origin. We note the peculiar oddities, the quaint paradoxes, the tough stories, and pertinacious arguments, of the individuals around it, enlivened by the spiced cider and blazing pine logs which warm even the ill-conditioned Peters into some right-minded eulogies

on women. Then comes the establishment of the benevolent Quaker, Timothy Ashley, a sort of drab-coloured Liberty Hall, where every thing waxeth fat and kicketh; the sulky gorbellied mastiff Ebenezer, quondam Beelzebub, the bean-fed jade Obadiah, as pampered and headstrong as Joshua Geddes's Solomon; the solemn young clerks; the humoured witling Harry Fleming, and the still more humoured negro Joseph, lord paramount of the whole family, sometimes preaching, sometimes swearing, and as free and easy as Mungo in his cups.

“Know-a you? Dam-a you.”

We will take a leading sample, premising that Walter the hero is making his fashionable début in the go-cart, or Quaker dennet, under the auspices of Harry.

“‘Curse it all, Obadiah! how thee pulls.’—‘Don’t swear.’—‘Swear; no faith—what a face!—how she walks!—how d’ye do! how d’ye do!’—‘Look out, Harry! look out! Clear the wood—or—God help us!’

“Harry did look out; though not precisely as he ought, while driving through Broad Way, New York, in the year 1776. His right shoulder was towards the horse all the way; his body half out of the carriage; and he was bowing to a beautiful woman just as Obadiah had begun to stumble over a fat, lazy sow—a litter of pigs—and a flock of geese—that lay in the very middle of the street; a pile of wood on the left—a deep miry puddle on the right—into which they scampered, sow, pigs, and geese, on the approach of Obadiah—screaming like so many devils—and making the mud fly, in a shower, upon the foot passengers.”—vol. ii. pp. 304, 305.

“‘Another Obadiah, by gosh!—hulloo, Mister! hulloo, there! turn out;—I can’t hold my horse.’

“‘Nor I mine,’ was the reply.

“‘But mine is a quaker!’

“‘So is mine!’ That was enough; they had no time for parley. Both drivers gave up; and smash they came together. Harry was thrown out; but recovered himself. The other man, who had lost all hope long before, and sat, when he hove in sight, with his head forward—hair whistling—both legs braced—the forepart of his quaker horse pulled completely round—so that he ran sideways—he escaped, with a somerset, into the mud.

“‘Cuss yer driving!’ quoth Harry; ‘I shall never get my breath again, I believe.’—‘What say?’—‘What say! cuss yer driving, I say—’twas your fault.’—‘No, frind, he’s mistaken—how could I help it?’—‘Help it!—you!—ain’t you a quaker yerself? Don’t you know the breed? Why didn’t you *try* to run over me.’—‘Try to run over thee!’—‘Ye, verily; we’d a gone clear if you had.’—‘Clear!’—‘Yes, clear; clear; and you know it, as well as I do.’

“Matters were soon accommodated. ‘You look more cheerful,’

said Harry; as they came near the town.—‘Very thoughtful, though; and serious—very much as if—what are you casting up in your head, pray?’—‘Counting the rocks, trees, pigs, and so forth, Harry, that we have met on our road.’—‘How could you do that with your eyes shut?’—‘Easy enough—I reckon the jolts.’—‘No! faith! hullo! here we are—there’s Cuffee waiting for us.—Here, you, Nebuchadnezzar—stir your stumps.’

“ ‘Stir you stum, deeseff—Nebbercudnizzah youseff—dam-a—reberbate—a—a—a.’ ”

“ ‘Come, come, blackey—none o’ that, now; you’re the reprobate.’ ”

“ ‘Brackee? who’s brackee?—Dee an’ dou—Gorry midee—tinkee nigger—fen-a ’arry.’ ”

“ ‘Friend Harry, to me, you scoundrel!—you—you—why; why—and swearing too—Goree midee—I’ll speak to your master—I will.’ ”

“ ‘Speakee my Massa! You speakee my Massa. No ’abby no Massa; Cuffee Massa, Gorry midee.’ ”

“ ‘For shame, Harry, for shame! Don’t bait him so. Here, Joseph, here! come, and help me out o’ the gig. It’s very cold.’—‘Yess-a Massa—him berry gole.’ ”—vol. ii. p. 312-314.

A little of this is very well, but we must protest against filling whole pages with this sort of transatlantic Doric, duly accented, (as in Corporal Winslow’s long stories,) in order to make every man his own “slangwhanger,” and enable a novice to play his part in a New England public-house. It is like making an olio with nothing but garlic. But be that as it may, his humorous matter keeps strictly within those bounds of good feeling and propriety which his graver passages sometimes transgress; and is really as great a relief to us after a long spell of obscure declamation, as the merry little tune with which the negro Hamlet was forced by his countrymen to interlard his soliloquy. (Vide Matthews.)

“ ‘Possum up a gum tree,
Up he go, up he go! &c. &c.
Pull him by him long tail,’ &c.

Hoping to see ere long something more from the fertile pen of Mr. Neal, we trust he will come before the public disencumbered of that Mohawk machinery of which he is so fond; at least, that he will reserve his Indians as mere tangible bugbears. In this shape they may be rendered much more terrific, than by labouring to connect a superstitious interest with their ignorant mummeries. In fact, we strongly doubt whether much effect can be given to any system of ghostly agency which does not stand on the vantage ground of habit and education; but be this as it may, we would enter a strong protest against innovations on the monopoly of credence which our established castes of ghosts

at present enjoy with dignity and credit, and which is barely sufficient to keep their spiritual existence from coming on the parish. There is no knowing how these matters may end, if the market is once opened to such bold importers of wonders as Mr. Neal. Our fleshless monks, and white women, and murdered barons, might soon be elbowed off the stage by every variety of Tartar Owley and African Obi, and the Wild-Jager himself blown away in a puff from a Lapland witch's storm-bag. We hope, moreover, that he will devote more time to the task of compressing and recasting his matter, which we suspect is a greater labour to him than that of composition, but which is absolutely necessary to give his talents their due weight with the public. The rich ore of genius and originality, of which he possesses considerable veins, must undergo a severe process of sifting and smelting from its rubbish before it can be rendered fit for circulation; and the world will not have time or patience to do him justice, unless he first does it to himself.

If, in conclusion, we may have seemed somewhat extreme to mark what is amiss, we would observe that the office of a critic bears a strong analogy to that of a whipper-in; and that the most promising puppies often require the severest lashing to cure them of babbling and running riot. If Mr. Neal should be half such an adept in fox-hunting as he appears to be in witch-hunting, he will acknowledge the truth of this maxim, and apply it in his own case.

There can hardly be a greater contrast to the style of Mr. Neal than that of Mr. Verplanck, one of the coadjutors of Washington Irving in the well-known periodical published at New York some years ago under the name of "*Salmagundi*." At present he comes under our notice as the reputed author of "*Koningsmarke, or the Long Finne*," a work with respect to which our expectations have been agreeably deceived. Aware of the imputed propensity of Jonathan for the marvellous, and not yet recovered from the "tough stories of Mr. Neal, we imagined that this "*Long Finne*" might be the hero of some strange legend from Hakluyt or Cotton Mather; some long-finned Caliban perhaps, "half horse, half alligator, with a spice of the snapping turtle," bred between a German settler and a Piscataqua mermaid. We had pictured him caught in a shoal near Passaquamoddy, and demi-civilized, like Sir Oran Outang in the story of Melincourt; put in possession of his father's name and store, taught to *guess*, dance cotillions, and eat pork with molasses; to conceal his whiting-eyes with green spectacles, and his dolphin-tail with breeches red as those of Mr. Jefferson, so as at length to obtain the same fashionable

currency in the circles of New York, which we are confident such a sea-lion would enjoy in our blue coteries.

We fear the admirers of "Frankenstein" and the "Last Man" will be disappointed at not learning what the moral conduct and sentiments of a fish would be under circumstances in which no fish was ever taken out of water: but readers in general will probably like "Koningsmarke" better as a pretty and rational little tale, abounding in nature and humour. The hero, as his title on second thoughts implies, is a tall young Finlander, son of a deceased colonel in the Swedish service, and forced by poverty to abandon his country and the profession of arms, to seek his fortune in America. Here he is first persecuted, then patronised and domesticated by the Heer Piper, the potent and irascible little governor of the Swedish settlement of Elsingburgh, blest with

"One fair daughter and no more,
The which he loved passing well."

The natural consequences ensue under circumstances against which even jointstools are said not to be proof; and as the Heer is too wise a man to oppose his daughter's happiness, the obstacles necessary to create an interest arise partly from the capture of Christina and her lover by a foraging party of red men, and partly from a little mystery arising from former events in Koningsmarke's history, which we will not spoil the matter by elucidating. After the flight of the lovers from the Indian camp, their recapture, and liberation at a critical period of time by the agency of William Penn and his settlers, the English seize on the settlement of Elsingburgh, and sentence Koningsmarke to an ignominious punishment on a false suspicion of tampering with the savages. From this predicament he is rescued by Christina's intercession, and matters having proceeded nearly through three volumes, the author lets his mouse out of the mountain, and makes his parties happy. The mystery respecting which we have kept Mr. Verplanck's counsel, has, it appears, been made the most of by a certain old black woman, called Bombie of the Frizzled Head, a professed caricature of Norna of the Fitful Head, and even more declamatory and tiresome than her prototype: and Koningsmarke himself is made to aid the delusion by a wildness of language and demeanour which Mr. Verplanck confesses to have been a necessary make-shift. All this is within the line of those privileges of authorship which we are always happy to advocate; but since Mr. Verplanck chooses to make use of them in sober earnest, he has, methinks, no great right to canvass the same thing in others. We have no wish

to claim any exemption from criticism in favour of the author of "Waverley," who is assailed by Mr. Verplanck, apropos to almost every thing, with whole pages of tedious irony; and we can comprehend without difficulty the jealousy which is pretty distinctly avowed, of the preference shown in America to imported literature. But putting good taste out of the question, as well as that fellow feeling which deters authors in general, more particularly those of established reputation, from assuming the office of chartered carpenters like ourselves, Mr. Verplanck has, in the heat and hurry of his tirade, made a most unlucky oversight, in mistaking Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, the author and commander, for Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as described in "Peveril of the Peak." Such blunders, in truth, are apt to place an aspirant critic in the unenviable light of frog exalting himself against ox. Nor will he gain much by going out of his way to copy the style of our pothouse journals, in abuse of the Constitutional Association, with which "Koningsmarke" has about as much to do as a Yorkshire story with an American caucus.

Whenever Mr. Verplanck chooses to abstain from such irrelevant matter, his story is interesting and agreeable. The style is throughout lively, terse, and easy, and adapted to give effect to a vein of quaint drollery, which often falls not far short of that inimitable work, "The Ludicrous History of New York." Its subjects too are well chosen and handled, as far as we have any opportunity of judging of the puritans and legislating busy-bodies of the daughter country. See vol. i. p. 192-210; vol. iii. p. 20-28; vol. i. p. 169-181.

Several pretty songs are aptly introduced, and the whole is pervaded, to use an expression of the author's when speaking of Governor Piper, "by a mellowness which causes him to caper and curvet at the sight of human happiness," and which, seconded by a taste for simple rural life, and a minute eye for its little circumstances, gives a very Berwick-like effect to the vignettes in writing with which he occasionally presents us. Nor does the tale seem deficient in right-mindedness on more serious subjects, unless indeed the conversations of Ollentangi, the old Indian philosopher, have any deeper import than to ridicule the zeal without knowledge which expects to work miracles on untaught savages. Not feeling however perfect certainty on this subject, we quote with greater pleasure the restoration of the Heer's daughter by honest Shadrach the quaker, as a favourable specimen of the several merits of Mr. Verplanck's style, and as a passage, which, in a true and genuine sense, "does a Christian's heart good."

“As the Heer thus indulged himself in melancholy ponderings, his attention was called off by a distant noise, that came to his ear like the shouts of joyful exultation. He listened, but again all was silent. What can it mean, thought he. But the thought was only momentary, and he sunk into his usual train of dark and dismal contemplation. Again the shout was repeated, still nearer, by the noisy tongues of the village train, whose elastic spirits were ever ready to seize occasions for noise and jollity. Nearer, and still nearer, came the rout, until at length the attention of the Heer was roused by something which struck upon his heart like a repetition of Christina’s name. He started up, and, hurrying with faltering steps to the window, beheld, a little way off, a crowd of people, in the midst of which seemed to be a tall, stately figure, mounted on horseback, with something that looked like a woman seated behind him. The waning lamp of his aged eyes would not permit him to distinguish any more. Yet—and the hope glanced upon his heart like lightning—yet, if it should be *her*, returning at last to his arms! As the eye, when long accustomed to darkness, shuts close its lids at the slightest ray of light, so does the mortal spirit, weakened by age, long suffering, melancholy thoughts, and dark forebodings, become overpowered by the first ray of hope that glances into its gloomy recesses. It often happens, too, that the ardent desire to realize a darling hope, is checked by an apprehension that certainty, instead of leading to fruition, will only lead to disappointment. To minds naturally weak, or weakened by long suffering, uncertainty is less painful than to know the worst.

“From one or both these causes, the good Heer, instead of going forth to learn the truth, returned trembling to his chair and there sat waiting, almost in a state of insensibility, the approach of the crowd.

“‘My father! where, where is he?’ exclaimed a voice that went to the innermost soul of the Heer, who sat rivetted to his chair, without the power of speech or motion. A moment after, a figure rushed in and threw herself at his feet, kissed his hands, and wept upon them.

“‘My father, hast thou forgotten Christina?—or, oh! heavenly powers! perhaps he has forgotten himself! speak to me, dear father, or kiss me, or press my hand—Oh, do something to show thou rememberest and lovest thy child.’

“The Heer pressed her hand, in token that he had not forgotten his daughter, but it was some minutes before he became sufficiently recovered to take her to his bosom, weep over, and bless her. When he did, the scene was so moving, that the spectators shed tears of sympathy; and even the dry and parched cheeks of Shadrach Money-penny exhibited indications of moisture.

“‘But you must thank my deliverers,’ said Christina, when the first strong feelings of joy had subsided.

“‘And who are they?’ answered the Heer, wiping his eyes and looking round, ‘Ah! Long Finne, art thou there? I dare almost swear thou hadst a hand in my daughter’s preservation: come hither, boy, thou art thrice welcome. Is it not so, Christina?’

“ ‘I owe my life to him,’ replied Christina, ‘but not my liberty, father.’

“ ‘To whom then? If he is present, I will hug him in my arms; if absent, I will seek him through the world but I will thank him; if he be poor, I will make him rich; if he be rich, he shall have my everlasting gratitude. Stand forth, whoever thou art; the guilty are not ashamed of their evil deeds—why should the virtuous blush for theirs?’

“ ‘The stiff and upright form of Shadrach Moneypenny now advanced with measured steps towards the Heer, who, on perceiving it approaching, started up, and hugged Shadrach, with such good will, that the head of the governor actually dislodged the hat of the other, and it fell to the floor. Shadrach stooped down with great deliberation, and, picking up the hat, placed it on his head and said—

“ ‘Take notice, friend Piper, I pulled not off mine own hat, in reference to thy dignity, or that of thy master, the bloody-minded man who carrieth the gospel of peace upon the incarnadined point of his sword. It fell by accident, verily.’

“ ‘Be it so,’ returned the Heer; ‘thou shalt wear thy beaver in the presence of kings, nay, of the King of kings, if thou likest, my noble benefactor, to whom I owe more than I can ever pay.’ ”—
vol. iii. p. 45-50.

Having done Mr. Verplanck the justice to select for quotation the best parts of his work, we must beg to observe that a little more good taste, and a little less presumption on points to which we have already alluded, are indispensably necessary before his writings can obtain that currency in the mother country, which is confessedly the surest passport to the approbation of his own.

On one subject we perfectly agree with him, namely on the merits of the “Pioneers.” We can hardly believe that the work which English taste seems generally to distinguish as the best of Mr. Cooper’s series of novels, should meet in his own country with the disparagement which its vindication in “Koningsmarke” should imply. At all events, it has secured for him, by tacit consent, an admission to those rights and honours of our own body corporate of literature, of which no other American except Washington Irving can boast.

If not superior in natural genius to the author of “Seventy-six,” Mr. Cooper far excels him in all points of judgment and good taste. Possessing a new and a wide field of interest in the manners and legends of his native country, and the strongly marked features of the wild tribes who are now gradually disappearing from its forests, he has succeeded in preserving a character of originality, while forming his style almost professedly on that of the author of “Waverley.” Like him, Mr. Cooper discards all

unnecessary sentiment, and makes no more use of love than is necessary for the conduct of his plot.

“ Happy’s the wooing
That’s not long a doing.”

If he does not possess the power remarkable in his great model, of imparting by a single word, look, or incident, a high and heroic character to the passion of love, he shows the same good judgment in keeping it subservient to the arduous adventures and the real business of life, an art but little known fifty years ago. And generally speaking, he appears to have caught from the study of the Waverley novels that vigorous and manly tone of feeling, which perhaps is their most peculiar trait, and to have learnt to apply those principles of contrasted light and shade, of mirth and gravity, which most truly answer to the checkered character of human existence. We rise from the perusal of the American, as of the Scottish novelist, reminded that man is a being of as hardy and noble a conformation as the oak, from which poets tell us he once drew his subsistence, and like it, made to develop his native qualities best while struggling with the storm ; that laudable and continuous action, (the *ενεργεια κατ’ αρετην εν βιω τελειω*, of the ancients,) is the true end and happiness of his being ; and that while he faces the evils of life with a spirit thankful for good, and buoyant against evil, he should recollect the maxim

“ *Γενεται ανδρος ανηρ,*”

in plain English, that a mutual dependence subsists between all ranks of life, and that he himself may one day be beholden to the sympathy and assistance of his meanest fellow-mortal. Observing, as we cannot help doing, an incipient tendency in more than one author of rising talent, to revive the forgotten taste for dismal dolours, to describe the world as a howling wilderness of hardhearted oppression and hopeless love, made for the refined to bewail themselves in, and yelp, like beaten hounds, under the lash of disappointment, we cannot bestow too marked praise upon a style of writing, which, without the slightest tinge of callous optimism, exhibits the real stuff that human life is made of, and tends to keep the reader in love and charity with his own kind. Such is the peculiar merit of “ Arthur Mervyn,” a tale on which we have already remarked ; whose tone of sentiment, so unusual in a disappointed man, we hope Mr. Cooper will continue to follow under happier auspices.

The sum of Mr. Cooper’s works is comprised, we believe, in five novels, more or less known in this country, as “ The Spy,”

"The Pioneers," "The Pilot," "Lionel Lincoln," and "The Last of the Mohicans," such being the order in which they were published. We shall, however, mention "Lionel Lincoln" first, partly because as a tale of the revolutionary war, it rather precedes "The Spy" and "The Pilot" in the order of time, and partly because according to the established arrangement of processions, we wish to begin with that which has least merit and importance. The public events touched upon in "Lionel Lincoln," are, the battles of Lexington and Bunker's-hill, the siege of Boston, and its final abandonment by the British troops. The principal private actor in the scene is Major Lionel Lincoln, from whom the story takes its name, a young English officer of a distinguished family, and connected by blood with the American states. Notwithstanding this affinity, Mr. Cooper has the good taste to preserve his hero true to his allegiance, which his fair cousin and mistress, Miss Dynevor, a stanch and candid loyalist like himself, feels no inclination to shake. To vary the equable tenour of their attachment, there is rather a tedious episode, taken, as is asserted, from fact, about Sir Lionel Lincoln, the major's father, who breaks loose from a mad-house in England, acts a more prominent part in the revolutionary war than the judicious Washington would probably have allowed him to do, and haunts like a ghost his relative Mrs. Lechmere, whose machinations turned his head in early life. The baronet, it must be confessed, belongs too much to that class of half-crazed, half-inspired, mysterious, and seven-leagued old people, those male and female Nornas, impervious to fatigue and physical wants, of whom, we believe, Dame Anathema Maranatha of "Brambletye House" is the last representative; and unfortunately for Captain Polwarth, the Falstaff of the piece, his wit is as heavy as his person, and seems entirely borrowed from Dr. Kitchener. Both these persons, however, please us in their separate provinces much better than Job Pray, who seems destined for a sort of patriotic Davie Gellatly, but who, unlike that faithful simpleton, does not possess the common gratitude of a dog; for he boasts of having shot the man from whose dish he has every day fed. Can he inherit from his mother Abigail, whom some cockney critic appears to mistake for an attempt at a Meg Merrilies; "rebellion lay in his way and he found it" without any great sin; but to become a hero of humble life, an idiot ought at least to possess the virtues of a beast.

The historical and military part is given with spirit and interest, and in a manner entirely free from fanfaronade; so as very much to redeem the heaviness of the book in other respects, and entitle

it to a fair rank in the series of "Legends of the Thirteen Republics," whose title should seem to promise a further extension of Mr. Cooper's plan.

"The Spy, or a Tale of the Neutral Ground," belongs to a period of the war somewhat later. Its leading interest is derived from the hair-breadth escapes, the adventures and transformations, of a hardy pedlar, who acts as a secret agent of Washington's, while he is braving the vengeance of the Americans as a professed spy of the British army. His greatest danger of course arises from his own countrymen, whom he serves with disinterested zeal at the expense of his wealthier paymasters. True at the same time to private good faith, he rescues from military execution Captain Wharton, a young American loyalist serving in the British army, and captured under suspicious circumstances while visiting his friends in disguise. It is contrived by the author, to increase the perplexity from which Wharton's escape frees his readers, that the republican corps into whose hands Wharton falls is commanded by Major Dunwoodie, the favoured lover of his sister. All however turns out happily, and Dunwoodie is recompensed for his struggle between love and duty, by the hand of a very charming little rebel, while her Tory sister is punished by the author with the discovery that her English lover Colonel Wellmere is already married. The sentence of celibacy is executed with strict republican justice on the latter lady, for out of two fine young men, either of whom would have been happy to convert and console her, one is unnecessarily shot through the head, in action, and the other, as we are informed in a postscript, remains a pigtailed old-bachelor colonel, tantalizing her with a mock-offer every Valentine's day. The same postscript represents Harvey Birch, the pedlar, entering the American army in the last war as a casual volunteer, when well stricken in years. A certificate in the handwriting of Washington, clears up those equivocal points in his character on which the author makes him unaccountably silent till the day of his fall in action.

Such is the main thread of "The Spy," enlivened by a perpetual succession of spirit-stirring adventures and desperate escapes, which will be impressed on the minds of those who have read the book, and whose effect on those who have not read it, we will not mar by extracts; wishing however to call their attention more particularly to the grotesque disguise of Birch as a fanatical preacher, the dexterity with which, under this character, he rescues Wharton from under the very pistols of his captors, and lastly, the execution of the skinner captain, which is worked up

in a manner, reminding us of the drowning of the wretched Morris. The author certainly deserves credit for the impartial poetical justice which he has dealt out upon the representative of ruffians who seem to have disgraced the popular cause. We cannot, speaking as mere cosmopolites, equally approve of the portrait of Colonel Wellmere. Knowing as we do, that cool arrogance is as much the vice of this country, as jealous gasconading vanity is that of brother Jonathan, we can easily suppose that the conduct of our young officers may have aggravated the exasperation which existed at the time in question; but to represent an English colonel as a mere petty-larceny knave, deficient in common spirit, is a ridiculous attempt. With the exception of this piece of bad judgment, Mr. Cooper, though touching on inflammable matter, has not overstept the limits of that reasonable partiality to his own country, which he may fairly be allowed to feel.

Nor does he depart from the modesty of nature in his conception of Harvey Birch, the real and effective hero of the story. We have already spoken our sentiments as to the wholesome moral effect of illustrating by such imaginary instances that dependence of man upon his brother, from which no rank can exempt him. Hence partly arises the interest of such characters as Edie Ochiltree and Davie Gellatly, who nevertheless, in every word and action, are drawn to the life as an old beggar and a wayward idiot. Nor is there any thing fine or romantic introduced to break the consistency of Birch's demeanour as a rough ordinary pedlar. His address is dry and coarse, his appearance repulsive; his delicacy is not very troublesome either in driving a bargain, or in obtaining English guineas under false pretences; and he loves the said guineas better than any thing else excepting his country and his bedridden father. An inferior author would not have avoided making him much too gentlemanly for his business; but Mr. Cooper has kept him strictly down to his humble rank, and yet rendered him the most interesting person in the book.

We have not leisure to remark upon Dr. Sitgreaves, the prescriptive bore of the piece, and his Galenical song, which however is better than the strain of woful namby-pamby that escapes from Dunwoodie in a luckless hour. To this the reader will find an agreeable contrast in the touching little stanza which forms the motto to poor Lawton's death-chapter. It is taken from Halleck, a poet of whom we would fain know more, if he always writes thus. We must also find room for a rough spice of the said Lawton's leaguer-muse, which is nearly as good in a different way:—

"Now push the mug, my jolly boys,
 And live, while live we can,
 To-morrow's sun may end your joys,
 For brief's the hour of man.
 And he who bravely meets the foe
 His lease of life can never know.
 Old mother Flanagan,
 Come and fill the can again :
 For you can fill, and we can swill,
 Good Betty Flanagan.

"If love of life pervades your breast,
 Or love of ease your frame,
 Quit honour's path, for peaceful rest,
 And bear a coward's name ;
 For soon and late, we danger know,
 And fearless on the saddle go.
 Old mother, &c.

"When foreign foes invade the land,
 And wives and sweethearts call :
 In freedom's cause we'll bravely stand,
 Or will as bravely fall.
 In this fair home the fates have given,
 We'll live as lords, or live in heaven.
 Old mother, &c."

"The Pilot, a Tale of the Sea," is full of the same bustling adventurous interest, and vivid painting, as "The Spy." On this subject Mr. Cooper writes with a professional bias, and cannot avoid "running a rig on the marines and lobsters:" for of this description are the two dupes and bores of the book, and though opposed in arms to each other, a happy similarity of character makes them as good friends as Diomed and Glaucus. With respect to the more serious part, love is made more troublesome than is generally the case in Mr. Cooper's novels, for as in the old song

"'Twont let a poor man
 Go about his business."

Thus stands the matter. An American frigate and her consort are rather impertinently cruising off the north-eastern coast of England during the revolutionary war, with the project, since improved upon by Thistlewood, of pouncing upon certain noblemen and privy counsellors assembled at a hunting seat in the neighbourhood, and carrying them off as hostages for the good behaviour of the British government. A certain mysterious pilot, who proves to be no less than Paul Jones himself, preserves them from shipwreck, and guides the young officers intrusted with the attempt, to their purpose. These however have already discovered

their mistresses in an old mansion on the coast, occupied by Colonel Howard, the guardian and relative of the young ladies, and a refugee royalist from the colonies. Their attention is therefore distracted with the desire of bringing off the half-willing damsels, and Paul is wroth; more particularly as his own betrothed, whom he discovers to be their guest, refuses to make one in the scheme. In the mean time, the more noble birds are flown, and Paul seeing that nothing better is to be had, insists on making a prize of the colonel, whom his wards accompany to sea. English cruisers are on the alert, and an action ensuing, the poor veteran, to whose honourable and loyal character our republican author does full justice, is killed by a shot meant for his enemies. The skill of the Pilot navigates the shattered vessel through shoals where her antagonist dare not follow her, and the conclusion is obvious.

The story is obviously founded on the attempt made by Paul Jones, alias John Paul, to carry off Lord Selkirk, in whose service his father had lived as gardener. Little we believe of an authentic nature is known respecting the early history of this celebrated desperado, save the meagre notices of him in the "Annual Register:"* from which it appears that he was forced to quit his native country "for no good," and that his adoption of the American cause proceeded more from attachment to his own neck, than to the rights of man. This the Americans and Louis seem to have known, and very wisely to have treated him as one of those base tokens which acquire currency in times of difficulty; viz. to have thrown him away when their purpose was served. It must be owned that his conduct towards Lord Selkirk's captured household and movables was marked by a moderation which neither Teach nor Morgan would probably have shown in his place, and it is perhaps rather hard to couple his name, as is frequently done, with those of the unrelenting ruffians in question. But the fact is, that Mr. Cooper is as ashamed as the American admiralty most likely were, of having been tempted to make use of a fellow who had not the national attachment evinced even by Dirk Hatteraick, in his lurking wish for "a lust-haus and blumgarten by the Middleburg canal:" a sort of sea-skinner, without that pretence of fighting for his country, which covered the misdeeds of the skinners of 1776. Accordingly he gives Paul a mistress of a rank to which he could not have aspired, for the purpose of putting into her mouth an eloquent reprobation of his treason. It is, as we conceive, from the same feeling, that the character of the hardy partisan becomes rather

* We have heard of Sherburne's Memoir, which comes from a source entitled to credit.

a failure in Mr. Cooper's hands. The passage through the Devil's Grip, effected by his guidance, is told with a thrilling power of description which may be felt by those who cannot judge of its technical accuracy; but this would be equally perfect and natural were the name of John-a-Nokes or John-a-Styles substituted for that of John Paul. "Speak, that we may know thee," is a rule applicable to fictitious as to real characters; and when Paul does accordingly speak, his speeches have more the air of a Jeremiade from the lips of young Watson, or Henry Hunt at Ilchester, than of the rough concise language which probably marked the quondam smuggler. Though competently enforced by stamps and frowns, they smell more of the frowzy leathern apron of a bilious boot-closer, expounding the "Times" or "Chronicle" over muddy porter, than of the tarry trowsers of a thorough-bred son of the sea.

We turn with pleasure to a character of the last-mentioned sort, in which Mr. Cooper has had complete success, probably from entering into it with undivided satisfaction. We mean that of Long Tom Coffin, the cockswain of Lieutenant Barnstable, one of the young naval lovers alluded to, and his tutor and protector when a boy; "once your master, now your servant," in his own words; an old whaler, who never will stir without his harpoon and line, and who walks on land like a Triton treading on his own tail. For land, indeed, he can see no use, excepting "now and then a small island to raise a few vegetables and to dry your fish." Yet are the rough elements so tempered in him,

"that Neptune might stand up
And say, This was a man!"

We have seen a head executed by a Mr. Hurlstone, an American artist, who bids fair to share the reputation of Newton and Leslie, which he called a study from one of Paul Jones's crew; a contemplative weather-beaten countenance, marked by the subdued recollections of battles and hard gales, which exactly conveys to us the notion of poor Tom. "Born on board a chebacco-man," as he tells us, this simple-hearted creature conceives it a matter of course to die on his native element, and on board his favourite vessel, the schooner Ariel, which is wrecked on the iron-bound coast. With him expires the main interest and action of the story, which we shall accordingly close with the passage containing his funeral eulogy, and possessing much general merit:—

"Merry felt the heavy grasp of the lieutenant on his slight arm, while his commander continued, in a voice that gradually increased

in power, as his feelings predominated; 'And yet, boy, a human being cannot love the creature of his own formation as he does the works of God; a man can never regard his ship as he does his ship mates. I sailed with him, boy, when every thing seemed bright and happy, as at your age; when, as he often expressed it, I knew nothing and feared nothing. I was then a truant from an old father and a kind mother, and he did that for me which no parents could have done in my situation—he was my father and mother on the deep!—hours, days, even months, has he passed in teaching me the art of our profession; and now in my manhood, he has followed me from ship to ship, from sea to sea, and has only quitted me to die, where I should have died—as if he felt the disgrace of abandoning the poor Ariel to her fate by herself.'

" 'No—no—no—'twas his superstitious pride!' interrupted Merry; but perceiving that the head of Barnstable had sunk between his hands, as if he would conceal his emotion, the boy added no more, but he sat respectfully watching the display of feeling that his officer, in vain, endeavoured to suppress. Merry felt his own form quiver with sympathy at the shuddering which passed through Barnstable's frame; and the relief experienced by the lieutenant himself was not greater than that which the midshipman felt, as the latter beheld large tears forcing their way through the other's fingers, and falling on the sands at his feet. They were followed by a violent burst of emotion, such as is seldom exhibited in the meridian of life, but which, when it conquers the nature of one who has buffeted the chances of the world with the loftiness of his sex and character, breaks down every barrier, and seems to sweep before it, like a rushing torrent, all the factitious defences which habit and education have created to protect the pride of manhood. Merry had often beheld the commanding severity of the lieutenant's manner, in moments of danger, with deep respect; he had been drawn towards him by kindness and affection in times of gaiety and recklessness; but he now sat, for many minutes, profoundly silent, regarding his officer with sensations that were nearly allied to awe. The struggle with himself was long and severe in the bosom of Barnstable, but at length a calm of relieved passions succeeded to his emotion. When he arose from the rock, and removed his hands from his features, his eye was hard and proud, his brow slightly contracted, and he spoke in a voice so harsh, that it startled his companion—

" 'Come, sir; why are we here, and idle? are not yon poor fellows looking up to us for advice, and orders how to proceed in this exigency? Away, away, Mr. Merry; it is not a time to be drawing figures in the sand with your dirk; the flood tide will soon be in, and we may be glad to hide our heads in some cavern among these rocks. Let us be stirring, sir, while we have the sun, and muster enough food and arms to keep life in us, and our enemies off us, until we can once more get afloat.'

"The wandering boy, whose experience had not yet taught him to appreciate the reaction of the passions, started at this unexpected

summons to his duty, and followed Barnstable towards the group of distant seamen. The lieutenant, who was instantly conscious how far pride had rendered him unjust, soon moderated his long strides, and continued in milder tones, which were quickly converted into his usual frank communications, though they still remained tinged with a melancholy, that time only could entirely remove."—vol. iii. p. 9-12.

"The Last of the Mohicans," which is also the last of Mr. Cooper's works, is a sort of Irish sequel, or posthumous introduction to "The Pioneers," the success of which, perhaps, induced him to enlarge it by this addition. The subject entirely relates to the stratagems and adventures of Indian warfare, and just enough of story is given to connect them in a pleasing manner. The commandant of an English fort, during the Canadian war of 1757, desirous to remove his daughters to another station, consigns them to the care of Major Heyward, his destined son-in-law; who is rescued from an ambush prepared by his treacherous Indian guide Magua, through the means of the two last descendants of the friendly Mohican tribe, and their companion Nathaniel Bumppo, an American hunter, completely naturalized to the forests and to Indian manners. After more than one recapture, and many escapes and vicissitudes, which will be read with a strong interest by the lovers of the wild and uncommon, Cora, the unengaged sister, is murdered by the treacherous Magua; the young Indian Uncas, a man of few words, whose actions expressively speak his secret feelings, perishes in the attempt to save her; the hostile party are cut off, and Magua, while effecting his escape, is brought down by one of those unerring shots which have procured for Bumppo the noms de guerre of Hawk-eye and La Longue Carabine. In "The Pioneers" he reappears equally active and dexterous, but with the burthen of thirty more years on his back: accompanied by the childless father, Chingachgook, and concealing and supporting his former patron, Major Effingham, a royalist officer reduced to poverty and dotage.

We believe that we need not recapitulate the events, or touch on the varied and well-drawn characters, of a work so deservedly popular as the novel which we have just mentioned. Its scenes of moving and animated nature, its storms, its panther-fights and burning forests, must be fresh in the recollection of most of our readers. Illustrative as it also is of a state of life where a dinner is a banquet on spoils won or preserved from the bear, the catamount, and the fickle seasons, and a common morning's walk is an adventure of peril

"With rifle and horn through the broad forest bounding,"

it imparts a dignity to the ordinary occurrences of life, which the Germans, with Goëthe at their head, in vain attempt to transfer to an old country full of butchers, bakers, and gens d'armes, and frowzy plebeian indulgences.

In an infant state of society like that described in "The Pioneers," the character of the old hunter stands out, as it is intended to do, in bolder relief than any of the other persons, including the beautiful and high-spirited Elizabeth Temple herself. Like Birch the pedlar, and Tom Coffin, he is the real hero of the scene in which he appears; and, indeed, the points of resemblance between the seaman and the back-woodsman are numerous, in spite of their totally different vocations. Both are original conceptions of men engaged in hardy and adventurous pursuits, but as undebased by the contact of their species as was Adam in his primitive simplicity, and imbued with that intuitive sense of the sublimities of nature and religion which often exists in the minds of men too illiterate to give it utterance. "For Tom often prayed," we are told, "though he did it on his watch, standing and in silence;" and Natty appears to have only learnt lessons of gratitude to Providence, and humanity towards the meanest of its creatures, from the life of constant danger and vicissitude to which he has been exposed. Though both take as local and peculiar a tinge from the objects with which they have been conversant, as the aphis or chameleon, the cockswain is as unlike to a jolly jack-tar as the Leatherstocking is to a thoughtless whooping huntsman. Of the integrity and faithfulness of Bumpo it is unnecessary to speak; or of the beautiful parting scene between him and his young pupil Effingham. We prefer to quote a passage less conspicuous, but more illustrative of the peculiar turn of mind which has weaned the old hunter from the usages of social life, without extinguishing its charities. The passage is in itself strikingly descriptive.

" ' There's a place in them hills that I use to climb to, when I wanted to see the carryings on of the world, that would well pay any man for a barked skin, or a torn moccasin. You know the Catskills, lad, for you must have seen them on your left, as you followed the river up from York, looking as blue as a piece of clear sky, and holding the clouds on their tops, as the smoke curls over the head of an Indian chief at a council fire. Well, there's the High-peak and the Round-top, which lay back, like a father and mother among their children, seeing they are far above all the other hills. But the place I mean is next to the river, where one of the ridges juts out a little from the rest, and where the rocks fall for the best part of a thousand feet, so much up and

down, that a man standing on their edges is fool enough to think he can jump from top to bottom.'

" 'What see you when you get there?' asked Edwards.

" 'Creation!' said Natty, dropping the end of his rod in the water, and sweeping one hand around him in a circle—'all creation, lad. I was on that hill when Vaughan burnt 'Sopus, in the last war, and I seen the vessels come out of the high lands as plain as I can see that lime-scow rowing into the Susquehanna, though one was twenty times further from me than the other. The river was in sight for seventy miles under my feet, looking like a curled shaving, though it was eight long miles to its banks. I saw the hills in the Hampshire grants, the high lands of the river, and all that God had done or man could do, as far as eye could reach—you know that the Indians named me for my sight, lad—and from the flat on the top of that mountain, I have often found the place where Albany stands; and as for 'Sopus! the day the royal troops burnt the town, the smoke seemed so nigh, that I thought I could hear the screeches of the women.'

" 'It must have been worth the toil, to meet with such a glorious view!'

" 'If being the best part of a mile in the air, and having men's farms and housen at your feet, with rivers looking like ribands, and mountains bigger than the "Vision," seeming to be haystacks of green grass under you, gives any satisfaction to a man, I can recommend the spot. When I first come into the woods to live, I used to have weak spells, and I felt lonesome; and then I would go into the Cattskills and spend a few days on that hill, to look at the ways of man; but it's now many a year since I felt any such longings, and I'm getting too old for them rugged rocks. But there's a place, a short two miles back of that very hill, that in late times I relished better than the mountains; for it was more kivered with the trees, and more nateral.'"
—vol. iii. p. 36-38.

A writer who can thus describe, with that faithful nicety which is the great charm of "*Robinson Crusoe*," the gradual progress of assimilation to the woods and wilds, and professes besides so many of the higher qualities of a novelist, is capable of doing justice to a narrative of the early English settlers in America: and we trust that in progress of time Mr. Cooper will rescue this promising subject from inferior hands. There are no doubt many authors who could work up skilfully the external circumstances of the dangers and privations calmly encountered by these unconquerable men, hemmed in by the sea on the one hand, and the savage tribes on the other, and who are sufficiently well versed in all the frightful varieties of Indian war dances, whoops, and tattooings. To give an adequate idea, however, of the overwhelming sense of solitude, which suddenly succeeded to the struggles of active life, and the high-wrought enthusiasm

which enabled them to bear up against its influence, and to embody a good mental portrait of their red neighbours, is a rarer talent, possessed, we think, by an author who could fully enter into the characters of Nathaniel, and the brave and gentle Uncas. Feeling as we do, that the cause of international concord, in which we believe Mr. Cooper sincere, is materially promoted by the able treatment of subjects in which the mother and daughter country can glory alike, we trust he will ere long do justice to the conscientious sacrifices, the high moral and physical courage of men who, whatever their religious and political wrongheadedness may have been, reflect honour at once on the country which bore them, and on that whose best and purest blood will be traced to their source.

ART. IX.—1. *Commentaries on the Laws of England, in Four Books, by Sir William Blackstone, Knt., one of the Justices of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas. Sixteenth Edition; with Notes.* By John Taylor Coleridge, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law. 4 vols. 8vo. Cadell, Strand, and Butterworth and Son, Fleet-Street.

2.—*Commentaries on the Laws of England, by the late Sir William Blackstone, Knt. A New Edition; with Practical Notes.* By Joseph Chitty, Esq., Barrister at Law. 4 vols. royal 8vo. Walker, Strand, and Cowie, Low, and Co., Poultry.

THE “Commentaries” of Sir William Blackstone, notwithstanding some important alterations which have been made in different parts of the law since the time he wrote, still remain the best work to which the professional student can be directed in the outset of his studies, and the only one from which the general reader can derive a knowledge of the laws and institutions of his country. It is not surprising, then, that several gentlemen should have thought it a worthy occupation to endeavour to improve and supply the defects of such a work. “To me,” (Mr. Coleridge well observes in his preface,) “the ‘Commentaries’ appear in the light of a national property, which

all should be anxious to improve to the uttermost, and which no one of proper feeling will meddle with inconsiderately. It is easy to point out their faults ; and their general merits of lucid order, sound and clear exposition, and a style almost faultless in its kind, are also easily perceived and universally acknowledged : but it requires the study, perhaps necessarily imposed upon an editor, to understand fully the whole extent of praise to which the author is entitled ; his materials should be seen in their crude and scattered state ; the controversies examined, of which the sum only is shortly given ; what he has rejected, what he has forborne to say, should be known before his learning, judgment, taste, and above all, his total want of self-display, can be justly appreciated."

To the correctness of this eulogium, the examination which we have from time to time made of portions of the materials whence the learned commentator has drawn his statements, bears ample testimony. We think it, therefore, a question of no slight interest how this valuable work has been handled by its editors ; whether its defects, which have chiefly originated in alterations of the law, have been judiciously supplied.

Before, however, we examine the works which stand at the head of this article, we wish to notice some of the alterations which have been made in our law since the " Commentaries " were published.

The principles upon which the laws of England are founded, it is well known, are traced from very high antiquity. Some of them originated with our Saxon ancestors, and the majority may be deduced from the feudal system introduced by the Norman conqueror. It is evident, without any investigation, that laws which were adapted for a state of half civilized warriors, would ill harmonize with the feelings of a nation far advanced in civilisation and knowledge. Strange, indeed, would it have been if, in the progress of intellectual improvement, we had learned nothing in the science of legislation ; if a more correct knowledge of the ends of punishment and of the motives of human action had led to no improvements in our criminal code. But it may not be uninteresting to observe, by the way, how slowly any alterations are permitted, how reluctantly men abandon principles and measures which were sanctioned by their ancestors. This no doubt is a fortunate circumstance in the constitution of man ; but still too froward " a retention of custom is more baneful than innovation ; and they who reverence too much old times are not of most service to the new." Not only are there hesitation and caution in an honest mind

against breaking in upon the established order of things, but ignorance and prejudice are at hand to oppose every change. The coarse weed of prejudice can grow up vigorous and rank in every soil, and under every exposure: not so that chief flower of the mind, impartiality; many circumstances must contribute to its growth, many more to its continuance, its strength, and beauty. But ignorance will vanish, and prejudice must yield at last to the steady force of truth. The proposition for altering the cruel and disgusting punishment of burning women alive was, in the recollection of many now living, negatived in the British parliament: the bill for rescuing England from the disgrace of abetting slavery was repeatedly thrown out. Nevertheless the punishment of burning is no more, and Africa is free! * The obstacles, indeed, which hinder the improvement of laws, are greater than those which occur in other departments of political science. At no time are many of our senators disposed to give much of their attention to the correction of abuses which produce no present inconvenience, and which are not marked by the disapprobation of the multitude. He who labours for the repeal of an unjust law, the injustice of which is seldom experienced, and is then, perhaps, concealed from the observation of men in the bosom of the sufferer, is not rewarded with the honours of a patriot. In time of war and of other political commotions, the consideration of the laws is almost necessarily neglected; it is only in peaceful times, when the minds of men are not captivated by the exciting alternations of war, when the voice of reason and of truth can be heard uninterrupted by popular complaint, that there is any hope of obtaining a patient hearing for such questions, and of successfully opposing the bigoted enemies of every reform. Nobly, indeed, has it been said,

“Peace has her victories,
No less renowned than war.”

“Victories over those baneful prejudices and mistaken notions of policy, which have in all ages been nearly as destructive of the happiness of men as the sword of the conqueror.—Victories where the shouts of triumph and of thanksgiving ascend to heaven pure and undisturbed by the groans of the dying, or by the lamentations over the dead!”

We shall now consider some of the alterations which have been made in the law in our own time. And here the name of Sir Samuel Romilly immediately occurs to us; a name which brings to

* See Sir S. Romilly's speech, *Parliament. Debates*, 28. App. cxxxix.

our remembrance a high-minded and accomplished man, endeared to his professional brethren by his courtesy, his learning, and his integrity; and respected by the nation at large, for his patient and disinterested advocacy of measures, totally divested of vulgar popularity, but which were honourable and advantageous to his country.

The first measure to which we shall allude, is the act which passed in 1814 for taking away the corruption of blood in certain cases.

By the law of England, a person convicted of high treason forfeits all his lands and personal estate, that is, every thing which he possesses, to the crown for ever. But a person convicted of murder or any other felony, forfeits only his personal estate absolutely, and his lands during his life, and for a year and a day after its termination. This law of forfeiture we derive from our Saxon ancestors. By the feudal law introduced by the Norman conqueror, the blood of a person convicted of treason or any felony was said to be *corrupted*: hence the Anglo-Norman lawyers deduced the consequence, that such a person could not transmit a descent, that is, could not form a link by which the chain of a pedigree could be traced. Consequently the descendants of a convicted person could not, at any distance of time, claim an estate to which he, had he been alive, would have had a prior right; but the estate fell or passed to the lord by whom it was supposed to have been granted. "This inference of legal subtlety," which thus, in a remote period of our history, grew into a penal law, did not obtain in any other country, though subject to the feudal laws. As a penal law it is obviously defective. Its punishment is never inflicted upon the guilty, it falls entirely upon the innocent. In the case of treason, it inflicts no present punishment, for the forfeiture to the crown swallows up all; the children of a murderer or other felon might, indeed, by its operation, be deprived of lands of which their father died possessed, but then such a felon seldom leaves any property to be forfeited. The distinguishing and most objectionable feature of the law is the uncertainty and remoteness of its operation. Thus if a son commit treason or any felony, and afterwards the grandfather dies possessed of lands, and without making a will, they will not *descend* to the grandson, though they might have been devised to him. So much for the uncertainty; and it is evident that a very remote descendant of a felon might be prejudiced by the crime of one who had long been forgotten: for if *his* name be necessary to make out a pedigree, there the pedigree must stop; by reason of the corruption of his blood no issue of his can be worthy of the inheritance. A

curious case occurred in the last Irish rebellion. The children of an officer in his majesty's service, who fell in battle against the rebels, were deprived of an estate by the conviction of a relation engaged in that rebellion. Here the very reasonable presumption must be ascribed to the law, that a leader of the rebellion was likely to be deterred by a tender regard for the children of a relation against whom he was to draw his sword in battle, and whose life it was his duty to destroy.*

Sir Samuel Romilly proposed that forfeiture should accrue from corruption of blood in no case; but treason, petit treason, and murder were excepted; and the descendants of a traitor and a murderer are still subject to the law.

In the same year in which the act we have just considered was passed, the punishment of high treason was altered. The punishment was, that the offender be dragged to the gallows; that he be hanged by the neck and then cut down alive; that his entrails be taken out and burned *while he is yet alive*; that his head be cut off; that his body be divided into four parts; and that his head and quarters be at the king's disposal.

The plea of antiquity could be, and was, strongly urged in defence of this punishment. The sentence of David Prince of Wales, executed in the reign of Edward I., is recorded in similar terms. An anecdote respecting his execution is preserved which marks the manners of the age. It was agreed, that London, as the metropolis, should possess his head, but York and Winchester contended for his right shoulder, and the latter gained it. The execution of Sir William Wallace in the same reign, whose chief crime it was to have defended the liberties of his country with courage and address, is related in the following terms:—"Morte crudelissimâ sed dignissimâ condemnatur. Primo per plateas Londini ad caudas equinas tractus, usque ad patibulum altissimum sibi fabricatum, quò laqueo suspensus; postea semivivus dimissus, deinde abscissis genitalibus et evisceratis intestinis, ac in igne crematis, demum abscisso capite, ac trunco in quatuor partes secto, caput palo super pontem Londinensem affigitur."

It is true that the above sentence was not in modern times strictly enforced. The criminal was dragged to the gallows, but upon a hurdle; his entrails were taken out, but not till he was dead. The improved feeling of the age operated even upon the executioner. But still the sentence pronounced by the judge was the same, as may be seen by a reference to the trials of

* Parliamentary Debates, 23. App. cliv.

Tyrie in 1782, and of Despard in 1803. Was it then befitting the justice or honour of our law, that it should depend on the caprice of a common hangman, whether the most excruciating torture should be inflicted upon the criminal?

In favour of the recorded punishment, it was urged that the terror of it influenced many. The unanswerable question was then put, "If intimidation will prevent crime, why should not the terror of death attend the most trifling offence?" But does the terror of punishment powerfully influence the human mind? Is it not rather by informing the understanding, correcting the feelings, and exciting in the community a horror of any particular act, that they are best deterred from the commission of it? If, indeed, a severe punishment await a crime which is already held in abhorrence, the severity may heighten the feeling against it: but experience tells us, if an offence not highly criminal in the eyes of the public be severely punished, the severity will have quite a contrary effect. Has not the exhibition of cruel punishments, the disembowelling of offenders, the burning of their entrails, the dismemberment of their limbs, a tendency to harden the hearts and produce cruelty in the people? Is not this evidenced in the present case by the coarse proverbial jest from "the wonderfull yeare 1603 in Phœnix Britannicus." "My gorbelly host, that in many a yeare could not without grunting craule ouer a threshold but two foot broad, leapt halfe a yard from the coarse as nimble as if his guts had beene taken out by the hangman."

The sentence in cases of high treason as altered is, "that the person be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until he be dead; and that afterwards, the head shall be severed from the body of such person, and the body be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as his majesty shall think fit."

We may now pass to the important improvements which have been effected by the present enlightened and indefatigable Secretary of State for the Home Department, Mr. Peel. There is no part of Mr. Peel's conduct, in this matter, we are so disposed to admire, nothing which so clearly evinces the excellent constitution of his mind, as the extreme caution with which he proceeds, the anxiety he manifests to preserve the old law when it is not inconsistent with present circumstances. "Asking counsel of both times, of the ancient time that which is best, of the latter time that which is fittest," he makes the right use of the labours of our ancestors. Proving all things by the test of experience, he adopts those which are good, and without hesitation rejects the faulty and erroneous, however ancient their

origin may be. Although a law be ever so vicious, the soundest philosophy teaches us, that a hasty correction of it may produce no good result. If the habits and feelings of a people be contrary to sound principles in any respect, it is wiser not to attempt to reform them at once by the coercion of a law; for however strong the arm of law, we know that the prejudices of the human mind are not easily overcome. We know also, that the contest between the good and evil principles, light and darkness, may produce so much confusion in the state as to render it necessary to abandon the wisest law; and then, the last state of that people is worse than the first. We would not, indeed, endeavour to perpetuate a law vicious in its principle, but we would first inform the understandings and endeavour to correct the feelings of a people before we proposed a law at variance with their habits. What the Abbé de Mably says of liberty is true of all changes in the institutions of a people.

“Il ne suffit pas d'ordonner à un peuple d'être libre, pour qu'il le soit; il ne suffit pas de porter des lois; il faut changer dans les citoyens la manière de voir, de sentir, et de penser, ou leurs anciens préjugés triompheront de la sagesse des magistrats.”—vol. i. p. 128.

Heartily, then, do we concur in the excellent observations of Mr. Peel—

“That nothing would be more unwise than to force on the country, in too rapid succession, these alterations in the law. Even if we could have an entire confidence, that the substituted law was in itself perfect, without a blemish or omission, still we must recollect, that we are not the instruments for carrying it into effect, and we shall defeat our intentions, and blight the prospects of real improvement, unless we give leisure to the various authorities on whose assistance we must depend; nay, to the country generally, to comprehend the full scope of the projected changes. Let us not distract and confound society by a multiplicity of new arrangements relating to matters of such importance, and of such constant recurrence in the daily business of life.”*

Before we proceeded to examine the measures which have been brought forward by the right honourable secretary, we thought it right thus to develop the sound principles by which he is guided in the prosecution of his work.

The first measure to which we shall refer is the jury bill, passed last year. This act comprises the regulations that were

* Substance of the speech of the Right Honourable Robert Peel in the House of Commons, March 9, 1826, p. 44.

previously dispersed in sixty-six acts of parliament, which no longer encumber the statute book. If it effected nothing more it would well deserve to be noticed as an eminent improvement in our judicial system; but it also amends the law in some particulars in which it was clearly erroneous or defective. In case a juryman were guilty of bribery or improper conduct, the law adjudged the following punishment. He was to lose his *liberam legem*; he was to become infamous for life; he was to forfeit his goods and the profits of his lands; his wife and children were to be cast out of doors; his house was to be razed; and his fields and meadows destroyed. This punishment is abolished, and wisely so; for we are sure there exists a better pledge for the integrity of jurors than an enactment so revolting to the feelings of the community.

The lists of persons liable to serve on juries used to be made out by the petty constable of the district; a person frequently unable to read or write, and liable to be influenced in the discharge of his duty by improper motives. That duty is now devolved upon the churchwardens.

Great inconveniences have frequently arisen from the small number of persons qualified to serve as special jurymen in counties. They only were qualified who were legally entitled to the designation of 'esquire.' The qualification is now extended to all persons returned as merchants and bankers. But perhaps the most important alteration of the law is the new mode of forming a special jury, a mode which precludes the possibility of partiality. It is simply this: all the names of persons qualified to serve as special jurors in London, Westminster, or any county, are inscribed in a book in alphabetical order; and to each name is affixed a number of the arithmetical progression, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. A number of cards equal to the number of persons qualified to serve, and numbered with the same figures 1, 2, 3, &c., to the whole extent of the list, are put into a box or drawer. Forty-eight of these are drawn out by an officer, and these are reduced to twenty-four in the usual mode, and the names of the twenty-four are called over in court in their alphabetical order.

The bill for consolidating and amending the laws relative to larceny or theft, which has not yet, indeed, passed into a law, but which is only delayed to give further time for considering some of its provisions, may next occupy our attention. It consolidates and repeals ninety-two acts of parliament on the subject, which include a period of time extending from the reign of Henry III., from the statute called the *Charta Forestæ*, passed in the ninth year of that king's reign, to the last year of all, the sixth of his present majesty. If the object had not already been attained,

it would have appeared a hopeless undertaking to condense into one statute, to simplify the language, and to classify the provisions of laws passed in times so remote and different. The importance of such a measure cannot be too highly estimated, when it is found from the criminal returns for England and Wales for 1825, that, out of 14,437 persons charged with various crimes, not less than 12,500 persons,* amounting to six-sevenths of the whole number, were charged with the crime of theft. The strange confusion which pervaded this branch of our criminal law, to which the magistrate and the practitioner have constant occasion to refer, is scarcely credible. Besides the numerous independent, and frequently contradictory, enactments,† we find provisions against theft mixed up with matters wholly dissimilar. There is an act with the following comprehensive title: “An act for the better securing the duties of customs upon certain goods removed from the outports and other places to London; for regulating the fees of his majesty’s customs in the province of Senegambia, in Africa; for allowing to the receivers-general of the duties on offices and employments in Scotland a proper compensation; *for the better preservation* (i. e. against theft) *of hollies, thorns, and quick-sets in forests, chases, and private grounds, and of trees and underwoods in forests and chases*; and for authorizing the exportation of a limited quantity of an inferior sort of barley, called bigg, from the port of Kirkwall in the island of Orkney.”

The new act, besides simplifying, also amends the law in some particulars, one or two of which we shall notice. It has been decided, that it is not an offence in the eye of the law to rob a ready-furnished house, though it is a very serious offence to rob a ready-furnished lodging. The stealing of a handkerchief is punished by transportation, but the stealing of title-deeds, or a will, on which the property and existence of whole families may depend, was exempt from penalty. As to the embezzlement by servants of their masters’ property, Mr. Peel observed‡ the law is at present very defective.

Among the principal defects are these :

* The number is thus made up; there were charged with			
Burglary	428	From the person	835
Cattle stealing	42	Robbery on the person on the high-	
Horse stealing	229	way and other places	189
Stealing in a dwelling house to the		Sheep stealing	166
value of 40s.	265	Simple larceny	10087
† See 6th Geo. III. chapters 36 and 48. Offences which by the 36th chapter are made a felony, are by chapter 48 punishable only by a fine of 20l.			
‡ Substance of speech, p. 21.			

“It is necessary to state in the indictment, and to prove in evidence, the embezzlement of specific monies, not merely of the sum in the gross of which the master may have been defrauded, but of the particular coin or notes of which that sum consisted, which may have entirely escaped the recollection of the master.

“Again, if the servant has defrauded his master by the means of receiving change, he cannot be convicted at all. Supposing, for instance, the servant having ten shillings to receive for his master, gives ten shillings to the party from whom the money is due, and receives a one pound note, which he embezzles, he commits no offence against the law. He cannot be convicted of embezzling the note, for that was not the property of his master, nor can he be convicted of embezzling shillings, for he has received none.

“The main defect in the law is this: the offence is at present a felony; now, by the rules of law, each act of embezzlement is considered a distinct felony, and only one distinct felony is admitted to be proved upon an indictment for felony. The prosecution, therefore, often fails from the impossibility of laying the whole case, the whole tissue of fraud, before the jury. The proof being confined to a single act of embezzlement, the jury leans not unreasonably to mercy, and frequently chooses to presume that the single act of embezzlement may have arisen from mistake, rather than to convict for the felony.

“I propose to remedy these defects; to admit proof that various sums have been received and misapplied by a prisoner, without requiring proof as to the specific coin or bills of which those sums consisted. I propose to alter the legal designation and character of the crime of embezzlement, to make it a misdemeanour, instead of a felony, and thus to admit the proof of that which may be absolutely necessary to enable the jury to determine the real extent of the prisoner's guilt, namely, of the whole series of embezzlement, in which he may have been engaged.”

Our observations on amendments of the law have already run to so great a length, that we have but little space remaining; but we cannot pass over without notice Mr. Peel's bill to improve the administration of the penal laws generally. The right honourable secretary evinced the importance of the measure by showing the lamentable fact that crime has increased in all parts of the kingdom; but in London and Middlesex it has not increased in the same proportion as in other districts. This difference he thinks arises from a more effective police. The bill, to describe its enactments in a few words, regulates the proceedings in the different stages of a criminal process;—defines the duties of coroners, and magistrates;—amends some defects which have appeared in practice;—gives to a prosecutor his costs in certain cases of misdemeanour;—and prevents a prisoner availing himself of certain technical objections in particular cases. On the

last particular, Mr. Peel makes the following excellent observations :*—

“ It appears to me, that when a prisoner charged with a heinous crime, and proved to be guilty on clear evidence, escapes the penalty of the law upon some technical quibble, or in consequence of some omission of useless forms, a grievous injury is done to society. Not only is justice defeated in the particular case, but the law is discredited, and the numerous class that speculates keenly on the advantages to be derived from crime, compared with the risk of its punishment, sees in every instance of undeserved impunity a fresh encouragement to the adventure. They may, and probably they do, grossly miscalculate; but what is that very circumstance but a great additional evil to society?

“ It is surely a gross mistake to boast as the perfection of any system of law, that it favours the escape of the party accused.

“ That law I apprehend to be most perfect, which most certainly ensures the conviction of the guilty man, and the acquittal of him who has been unjustly accused. But the acquittal of the innocent ought, in justice to innocence, to be upon the merits of the case. The innocent man derives no benefit from the advantage which may be taken of mere informalities; on the contrary, if that advantage be taken in his case, he forfeits, perhaps, the only chance he has of rescuing his character from stigma, by the proof in open court that the charge against him is unfounded.”

We have now completed our sketch of the principal improvements which have been made in the law during the present century; and surely he must be unmindful of the great benefits hence resulting to the community, who refuses to acknowledge the strong claim they have to the gratitude of their country, who have laboured in the cause. The most timid cannot complain that the work has been carried on too hastily, and without due consideration; the most firm believer in the wisdom of our ancestors, cannot affirm that their work is faultless; for our parts, to adopt Lord Chief Justice Coke's beautiful conclusion of his great work, we “ heartily desire the wise hearted and expert builders (justice being *architectonica virtus*) to amend both the method or uniformity, and the structure itself, wherein they shall find either want of windows, or sufficient lights, or other deficiency in the architecture whatsoever: and we will conclude with the aphorism of that great lawyer and sage of the law† (which we have heard him often say) *Blessed be the amending hand.*”

* Substance of speech, 38.

† Edmund Plowden.

In order that we may estimate fairly the labours of the gentlemen whose works stand at the head of our article, we should consider the nature of the "Commentaries," and for whose use they are intended. It was without doubt the great object of the commentator to describe the constitution of his country; "to examine its solid foundations, to mark out its extensive plan, to explain the use and distribution of its parts, and from the harmonious concurrence of those several parts, to demonstrate the elegant proportion of the whole."* In the prosecution of his object, after briefly discussing the nature of laws in general, he states the "rights" conferred upon individuals both with respect to their persons and their property, and then describes the several remedies by which "wrongs" done either to individuals or the state may be redressed. This extensive plan, it is obvious, embraces the whole system of our law;—the statute and the common law, the civil and the ecclesiastical, the law of nations and the municipal law, the law of real property and the commercial law require all to be noticed. It was consequently the object of the commentator, rather to seize upon general principles, than to enumerate all the minute details of each particular case. But there is more detail than might have been expected; this however is confined to the citing of the exceptions from general rules, and the examples by which such rules are illustrated or explained. We do not find, and it is not the object of the work that we should, all the details required by the practitioner in advising upon the "rights" of persons or in assigning the appropriate remedy for their "wrongs." Such is the nature of the work, and general as it may be, the class of persons to which it is applicable is not less extensive. It is truly stated by Mr. Coleridge in his preface, "The 'Commentaries' are in the hands of the most different descriptions of readers; they are referred to by the lawyer, studied by the pupil, consulted by the country gentleman; and each will expect from the editor, the subsidiary information which he happens to need at the moment." But we apprehend the task of the editor was sufficiently defined by the *nature* of the work. It was his duty to correct the original oversights of his author, and to notice those alterations of the law since his time which affect the statements in the text. This Mr. Coleridge has done with fidelity and care; but we must charge him with some omissions, and with one in particular which is rather important. He has omitted to notice, in the right place, Sir Samuel Romilly's act for taking away corruption

* Vol. iv. p. 442.

of blood in certain cases, which we have just commented upon and by which so great an alteration was made in the law of escheat. We say, in the right place, for it is noticed in an enumeration at the end of the fourth volume, but the student should have found it in the second.*

But in general Mr. Coleridge has performed his task diligently and well. His notes, written in a perspicuous style, evince considerable acquaintance with the historical learning connected with the subject, and they frequently show that he has carefully considered the materials whence Sir William Blackstone has drawn his luminous statements. The student need not refrain from reading the notes, from the apprehension that they will divert his attention and lead him far beyond his text; he will find in them what is necessary for the right understanding of the text, and no more. The editor has judiciously confined himself to the correction of original oversights, and such additions as the alterations of the law required: and his notes may be said to supply such information as the author himself would have approved had he revised his work at the present time.

When we consider the variety of topics comprised in the "Commentaries," we are well able to estimate the forbearance of Mr. Coleridge, in omitting many opportunities of showing his ingenuity and learning by dilating upon topics which would have afforded him an easy conquest, but which were only brought forward by the commentator incidentally and were not necessary for his argument. Much of the labour of Mr. Coleridge is indeed hidden from the observation of the careless reader; his corrections of the text and his verification of references, have added much to the value of the work without increasing its bulk or expense. He also deserves praise for the manner he has treated the labours of his predecessors; he has silently omitted their notes when incorrect or irrelevant, without proving to his readers that they were wrong. "The art of writing notes," says Johnson in his admirable preface to Shakspeare, "is not of difficult attainment. The work is performed, first by railing at the stupidity,

* See vol. ii. pp. 153. 251, et seq. In pp. 179 188, the text which mentions joint tenants *in tail* should have been corrected;—there cannot be joint tenants *in tail*. In p. 92, the assertion in the text that the law is apt to favour joint-tenancy rather than tenancy in common is not, it is apprehended, correct at the present day, and should therefore have been noticed. In p. 291, the statement that an idiot, to avoid his own grant, cannot allege his insanity, should have been qualified: this is true only with respect to feoffments with livery of seisin. In p. 377, the statute 47 Geo. III. c. 74, should have been noticed; by which the lands of a *trader* are, upon his death, either in the hands of an heir or devisee, subject to the payment of his creditors by *simple contract* as well as of those by *specialty*. The first sentence of note 17, page 137, is not very intelligible.

negligence, ignorance, and asinine tastlessness of the former editors, and showing, from all that goes before and all that follows, the inelegance and absurdity of the old reading; then by proposing something, which to superficial readers would seem specious, but which the editor rejects with indignation; then by producing the true reading, with a long paraphrase, and concluding with loud acclamations on the discovery, and a sober wish for the advancement and prosperity of genuine criticism."

We will now extract a few of Mr. Coleridge's notes; selecting those which will be most generally interesting.

The learned commentator, it is well known, lays down the position that it is not a moral offence or sin to transgress a law which merely enjoins or forbids a thing which is wholly a matter of indifference; and he notices the game laws and some others as falling within his rule. Conscience, he says, in such a case, is no farther concerned than by directing a submission to the penalty in case of our breach of such laws. "But," he adds by way of qualification, "where disobedience to the law involves in it also *any degree of public mischief or private injury*, there it falls within our former distinction, and is also an offence against conscience." Upon this doctrine Mr. Coleridge makes the following sensible remarks:—

"Penalty, of whatever kind, is only another name for punishment; and punishment, as the author himself tells us in vol. iv. p. 11, is not imposed for the sake of atonement or expiation, but as a precaution against future offences. The amount of the penalty may indicate the importance which the legislature attaches to the crime, and so indirectly the public inconvenience of the breach of the law, but it can never be looked upon as calculated to heal the wound occasioned by the breach.

"Nor have the wisdom or importance of the law any thing to do with the principle of our obedience to it; the true principle of that is the authority of the lawgiver, which must be the same whatever be the law. If we are convinced that the authority is sufficient, we ought to obey equally in great and small; nothing will discharge us but the opposition of a superior authority, which in truth renders the inferior insufficient. The same principle, upon which a breach of one commandment is declared to make a man guilty of the whole ten, applies to this case, and the more closely, the more trivial the matter may seem; for the smaller the inducement is upon which we break the commandment, the greater is the contempt of authority.

"Common sense and experience approve this reasoning, by showing that nothing is in fact indifferent when the law has once prohibited it. The breach of any one law must be inconvenient, either by way of example to other persons, or as diminishing the habit of respect for other laws in ourselves. The laws of a country form an entire con-

nected body, and though ' he that takes a little piece of iron from an iron forge *may* do no great harm, yet if he takes it from a lock or a chain he disorders the whole contexture.'

" One argument of the author for the position in the text remains to be noticed, because it is of a very plausible nature. Jeremy Taylor has stated it, and given an answer rather too abstruse and scholastic for this place. The objection is, that if human laws bind the conscience, then it is in the power of human legislature to multiply crime; in Taylor's own language, then, ' man shall have power to make more ways to the devil, to make the strait way to heaven yet straiter, and the way to hell, which is already broad enough, yet wider and more receptive of miserable and perishing souls.'

" I cannot see how, on principles of justice, this differs at all from the conceded power of binding the conscience to the payment of penalties, or how a compulsory payment of them, when incurred, can discharge the conscience, and it cannot seriously be maintained, that the law is made on a theory of voluntary payment of the penalty. It can never have been supposed, that the man who smuggles to avoid paying the duty, intends to pay except on compulsion the treble value of the article, or a penalty of 100%.

" But, if we pass over this inconsistency in the text, and admit the argument in its fullest extent, it is undoubtedly strong to show the inconvenience of an unnecessary law, and the heavy responsibility under which any law is made. But it can go no farther, if the principles laid down in the beginning of this note are true. It should be remembered, too, that this is not the only instance, indeed that the instances are not few, in which human powers are allowed to act indirectly on the consciences of men. And as, in a question of convenience, it is always allowable to strike a general balance, it may be said that a less evil flows from this indirect consequence of some laws, which consequence it is always in the power of the subject to avoid, than good from the vast addition of strength thereby given to the sanctions of human legislators in general."—vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

It has, Mr. Coleridge observes, been often argued or assumed that the king cannot constitutionally reject a bill which has passed both houses of parliament. This error arises from not considering that the constitution of this country invests the king with two characters which are perfectly distinct. He is the appointed minister to enforce the laws enacted by the legislature, or in other words, the head of the executive; but he is also a member and an integral part of the legislature.

" The constitutional notion of an English king includes, I conceive, both characters, and keeps them distinct; as head of the executive, he is the minister of the supreme power, and can neither dispense with the laws, nor refuse to obey them; as a member of the legislature, he is as free, absolute, and irresponsible as either of the other two estates; in the former capacity his ministers are subordinate servants

and take upon themselves that personal responsibility for his acts or omissions, which, by reason of the sacredness of his person, cannot attach on himself; in the latter he has and can have no responsible ministers, for the irresponsibility of his acts is absolute, and attaches to the character in which they are done (that of a member of the supreme power) and not to his person."—vol. i. p. 474.

The following passage from Fortescue Mr. Coleridge remarks, p. 276, presents a curious contrast to the usages of the present times :—

"Furthermore I would ye should know, (addressing prince Edward, son of Henry VI.) that the justices of England sit not in the king's courts above three hours in the day, that is to say, from eight of the clock in the forenoone till eleven compleat; for in the afternoones those courts are not holden or kept. But the suters then resort to the perusing of their writings, and elsewhere consulting with the sergeants at law, and others their counsellours. Wherefore the justices, after they have taken their refectiion, do pass and bestow all the residue of the day in the study of the laws, in reading of Holy Scripture, and using other kind of contemplation at their pleasure, so that their life may seem more contemplative than active." De Laud. c. 51.

But notwithstanding they indulged so freely in contemplation, and although their salaries were extremely low, the judges were men of great wealth :—

"Of this there are abundant proofs: I will mention one. In a capitation-tax granted to Richard II. I find archbishops, and the dukes of Lancaster and Bretagne, (specially,) rated at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; earls and bishops at 4*l.*; barons at 2*l.*; and the judges and chief baron at 5*l.*; and sergeants and 'great apprentices of the law at 2*l.*'" Rot. Parl. iii. 56, 57, 58, cited in Lingard, Hist. iv. 231.

This is certainly not the case now; so that we apprehend did the sovereign wish to replenish his exchequer, a prosecution of the judges for the sake of their fines, as is insinuated of Edward I. by Blackstone, would be the last expedient resorted to. Indeed, notwithstanding the late increase of their salaries, many of the "great apprentices of the law" enjoy larger incomes.

We were not before aware that any of our sovereigns hoped that the philosopher's stone would be added to the numerous discoveries by which this country is distinguished; but we find that Henry VI. granted a patent to John Faceby and others "ad investigandum, prosequendum et perficiendum quandam preciosissimam medicinam quintam essentiam lapidem philosophorum nuncupatum, necnon potestatem faciendi et exercendi transmutationes metallorum in *verum aurum et argentum.*" And

in the reign of Edward VI. there is a case of a man's confessing himself guilty of multiplication, and of using *red wine* and other things necessary for the art.

To that part of the text which describes the steps by which the pope attained his power over the crown of England, and in which it is stated that the nomination to bishoprics, "that ancient prerogative of the crown," was wrested from King Henry I., and afterwards from his successor King John, Mr. Coleridge annexes the following note:—

"The point in dispute was not so much the nomination to bishoprics, as the right of investiture by the ring and crosier. Lay fiefs having been annexed to bishoprics, kings contended that the feudal rights and duties followed as a matter of course, of which none was more important than that a tenant should not be admitted to a fief without his lord's consent, and should perform fealty and homage on admission. On the other hand, the popes contended that the ring and crosier were the emblems of spiritual jurisdiction, with which laymen had no right to interfere. Henry yielded the ring and crosier, but insisted that bishops should do fealty and homage before a grant of the temporalities, which was conceded. It might seem that the church gained substantially little by this compromise; and so Dr. Lingard asserts; but, in truth, the advantage gained was very important, for before the grant of the ring and crosier, the new bishop's consecration could not be complete; and, therefore, the power of withholding it operated as a veto in an early stage of the election; whereas when the vacancy was actually filled up, it became a more difficult and less gracious thing to refuse the temporalities.

"With regard to the right of nomination, which the author calls 'that ancient prerogative of the crown,' however ancient a prerogative, and ancient it undoubtedly was, it was itself, nevertheless, an infringement of the original constitution of the church, according to which bishoprics were filled by the election of the clergy and laity of the respective dioceses. But the diocesan clergy had first excluded the laity, and then had been themselves excluded by the cathedral, and in some instances conventual, chapters; and when bishoprics became endowed with large temporal possessions and power, it seemed but a necessary consequence, that the crown should have a controul over the manner of filling them. Long usage had legalized, what reason had first introduced. See Lingard, Hist. ii, 169. Hallam, Middle Ages, cap. 7."—vol. iv. pp. 107, 108.

The law of libel is so generally interesting and so imperfectly understood, that we will not hesitate to close our extracts with Mr. Coleridge's excellent note on the subject:—

"The offence of libel often involves such important considerations, that the public attention is very naturally drawn to the proceedings of the courts of justice in the trial of it; at the same time it has

something so peculiar in its nature, that it is equally natural to find difficulties in making them satisfactory or intelligible in all respects to ordinary minds. One of the most disputed points on the subjects, early in the last reign, was the extent of the province of the jury. The general practice had been for a long series of years to consider the criminality of a paper charged to be a libel, as a question of pure law, which the judge was to lay down to the jury; and it was contended that this was the most favourable course for the defendant, because the question of criminality must then be either on the record, or in the direction of the judge, and of course always subject to reconsideration for the defendant by writ of error, or on motion for a new trial. In fact, however, it was attended with this disadvantage to him, that wherever the publication and the meaning of the paper as charged were found against him, he was almost uniformly convicted in the first instance, for the very reason that such conviction was so reviewable. I think this fact, and the reason for it, may both be inferred from the answer of the judges to the third question put by the lords in 1792, in the course of the debates on Mr. Fox's libel bill. The question is, 'Supposing the publication clearly proved, and the innocence of the paper *as clearly manifest*, is it competent for the judge to recommend a verdict of Not Guilty?' The answer is in the affirmative; 'but' (they add) 'no case has occurred in which it would have been in sound discretion fit for a judge, sitting at *nisi prius*, to have given such direction or recommendation to a jury.' And the course of argument, which follows, is, that even in apparently the clearest cases the judge may be wrong, and therefore the safe course for him is that which leaves his direction open to review. It is obvious that this was full of practical hardship to the defendant, and that it was a declining from the proper responsibility in the judge, which the public has a right to expect, and without which trials at *nisi prius* in general would lose half their value.

"In 1771, after the trial of Mr. Almon for the republication of 'Junius,' a bill, drawn by Mr. Burke, was brought into parliament to settle this important point. It was, however, thrown out; and it is singular enough that Mr. Fox was in the majority; because in 1791, he himself brought in a bill almost in terms the same, which was finally passed in 1792, and is commonly known by his name. It is both declaratory and enacting; in the first section, the jury in all cases of information or indictment for libel may find a general verdict of guilty or not guilty, upon the whole matter in issue, and are not to be required by the court or judge to find a verdict of guilty merely on proof of the publication, and the sense ascribed to the paper in the information or indictment. The second and third sections provide that the court or judge, according to their or his discretion, shall give their or his opinion and directions to the jury on the matter in issue; and that the jury may, if they please, still find a special verdict, as in other criminal cases. The fourth section provides that the defendant may still move in arrest of judgment, if convicted, as before the passing of the act 32 Geo. III. c. 60.

“The bill passed without much difference of opinion in the commons ; in the lords there was more opposition ; and Lords Thurlow and Kenyon, among others, signed a protest against it, as ‘ subverting a fundamental and important principle of English jurisprudence.’ But in the arguments on both sides there was no dispute as to the constitutional province of the jury, as to fact distinct from law ; the opponents asserted that the criminality of a paper was matter of law, and, that granted, their conclusion followed of course. The advocates of the bill denied the second proposition, and said that the criminality was a question of fact and law inseparably united, and then contended that the first proposition did not apply to any case in which the fact and the law could not be separated ; and that in all such cases the jury, though they might receive advice from the court, were by the constitution the sole judges.

“ One remark more seems proper to be made : the advocates of the bill, both in and out of parliament, (and no one more powerfully than its real author, the late Lord Erskine,) uniformly contended that it was to prevent and not to produce an anomaly in the criminal law, and that their sole object was to give the jury the same power, and no other, in a trial for libel, as in a trial for murder. This should always be borne in mind, and so long as it is, the bill will be productive of great benefit ; but the object of the bill is very easily misrepresented, for the bill itself rests upon a somewhat subtle proposition ; and it is not to be wondered at, if juries have been sometimes persuaded that, in cases of libel, they were invested with new and extraordinary powers ; while, in the words of John Lilburn, the judge was reduced to a mere cipher. Wherever this happens the bill is indirectly the source of much mischief.

“ See the Ann. Reg. v. 33. c. 7. v. 34. pt. 2. p. 69. Parliamentary History, v. 29, pp. 551. 591. 726. 741. But the question cannot be fully understood without reference to all the proceedings in the trial of the Dean of St. Asaph.”—vol. iv. pp. 152, 153.

It is now time that we should refer to the labours of Mr. Chitty. His notes he has styled “ Practical,” and in his preface he says, “ It is attempted in the present edition to render Blackstone’s ‘ Commentaries’ a work of PRACTICAL utility and convenient reference to the profession, in their daily avocations.” Accordingly we find the notes on many subjects enter much into detail, and contain a great deal of learning purely technical. This of course renders the work quite unfit for the student or general reader ; for *his* progress would necessarily be hindered by notes which contain much which it is unnecessary for him to know ; much which he could not understand. We need not say that we think Mr. Chitty has mistaken the kind of notes which should attend the “ Commentaries ;” and when we consider the great number of subjects comprised in the “ Commentaries,” we think it would be extremely difficult to accomplish what he has attempted. To

make it a complete book of reference for the practitioner upon every subject to which it refers, would require notes ten times more voluminous than the work itself. They should comprise, in fact, all the practical treatises with which our law abounds;—this shows the impracticability of what Mr. Chitty has attempted. But how much soever we disapprove of Mr. Chitty's design we must still more severely condemn the manner in which he has executed it. We do not hesitate to say that the majority of those notes we have examined are more calculated to mislead than assist the practitioner. We have found notes which have nothing to do with the text,* and references which have no connection with the notes to which they are attached;† indeed we know not that we can use more correct terms to express our opinion of Mr. Chitty's annotations in general, than by saying that they are irrelevant, ill-digested, or incorrect. It would lead us into discussions far too long and technical for the nature of this work were we to justify our censure by examining the book in detail; but, in addition to the notes already cited, we confidently refer the professional reader to those mentioned in the note below;‡ and we must observe that it comprehends the greater number of those we have examined.

We think we perceive in some of Mr. Chitty's notes that he has freely availed himself of Mr. Coleridge's labours, and without any acknowledgment; unless, indeed, the following passage, extracted from the preface, be thought sufficient: "It may be observed, that the circumstance of the present (edition) being the last executed has presented *some advantages* to the editor, which he trusts it will be found he has not neglected to improve." (p. iv.) There seems to us rather a remarkable coincidence between the following passages:—

Mr. Coleridge's note, vol. ii. 52.

"A satisfactory derivation of this word (*vasal*) has long been wanting, which is entirely omitted in

Mr. Chitty's note in loc.

"Spelman's '*Glossary*' does not give the derivation of the word *vasal*; nor is it stated with cer-

* See note 35, vol. ii. 35, to Blackstone's definition of a private right of way, Mr. Chitty appends a long note on Highways, and on the law in general respecting Ways. See also note 51, vol. ii. 42. Also note 60 in p. 335 of the same volume; here Mr. C., to the text which concerns the construction of the Statute of Uses, has a note of two pages and a half detailing a number of cases arising upon *Wills*, respecting the question, whether trustees took the legal estate. See latter part of note 3, vol. iii. 24.

† See reference to act of Philip and Mary, and to 2 Strange in note 3, vol. i. 460. Also reference to 3 Madd. in note 73, vol. ii. 343.

‡ Vol. i. 442, note 43. Ibid. 464, note 16. Ibid. 466, note 25.

Vol. ii. 18, note 5. Ibid. 122, note 4. Ibid. 138, note 34. Ibid. 150, note 14. Ibid. 159, note 7. Ibid. 201, note 3. Ibid. 297, note 7. Ibid. 297, note 8. Ibid. 351, note 8. Ibid. 418, note 13.

Vol. iii. 94, note 18. Ibid. 199, note 2. Ibid. 293, note 1. Ibid. 303, note 33. Ibid. 306, (a) note 40. Ibid. 426, note 1.

Spelman's 'Glossary.' Meyer suggests one, which is at least plausible. The word 'gesell,' he says in Dutch and German signifies 'companion.' Tacitus, we know, has described the first rude appearances of the relation of lord and vassal under the notion of companionship; but his terms *comites* and *comitatus*, were necessarily abandoned for this purpose, when they became applied, which was very early, to designate public officers and public charges, the governors of districts, and the districts themselves. But it is obvious that these must have been secondary meanings, that before *comes* signified a count, or *comitatus* a county, they must have signified companion and companionship; and we know that the first counts were what we should now call vassals of the monarch. When, however, the secondary meaning superseded the first, it seems not improbable that the original term might be latinized into *guasallus*, or *vasallus*."—*Esprit, Origine, et Progrès des Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 144.

We will now present our readers with an extract better calculated to give them a favourable impression of Mr. Chitty's annotations:—

"To determine the foundation of the right of property, many writers, whose powers of intellect and profound knowledge justly entitle them to the rank of philosophers, have employed themselves with various success; but no one has given such a clear and convincing answer to the inquiry as to preclude all further speculation on the subject. It is not disputed that the gifts of nature—the earth and its ever recurring provision for the support and comfort of man, were originally the portion equally of all mankind. Nor is the abstract proposition dissented from, that no time can render sacred or infuse the principle of justice into a claim of right which began in usurpation upon the general rights of all; establishing itself in the commencement by force or fraud, and continued by the supineness or insensibility of the injured to their wrongs or the means of redress. The answer, therefore, of the pos-

tainty by any other author. Perhaps the most plausible etymology is that suggested by Meyer, who says the word 'gesell' in Dutch and German signifies 'companion.' And Tacitus, whose 'De Moribus Germanorum' may be looked to for information on this point, describes the first indications of the relation of lord and vassal under the notion of companionship. His terms *comites* and *comitatus*, before they meant, the first a count, and the second a county, must have signified companion and companionship; and it is not disputed that the first counts were what may be called vassals of the king. When however these words were no longer used to express their original meaning, 'gesell' might become latinized into *guasallus*, or *vassallus*."—See *Esprit, Origine, et Progrès des Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 144.

essor of thousands of acres to him, whose portion being insufficient to sustain him demands to know why the division is so unequal, that his ancestors to the remotest antiquity enjoyed them before him, is nugatory, or rather it only serves to disclose the fact, that the same injustice of which he complains, has been inflicted upon each succeeding generation, from the first to the last in the series.

“Admitting that occupancy was (properly) the thing by which the title to property was originally gained, yet it must be conceded, that an individual’s necessities, and his ability to use that which he assumes to occupy, and not his ambition, should be the limit of his occupancy; and therefore the right of the lord of extensive domains, derives no colour or support from this argument. Besides, in trying the question upon first principles, it must be borne in mind, that those principles are immutable and always the same; and that every new member that is ushered into society brings with him the same right to participate in the general stock of the means of subsistence as those who have preceded him; at least this may be taken for granted for the purposes of this question, though Mr. Malthus has propagated a widely different doctrine in his researches into the remedies for extended pauperism.

“The best defence which can be offered of the unequal distribution of property, lies more upon the surface, and is more practical and satisfactory than these attempts to resolve the inquiry into a discussion of abstract principles. Wealth and extended possessions are the legitimate result of successful enterprise, industry, and talents; and the protection afforded to the enjoyment of them, operates as a powerful stimulus to the developement and exercise of those energies which dignify the nation and diffuse a general prosperity among the people. The present arrangement of property, therefore, being most conducive to the public welfare, has the surest foundation in the true principles of political economy, and the maxims of practical justice; and having grown up with the habits of the people, and entwined itself with their affections, must be permanent in its duration and prosperous in its course.”—Chitty’s Black. vol. ii. p. 7, note 2.

It would have been to us a matter of great regret, to have spoken so severely of the labours of Mr. Chitty, had he expressed himself *on the same subject* with a little more diffidence. In his preface he tells us, “It has been said that this work, (the ‘Commentaries,’) for a single production, (Qu. ? the production of a single person,) is the most valuable which has ever been furnished to the public by the labour of any individual; and in assenting to the truth of this proposition, the editor is unconscious of any sinister appropriation of any portion of this praise to himself, should it be reiterated after the publication of the present edition; but it would be a perfectly gratuitous affectation of humility, were he to conceal his conviction, that if former editions justified this measure of commendation, the present has equal, if not higher, pretensions to this distinction.” Truly this humility is

scarcely inferior to that of the eminent conveyancer, who has more than once kindly endeavoured to instil into the minds of his majesty's justices of the court of King's Bench, some correct principles respecting the laws of real property, and who, but the other day, gravely informed the same learned personages, that except himself and one or two others, there were none amongst his brethren upon whom the public could rely in so difficult and intricate a matter.

We will, however, endeavour that our readers shall part with Mr. Chitty in good humour, by extracting from one of his notes Lord Coke's quaint description of "what properties a parliament man should have;" and from it we leave the electors of the United Kingdom to decide whether the candidates they have lately chosen are to be approved.

"It appeareth in a parliament roll, that the parliament being, as hath been said, called *commune concilium*, every member of the house being a counsellor, should have three properties of the elephant; first, that he hath no gall; secondly, that he is inflexible and cannot bow; thirdly, that he is of a most ripe and perfect memory; which properties, as there it is said, ought to be in every member of the great council of parliament. First, to be without gall, that is, without malice, rancour, heat, and envy. *In elephante melancholia transit in nutrimentum corporis*. Every gallish inclination (if any were) should tend to the good of the whole body, the commonwealth. Secondly, that he be constant, inflexible, and not to be bowed, or turned from the right, either for fear, reward, or favour, nor in judgment respect any person. Thirdly, of a ripe memory, that they remembering perils past, might prevent dangers to come, as in that roll of parliament it appeareth. Whereunto we will add two other properties of the elephant, the one, that though they be *maximæ virtutis, et maximi intellectûs*, of greatest strength and understanding, *tamen gregatim semper incedunt*, yet they are sociable, and go in companies; for *animalia gregalia non sunt nociva, sed animalia solivaga sunt nociva*. Sociable creatures that go in flocks or herds are not hurtful as deer, sheep, &c., but beasts that walk solely or singularly, as bears, foxes, &c. are dangerous and hurtful. The other, that the elephant is *philanthropos, homini erranti viam ostendit*: and these properties ought every parliament man to have."—4 *Inst.* 3.

ART. X.—*A Treatise on the Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian Dispensations.* By G. S. Faber, B.D. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE Divine Legation of Moses was a subject which Warburton took up in the first instance, probably without much consideration, and scarcely aware whither it would lead him. This, however, was soon apparent, (and it was a circumstance that would not be disagreeable to a man of the Bishop of Gloucester's polemical temper,) that it would set his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him. Infidel and orthodox would find in it equal grounds of offence, and Trojan and Tyrian were to him alike. It was a subject too which would enable him to display his exhaustless learning; though by so doing, as we shall have occasion to remark, he often weakened his argument instead of confirming it, and, like the men of Ai, exposed himself to overthrow because he was not content with defending the citadel. Still to condemn this immortal work altogether as a splendid paradox, which is now the fashion, surely argues a want of discrimination; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, an insufficient acquaintance with it. Much in it is paradoxical, for much in it is rashly and inconsiderately advanced; but the main proposition after all, if not admitting of complete proof, still less admits of complete refutation. Its refutation, however, Mr. Faber undertakes in the volumes before us, of which the general scope will be collected in the course of our article, though it will be impossible to enter into all the details: suffice it to say in a word, that the "Treatise" is a fair effort of the school of Hutchinson against the school of Warburton. The object of the "Divine Legation" is merely this—to show through the omission of a future state of rewards and punishments in the law, that under the Mosaic dispensation there was an *extraordinary providence*. Such is the sum and substance of this great work, whereof the details, as we have hinted, may be often complex, and often irrelevant; but the argument itself is plain, simple, and perspicuous.

The omission of a future state as a sanction to the law, had been already observed with triumph by the deists; the fact itself had been in vain denied by the orthodox. Again, the existence of an extraordinary providence, punishing and rewarding in this life both the public and individuals, had been already maintained by direct evidence: but it was reserved for the genius of Warburton to discover the connection between these two propositions, to turn the infidel's weapons against himself, and whilst he conceded to him that Moses did not make a future state an article of belief,

thereby to demonstrate that he could only have relied on an extraordinary providence for the support of his mission.

In pursuance therefore of this argument, it was obviously necessary for him to show, that without religion civil society could not subsist under an *unequal* providence, and accordingly it is to this object that the first part of the "Divine Legation" addresses itself.

In times less enterprising than our own, politicians who cared little about religion being true, still thought that it might be useful. Even this cheap praise, however, we have seen of late sometimes withheld, and generally paid with reluctance. Perhaps, however, we are insensible to its benefits, as citizens, because many amongst us who are the most voluble on the subject, are the least capable of investigating its influence on the state. But be it remembered that civil society was established, not with a view to the arts and conveniences of life, (though these have collaterally sprung from it,) but as a remedy against mutual violence and injustice that was become intolerable—

Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

Now civil society alone cannot prevent these disorders. The evil which is done in secret the law cannot reach, because it cannot detect it. The evil which is done in the face of day the law must often wink at, because to correct would often be only to aggravate the mischief. Duties of imperfect obligation, though constituting the greater part of the good offices of life, the law cannot enforce, for it cannot even define them; and hospitality, and patriotism, and gratitude, and charity, would wither under the baneful influence of compulsory enactments, for the quality of such virtues is not strained. But if civil society be so crippled in the use of *punishment and force* for the purposes of self-preservation, still less can it employ for the same end the *hope of reward*; for a system of rewards has never yet been found practicable in any nation except that of Lilliput; partly owing to the impossibility of determining where they were due, since the motives of man's actions are often inscrutable, though upon the motives only would their merit depend; and partly owing to the difficulty of raising the adequate funds.

Neither would the *moral sense*, or the *love of praise* (as some have vainly imagined) suffice to knit society together, and harmonize the discordant elements which compose it. The *love of praise* may be gratified by a proper attention to appearances only, though all be false and hollow; hypocrisy will answer the purpose just as well as truth, and at much less cost. It is not therefore by the *love of praise* that a man will be made a good and useful citizen. Nor will the *moral sense* avail more; for that sense is quickly

made subservient to a strong appetite, and soon learns to act in entire obedience to its dictates. Chremes, in the play, might be reasonably supposed as well gifted with the moral sense as people in general, indeed he speaks of himself as a person of universal benevolence, “*homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto* ;” yet does he command his wife to expose his new-born infant, and afterwards rates her for the neglect of this motherly office. Tacitus too, who may be reckoned on the whole a severe moralist, speaks of the unlawfulness of infanticide amongst the Jews as a singular prohibition. So justly, even in spite of this vaunted moral sense, were the Gentiles charged by the apostle as “without natural affection.”

It is *religion* therefore that we must consider the palladium of civil society, which inculcating a future state of rewards and punishments, supplies the defects of an unequal providence. And so long ago was this truth acknowledged, that no sooner did Ulysses discover the Cyclops to be a free-thinker (as Warburton well observes) than that wary traveller, “who knew the ways of men,” would not repose confidence in one so likely to abuse it—

ἀλλὰ μιν ἄψορρον προσέφην ὁδίοις ἐπέεσσι.

We repeat, that if mere politicians, who look upon religion as aldermen look upon cheap soup, and call it a good thing for the poor, would bear this in mind, our church would be spared much of that vulgar abuse to which of late years it has been subjected, and would at any rate be respected as the nursing-mother of order, subordination, and wholesome restraint.

Plain men, then, might have been satisfied by the use of their reason, that atheism and civil society are not compatible; but Warburton, who is prodigal of his strength, will not rest here. Accordingly he proceeds to confirm his argument by example, and to show that the ancient legislators and philosophers believed the doctrine of a future state essential to government. It is not our intention to pursue a question which would lead us far beyond the limits of our article; suffice it therefore to say in support of this proposition, that on the part of the legislators we may remark a prudent acquiescence in the popular creed however at variance with their own; and on the part of the philosophers a disposition to establish a system of esoteric and exoteric doctrine, the former perhaps intended to purify the other, but certainly not to oppose or subvert it. This is not, however, Warburton's mode of handling his subject; nothing less will satisfy him than that these wise men of old totally disbelieved for themselves the existence of a future state of rewards and punishments, and only propagated the doctrine from a conviction of its political useful-

ness. Hence he would argue, that the deist is precluded from asserting Moses to have suppressed all mention of a life to come, as not himself believing it, since his own lack of faith (as appears from the case of the lawgivers and philosophers, men situated in some degree like himself) was no reason whatever for forbearing to inculcate it on others. Now here, as in many other instances, the bishop refines till he weakens his cause. It was unnecessary for his argument to attempt, what when attempted he could not accomplish : but scorning the usual path along the earth or the ocean, he is perpetually endeavouring to make his way through the heavens, "*pennis non homini datis*;" and accordingly his daring flight is but too often arrested by the disastrous melting of his wings. It may be true that the professors of the schools declared the Deity to be incapable of anger, and therefore incapable of inflicting punishment; and that the souls of all men are ultimately merged in the godhead whereof they were so many offsets, and thus that personal identity being lost, personal responsibility would be lost too. But the same individuals again make other assertions which are wholly at variance with these; and what right we have to affirm with confidence that in the former case they were in earnest, and in jest in the latter, is not easy to discover; nor, indeed, how any inference can be fairly drawn from such contradictions except this, which we apprehend is the just and legitimate inference, *that even the wisest heathens were without any settled creed whatever*. Thus if we turn to Cicero we are told that his inconsistencies (and he abounds in them) result from his having three parts to play—the orator, the statesman, and the philosopher. Now if we found in good truth, that under each of these characters he was uniformly the same, however they might be severally opposed to each other, the observation would have weight; but the fact is, that in none is consistency preserved; the philosopher contradicts the philosopher, and the statesman the statesman. In his letters (where he may be said to support the former title) he reckons death annihilation. In his treatise on old age (where is still the same man) he is convinced of the soul's immortality. In his book on divination, (where he is the statesman, for it is a political work,) he contends against all augury: in his treatise on laws (which is also political) he declares in its favour. Indeed he is evidently conscious that his own creed is wavering and uncertain, and rebukes those persons who demand "*quid quâque de re ipsi sentiamus*," as over-curious and impertinent. Truly in all trying seasons the religion of the most enlightened heathens proved itself of little worth. How prostrate was the powerful mind of this same Cicero on the death of his favourite daughter! Instead of holding fast that

cheering hope of a happy reunion which animates a Christian father on the loss of his child, all that he can do is to betake himself to his books, and endeavour to relieve his sufferings "by turning over every work he could meet with on the subject of moderating grief."*

But we must proceed, referring our readers to Leland for a more full and complete investigation of that curious question, the degree of religious knowledge which prevailed in the ancient heathen world.

Warburton having now shown to his own satisfaction, that no *society* properly so called, (for he predicates nothing of men living in a state of nature,) could subsist under an unequal providence without the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments; and having thus succeeded in making enemies of all the freethinkers, with Lord Bolingbroke at their head, (who however prudently reserved his fire for a posthumous publication,) took breath for a while; and after a lapse of two years produced his proof of the second member of his syllogism, "that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Mosaic dispensation." A proposition which had he been dealing with deists alone, he might have spared himself the pains of proving; for it was an admission of their own, nay was the very ground of objection against the authority of Moses. But as if conscious that such proposition (however allowed by the deists) was after all very disputable, indeed that it was flatly denied by almost every believer, he sets himself to prove its truth by an examination of all the texts which had been usually thought to indicate a future state, and pronounces that in none of them was such a doctrine to be found. Here, however, more suo, the bishop overshoots his mark. The plain sense of scripture is against him, and every man who reads his Bible in the simplicity of his heart, feels that it is so. But whilst such must be admitted to be the fact, we may safely assert that the doctrine of a future state was never *pressed* upon the people by Moses; *a circumstance which may be satisfactorily explained if it can be made out that the Israelites were unfit to profit by it.* In pursuing this line of argument, therefore, we shall have no need to recur to that unworthy special pleading by which Warburton distorts so many texts of scripture. Let the doctrine be deducible from those texts, as it undoubtedly is, though by inference only, still our business is with the *mass of the people*, who certainly were held together by some means or other in a

*³Ad Att. xii. 14.

state of civil society; and we contend with Spencer, (as we apprehend Warburton might have done,) that however learned might be their leaders, they were themselves gross and ignorant, "populus crassus, et quod ex omni historiâ apparet valde, σαρκικός."

In considering, then, how far the *multitude* of the Israelites was acquainted with the doctrine of a life to come, we would not look so much to particular texts for a solution of the question, as to the moral and intellectual condition of the people at large. In short we would make this difference in the bishop's argument: instead of endeavouring to show that the people *could* not understand the doctrine of a future state, *because it was not to be found in the writings of their lawgiver*; we would rather argue, that though it was contained in those writings, *they were perhaps incapable of extracting it from them, and certainly were not in a state to be governed by its sanctions*. By thus shifting our inquiry an objection will be avoided to which the system of Warburton has been always exposed;—that the omission of a future state in the law of Moses, no more implies the ignorance of that doctrine on the part of the people for whom he was legislating, than its omission in our acts of parliament proves that the inhabitants of these kingdoms are not acquainted with it.

The cases indeed are not perfectly parallel; but the argument, such as it is, will not apply when the ignorance of the Israelites is not argued from this omission in the law, but from other and collateral considerations.

Here then was a body of men settled in a land luxurious in climate, of spontaneous fertility, full of abominations. Were the settlers likely under any circumstances to escape the infection, especially unprovided as they then were with a church or priesthood? But this was not all. They were living in a state of slavery during a great part of their continuance there, which was upwards of four hundred years;—a state which has been ever found destructive of all morals and intelligence wherever it has existed, and in this instance aggravated by the professed policy of the Egyptians, which was to oppress and debase them.* Their religious rites must have been neglected and lost, for were their Egyptian taskmasters the men to take such matters into their merciful consideration? or if they had, how could they have done sacrifice to their God (which was the first and greatest rite of their forefathers) in a land where their victim was sacred, and where its death would have been expiated by their own? Accordingly we discover that

* Exod. i. 10.

they fell into the vicious and idolatrous ways of their oppressors. Many practices, innocent in themselves, are forbidden in the levitical law, apparently because they were Egyptian, and for that reason only. What other account can be given of that prohibition which forbids the priests to make baldness on their heads, a fashion which we learn from Herodotus prevailed amongst the ecclesiastics of Egypt; whilst all intercourse with that corrupt people was further prevented by an express command that they should not multiply horses. The two nations cohabited, for we read of the son of an Israelitish woman whose father was an Egyptian. The Israelites worshipped the gods of Egypt, and forgot their own God, or at least reckoned Jehovah as one of that *Turba Deorum* to which they were accustomed to bow down. They danced naked before the idols of Egypt, and committed whoredom in honour of a calf. Nay, if after their establishment in Canaan, with all the advantages which must have accrued from their previous intercourse with the Deity, we find the prophet reproaching them with exceeding in their corruptions even the Canaanites themselves,* what must have been their plight whilst they were living in Egypt under circumstances tenfold less favourable to moral or mental improvement? Indeed, the very vices denounced in the levitical law, are in themselves a proof of the dreadfully corrupt and carnal state of the people amongst whom it was promulgated; a law which, in this respect, can only be paralleled by the Hindoo code, which indicates similar depravity, and which we know full well indicates it but too truly.

Agreeably to this view of their barbarism and debasement (for the powers of the mind perish under a system of sensual excess) we discover the Israelites, on their departure from the house of their bondage, incapable of drawing conclusions from premises the most obvious. Here, however, as well as in some subsequent paragraphs, we must be understood to speak to believers alone, for the deist, of course, would not permit us to use arguments which involve the truth of the Mosaic *miracles*. Still our reasoning in these cases is *ex abundanti*; and though we advance it for the sake of explaining ourselves more fully to christian readers, it may be detached from the whole without any serious injury to the general question. When the Almighty, then, had delivered them from Pharaoh, they did not believe that he could deliver them from the Red Sea. When he had caused them to pass through the sea, they did not feel assured that he could find them drink in the wilderness. When he had given them water, they could not be persuaded that

* Ezek. xvi. 7.

he could give “them bread also, or provide flesh for his people.” And it is only by reference to their ignorance that we have the key to the understanding of that system of laws which God imposed on them; laws which were not absolutely ‘good,’ but as good as they could endure. Thus, mere *equity* is first insisted upon, “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth;” because amongst a savage people equity was the utmost that could be hoped or expected—it would be a great point gained to prevent excessive retaliation—the nobler doctrine of forgiving injuries it was necessary to reserve for better and more enlightened times. *Divorce* for slight causes was permitted, because bad as such a practice was, it was better than promiscuous concubinage, which had prevailed before, and so it was winked at for a season “on account of the hardness of their hearts;” till at length they should be prepared for a law of less latitude and license. And “meanwhile” (to use the words of Mr. Davison*) “one of the prophets, Malachi, gave a clear intimation that God approved not the permission so allowed, but would draw the domestic charities into stricter bonds of union and severity.”† “The Lord God of Israel saith, that he hateth putting away.”‡ In taking this view of the law we are willing to think that we have St. Paul on our side. “The law,” says that apostle, “is not made for a righteous man, but for *the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for man-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons.*”‡ And we have the spirit of scripture from beginning to end, which, even in the progress of Christianity itself, communicates in proportion to the capacity of the recipient, not “giving that which is holy to the dogs, nor casting pearl before swine.” Neither is there any thing to stagger the faith of the most scrupulous in such a dispensation. The omission of a future state of rewards and punishments makes no difference in the *obligation* of a people to obey the law, for that arises from the right of the lawgiver to impose it, and is perfectly independent of the nature of the sanctions. Add to this, that those temporal sanctions have still a reference to the moral improvement of the people on the whole, and might prepare them for a judgment to come, though of that judgment they should be ignorant. He who was taught that to honour his parents would be rewarded with a long and prosperous life, would be instructed in the duty

* Discourses on Prophecy, 61.

† Malachi, ii. 16.

‡ Tim, i. 1. 9.

of filial obedience, though nothing should be said of a future reward ; and that reward might be superadded in strict propriety, though no covenant to such effect had been made. Besides, why should a system of future rewards and punishments be revealed in a law which " could not give life " after all ?

But (to revert for a moment only to the question of the Israelites) it may perhaps be alleged in contradiction to our argument, that the skill of the Israelitish artificers points to a degree of refinement and intelligence not consistent with such barbarism. This, however, we do not admit, since the makers of the tabernacle and its furniture are expressly represented as endowed with extraordinary powers from above for that very purpose. " I have called by name Bezaleel, saith God, and have filled him with the spirit of God, in understanding and in knowledge of *all manner of workmanship*."*

Such then appears to have been the condition of the Israelites when they departed from Egypt ; totally unconscious of a future state they probably were not, for what nation has ever been so ? but still so ignorant of its nature, and so dead to its influence, so engrossed with the things which are seen, and so incapable of looking forward to the things which are not seen, that temporal punishments and rewards were the only motives which could at present reach them. Like children, it was by the terrors of the rod or the sweets of immediate gratification that they were to be led ; till arrived at manhood, and matured in understanding, they would be fit to be worked upon by the hopes and fears of a future life.

Meanwhile it is objected by Mr. Faber, who takes a very different view of the subject from our own, that " such ignorance of the Israelites must inevitably rest upon the equal ignorance of their predecessors, under a yet prior dispensation ;"—an objection which Warburton himself saw, and what is more, endeavoured to provide against. Accordingly, with an impetuosity quite his own, he sets himself to show that the patriarchs themselves were as uninformed of a future state as their posterity in Egypt ;—that they had only natural religion for their guide ;—and that they too were governed by an *equal* providence and temporal sanctions. Here we have another instance of that disposition which the author of the " Divine Legation " so frequently displays, to take up an untenable position by choice ; to give such vantage-ground to his adversary, as no superiority of strength or dexterity could compensate ; forgetful that truth is that simple sling and stone, which, even though wielded by a stripling, will prevail against the unsanctified spear, though like a weaver's beam and in the hands

of a giant. How could those have been ignorant of a future state, amongst whom "Enoch had been translated that he should not see death," or who, in their earthly journeys, still looked forward, as we are assured they did, "to a better country—that is, a heavenly?" How could those have natural religion for their guide, who had been taught that the "seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head;"—a communication which our first parents certainly could not have understood literally, but must have referred it, (as it was in compassion intended they should,) to the promise of a deliverer from that curse to which they had made themselves liable? How could natural religion have taught, that to expiate sin the victim lay at the door; or have enabled Noah to "preach righteousness," and foretell the deluge that was to purify the earth? How could natural religion, at the same period, have distinguished between clean and unclean beasts; or pointed out the observance of the sabbath, which it is probable already obtained? How could they be said to live under an *equal* providence, a providence which governed by temporal sanctions alone, amongst whom Abel, who was innocent, was murdered in his prime, and Cain, who was guilty, was suffered to live in comparative affluence and ease?—In such difficulties does Warburton involve himself by resorting to his favourite mode of argument, by proudly seeking to vanquish his antagonist with his own weapons, whatever they are, rather than trouble himself to ascertain what right he has to use them. That the Israelites, in the time of Moses, after their long slavery in an idolatrous land, were grossly ignorant, may surely be asserted without, of necessity, admitting that their ancestors, who were free, who formed a society of themselves, who conversed with God, and were less distantly removed from the first and perhaps the most enlightened of our race, were grossly ignorant too. And if it be said, that it is hard to understand the purpose of Providence, in first giving a people light, and then plunging them into darkness, but to illumine them again, we allow that it is a dispensation of things past our comprehension, but still it is perfectly agreeable to our experience. The North-American Indians must have had forefathers to whom revelation was known, yet in the course of generations that knowledge was permitted to expire, and it was reserved to Brainherd and wiser men, to restore it to them once more. And where, we would ask, are now all the churches of Asia which Paul planted, and of which the fruits were once so promising? Still, whilst we dissent from Bishop Warburton when he withholds from the patriarchs that light which was given them, we cannot but think, on the other hand, that Mr. Faber admits them to far too much. Of men that were born

of women, there had not been one greater than John the Baptist; yet so little was his knowledge after all, that even the least in the kingdom of heaven, even the least of those to whom the gospel had been imparted, was greater than he. But Mr. Faber unfolds all the arcana of even the antediluvian world, with an air of assurance that would never lead us to guess that all we know of that world, from any authority, might be comprised in a single page of a single journal. Our readers are doubtless aware that the length of his six days of creation has been a subject of much debate. Mr. Faber declares in favour of their having been long periods of time, as many others have done before him,—but how long?—"If God," says he, "laboured six *natural* days, and rested on the *seventh* natural day, the very turn of his statement will unavoidably imply that he resumed his labours on the *eighth natural day*;" which, in fact, (he continues to argue,) he did not; for the Almighty has been resting ever since the creation was completed; therefore the divine sabbath was not a *natural* day, but must be reckoned a period composed of that which has elapsed since the creation, together with that which shall elapse before the final consummation of all things. Now, we know that since the creation six thousand years or nearly have passed, therefore the divine sabbath is at *least* six thousand years long, and *may* be much longer.

Having thus obtained the length of one day we get the duration of the world by a rule-of-three sum—that at the very least it must be forty-two thousand years old; which is ample to discomfit Recupero's geological speculations, as well as to do much other good service in the same way. We are very far from wishing to treat this subject with levity, (though it is the great opprobrium of this fanciful species of theology that it is provocative thereto.) But really Mr. Faber's argument seems to amount to this, that when I say I finished my dinner at five o'clock, "the very term of the statement unavoidably implies that" I began it again at six. Neither is the physiological argument decisive. The order of the fossil strata, it seems, confirms the accuracy of the Mosaic narrative; yet, according to Moses, the vegetables were created before the marine productions, and therefore ought to lie beneath them; whereas Cuvier tells us that the *lowest* stratum contains fossil shells. But not to lay stress upon a conclusion, which may be an induction of particulars too few in number to furnish a general rule, the convulsed appearances of these superficial strata seem to indicate a previous world; the materials of which were employed in the formation of that we now inhabit, rather than a succession of six long demiurgic days. Assuredly the work of creation is represented

as proceeding with the utmost regularity, and without any destructive accident at all. We discover in it no turbulence, no abortive attempts, and fresh modifications of matter; the mighty undertaking advances progressively to its completion, till in the end all is pronounced to be "very good." Nor is the flood an adequate cause to account for the *violent* changes in position which the upper strata of the earth have evidently suffered. The flood was gradual, not instantaneous. The waters, by degrees, bare up the ark and covered the mountain-tops; they continued only about ten months; and though the face of the country would be changed for a while by such a catastrophe, its effects could not have been more than superficial, (nay even the situation of Paradise, as it was before the deluge, is defined by rivers which remained after that event,) and were manifestly unfit to account for a thousand phenomena to which they have been applied as a ready solution. We can see nothing offensive in supposing that our earth is the wreck of a previous one, having a different inclination, perhaps, of the axis to the plane of its motion, enjoying therefore a locally different climate, and peopled by other animals, of which the remains are still preserved, but amongst which those of man have not yet been found; whether this comes of his not having had a place in that former system, or whether, as we have heard it boldly conjectured, because a resurrection and a judgment day have already disposed of the bodies, as well as souls, of those who lived therein. At all events, nothing subversive of the theory of a previous world, or possibly of a succession of worlds, is to be gathered from the expression "God *created* the heavens and the earth;" that expression being just as applicable to a new formation of pre-existent matter, as to the production of matter itself.*

Moses's history is clearly a history of that system with which we have to do—a history of the causes of those things which we see in existence. But the appearance of the earth gives us another history, a history of a period more ancient, and shows that it had not used to be what it is now: from Moses we deduce how things are; from the earth, how things have been. Geology may be a legitimate field for the exercise of a chastised imagination, but in theology that faculty of the mind is out of its province. Herein, whoever attempts to be wise beyond what is written, is but too likely to expose the best of causes to injury and hazard; greatly do the sober-minded grieve to see scripture made a nose of wax, though it be to serve a good purpose; and much do they reprobate the revival of that rabbinical spirit which found or feigned God's words to be pregnant with mean-

* See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lex. verb. בָּרָא.

ings which none but the initiated could look into. It would require more than the sop of Cerberus to lay suspicion to sleep, whilst we are told with an air of authority, that till the time of the flood there was the permanent and visible presence of God over the gate of Paradise; that there was a royal high priest of the line of Seth constantly at hand to do the service of the tabernacle; that round Eden were "regularly arranged the collegiate habitations of younger sacerdotal brethren and assessors, while in still widening circle, the *laic* posterity of Adam's younger children harmoniously fixed their residence;" and finally, that the crime of the antediluvians was a denial of the atonement, and an actual attempt to take by storm the paradisiacal mount.

In that same spirit, ever prone to discover clear indications of ancient revelation, where all is mystery, Mr. Faber opposes the theory of hero-worship, which Warburton (who, in this instance, thinks with other men) maintains; the former arguing that dead men were the first objects of idolatry, the latter, that the elements and heavenly bodies had the precedence. Now, that the sun and stars, the former looking from its sole dominion, like the God of this new world, the fire and the winds, through the medium of which (as instruments to be sure) so much good and evil daily resulted, were likely enough to attract the reverence of mankind, especially whilst pastoral habits prevailed, seems sufficiently probable. Men were led to think them gods, (as the author of the Book of Wisdom argues,*) from admiration of their influence or beauty: and it may be remarked by the way, that the Indus has never been held so sacred as the other rivers of India, probably because its course is the least picturesque. Neither does such false worship imply that total forgetfulness of the true God, which Mr. Faber imagines, and which he thinks irreconcilable with an age so little removed from even Adam himself, as that in which idolatry commenced. Honours might be paid to the creature which were due to the Creator alone, but still honours might be paid to both. The family of Laban had images to bow down before, though not to the exclusion of the God of their fathers: and this we conceive to be the fact. For if we are to believe that hero-worship arose from the hopes excited by the prophecy of the woman's seed—from an anxious expectation of that man-Jehovah, who was one day to be born into the world;—if we are to believe (to use the words of Mr. Faber) that "eminent men were adored as incarnations or avatars of the Deity," what shall we say of that numerous class of divinities which were in themselves hateful to their worshippers, and only

* Ch. xiii. 1—5.

propitiated as the authors of evil? Could a fever or a cough be reckoned an avatar of a *benevolent* Deity, for such the prophecy marked the future Saviour to be? Could the Typhon of Egypt be so esteemed? or would *brute*-worship be consistent with such a theory? Nor is this all. The worship of saints affords a further objection to this ingenious but fanciful system. The saints of the Romish church are the demigods of antiquity; but the worship of saints has prevailed, and does yet prevail, amongst those who admit that the man-Jehovah *has already appeared*. How then shall this practice be resolved into corrupted patriarchism; into the indistinct notion of an incarnate Messiah to come? Both the one and the other abuse may readily enough have had its origin in an extravagant respect for the virtues of the dead; a feeling so firmly implanted in our nature, that even the *failings* of humanity are never remembered beyond the grave, and an angel seems ever in attendance to guard a sepulchre. For “a father,” says the apocryphal author we have quoted already, “afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honours him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivers to those which were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.” And therefore we find even Cicero himself, in the exuberance of his grief for the loss of his daughter, determining to procure for her an apotheosis, and to build her a temple.*

Equally at variance are Mr. Faber and the Bishop of Gloucester on the subject of types: Mr. Faber maintaining that their ultimate meaning was intelligible from the first; Warburton, that it was hidden (with one splendid exception however) till the fulness of time discovered the antitype. Yet why should vehicles of information so mysterious have been employed, unless for the purpose of partial concealment? Admirably were they adapted to lead men forward from a preparatory to a perfect religion—from the carnal to the spiritual. Nor were they of less service after their accomplishment as evidence to the truth, both of Judaism and Christianity, for then were they so many prophecies fulfilled. But it is difficult to suppose that the Jews would have submitted to ceremonies so onerous, and rites so expensive, had they been taught that their law was only to be temporary, and subservient to better promises; that it was merely the shadow of a substance which they saw before them, and longed to overtake. Besides, so peculiarly appropriate to their christian sense are the types of the Old Testament, as Mr. Davison observes, that had they been explained at all, the great doctrines of the

gospel must have been unequivocally revealed. The good tidings of great joy would have been all or nearly all forestalled ; never would the people have been said “ to be kept under the law, *shut up* unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed.”* Never would the eyes of men have needed to be opened that they might understand the scriptures ; never would there have been a veil upon the heart when Moses was read. Still it is not to be supposed that these “ elements ” were altogether “ dumb,” even to a Hebrew. The rites of purification and atonement would lead him to argue that some medium of propitiation was wanting to him : he would be assured that sacrifices were needful, whilst the imperfection of those he offered up, would be obtruded upon him as not sufficient “ to make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the *conscience*.” And what is more, the striking omission in the *ceremonial* law, to provide for the relief of the *heavier* transgressions against the *moral* law, (for provision is undoubtedly made against *some* moral transgressions,) would set him to conjecture that a more efficacious and comprehensive means of obtaining forgiveness was yet in reserve. At any rate, a thirst for better knowledge would be thus excited, though the knowledge itself might not be vouchsafed, and prophets and kings would be made desirous “ of seeing the things which we have seen ;” a desire which would be the best preparation possible for the acceptance of that dispensation which was to follow.

We will illustrate our view of the effect of types by an example. St. Peter being at Joppa, fell into a trance, saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, let down to the earth, full of various beasts, and fowls, and creeping things. A voice bade him kill and eat ;—he had never eaten any thing common or unclean. The voice spake again, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common ; and so the vessel was taken up again into heaven, and the vision ended. Mr. Faber, we think, would have found very little difficulty here : not so St. Peter. This figurative communication was by no means satisfactory to his mind. He only “ *doubted* with himself what it might mean ;” and from this suspense he was not relieved till the appearance of the three men, with their message from Cornelius, afforded the interpretation of the mystery. Thus much, at least, we may allow to types, that they were calculated to excite curiosity previous to their fulfilment, and to confirm the truth of revelation afterwards. In one instance, indeed, Warburton himself would allow them much more ; and delighted with his theory of instruction by *action*, so nobly

* Gal. iii. 20.

developed in his fourth book, he perhaps applies it to the sacrifice of Isaac without sufficient evidence of its propriety, and certainly to the manifest confusion of the whole tenour of his previous argument. We are well aware that we are here treading on tender ground. The sacrifice of Isaac, as it is treated by Warburton, is indeed a splendid drama ; yet Moses gives no hint that the incident was intended (so far as Abraham was concerned,) to do more than “tempt” or try him. Neither is the expression in the Hebrews, upon which so much of the bishop’s argument rests, by any means conclusive. “By faith,” says the apostle, “Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac, accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead ; from which also he received him in a *figure*,” (ἐν παραβολῇ.*) But was this figure or parable a scenic representation of the redemption by the cross ? as Warburton, and Mr. Faber too, would teach us. We apprehend not. Abraham believed that though he should slay his son, he might still be restored to him alive, because when he received him first of all, it was, *figuratively speaking*, (ἐν παραβολῇ,) from the dead that he received him, since (to use the apostle’s own words in another place,†) “he considered not his own body *now dead*, when he was about a hundred years old, neither yet the *deadness* of Sarah’s womb, being fully persuaded that what God had promised he was able to perform.” Now we can discover the best of reasons for Abraham’s faith in God’s power to raise up Isaac again after death, when he remembered that it was from a state as unpromising that he first was given him ; but it is not easy to see how such confidence would accrue from being told that the drama he was about to enact would be a lively picture of the great sacrifice ; for the resurrection of the Messiah could not as yet afford him hope, since that very circumstance was to be unfolded in the progress of the type. That a type the whole transaction was we do not doubt or deny, but how far it was understood by the patriarch is another affair. “Miratur, rerumque ignarus, imagine gaudet.” Abraham, indeed, “rejoiced to see the day of Christ, and he saw it and was glad ;” but can more be justly inferred from this expression, than that an assurance was afforded him of a blessing being entailed on all nations of the earth through a descendant of his own ? “The day of Christ” does not, of necessity, imply the day of his *crucifixion*, as Warburton would have it understood ; on the contrary, the expression is at least as applicable to his *birth*, which might well be an occasion of rejoicing to the father of the faithful, dimly as he might see the advantages which would attend it ;

* Heb. xi. 19.

† Rom. iv. 19.

not to say, that the term in scripture phraseology attaches rather to seasons of our Lord's exaltation and glory, than to that of his humiliation and suffering. For these reasons we hesitate to follow the bishop (backed as he is, in this instance, by those who are commonly opposed to him) in his most ingenuous dissertation. While we must leave his idolaters, to none of whom we yield in all rational admiration of his extraordinary learning and talents, to reconcile a revelation so explicit with that system of natural religion under which he maintains the patriarchs to have flourished, "and in which subjection man continued till the giving of the law."*

This, however, is no solitary instance of the inconsistencies of the bishop. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that he could firmly believe his system to be sound throughout when he found many of its component parts so discordant. His theory respecting the Book of Job is now universally given up; though some of the texts which he advances, and especially that from ch. xxvi. v. 12, afford a strong presumption that the writer lived subsequently to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. But this is all which he proves, if indeed he proves this; for even here he is opposed by Lowth, a very formidable antagonist, upon a point of Hebrew literature, one of whose arguments, however, for the great antiquity of this much-disputed book, is certainly defective. The sacrifice of *seven* bullocks and *seven* lambs, (ch. xlii. 8.) is indeed in conformity with what might be supposed to have been the practice before the giving of the law, commemorative of the seven days of creation. Yet long after the giving of the law, the same number of victims was occasionally offered, of which David affords an example when he brought up the ark from the house of Obed-Edom. (1 Chron. xv. 26.)

But after all, what was Warburton's object in fixing so late a date to the Book of Job as the time of Ezra? It will be said, to set himself free from that noble passage selected from it by our church for a part of its burial service, which gives too clear an indication of a future state to suit the bishop's views. Be it so. Why then was it necessary to show in a separate dissertation that the passage in question contained no such doctrine at all, and had only a relation to the life that now is? The dilemma is this. Warburton denies the antiquity of the book in order to prove that the doctrine it contains of a future state, was a *late* doctrine. He then virtually allows the antiquity of the book, by thinking it needful to show that it contains no such

* Divine Legation, b. ix. ch. 1. sec. 3.

doctrine after all. But the bishop is as absolute as the pope; indifferent about reconciling his own contradictions, and exacting of his readers an unconditional surrender of their understandings to his. By nature his temper was prone to intellectual tyranny, and his education was ill adapted to correct the defect. At a public school he would have met with his equals in physical strength at any rate, and the corporal discipline administered by lads (always sturdy republicans) might have somewhat subdued the impetuous spirit of the "fiery duke." At an university again, he would not have met with such chastisement, but he would there have been beaten into some respect for the understandings of other men, by finding his own exertions sometimes unsuccessful, however strenuous, and the prize at which he grasped snatched from his hand by a more fortunate rival. For he who backs himself against the field, whatever may be his individual superiority, must be occasionally overcome; the race will not be always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; and every such defeat would have been a wholesome lesson of humility. But these advantages Warburton never enjoyed; accordingly he has no notion of the lawfulness of any man opposing his will and pleasure, but sallies forth with such a proclamation in his mouth as the King of Abyssinina, "Cut down the kantuffa in the four quarters of the world, for I do not know where I am going." No wonder that such a man should have raised up against himself a host of foes, enough to overwhelm an ordinary mind; and to whose repeated attacks even his own was not insensible. In his letters to Hurd, he gives vent to his feelings of disappointment at the manner in which his work had been received, with all the indignation of one who thought he had suffered personal wrong. But it is a hard task for any one, much more for a Warburton, to bear with patience the partial triumphs of adversaries he despises. Yet to this condition did the Bishop of Gloucester but too often reduce himself by taking up, as we have already said, untenable grounds by choice; and it was, no doubt, the irritation growing out of such discomfitures that at length rendered him averse to the further prosecution of his great work, and brought it to an untimely end. Yet in spite of the objections which may be alleged against its several parts, where shall be found a more extraordinary effort of genius than the whole? Many a man may controvert the details of the "Divine Legation," (for the hand which cannot rear a hut may demolish a palace,) but who, besides Warburton, could have planned and put together such an entire? The connection subsisting between the omission of future rewards and punishments, and the existence of an extraordinary providence now for the first time noticed; the

stores of learning poured forth as from an exhaustless treasure-house, and compelled to be subservient to one and the same end; the profound disquisitions on subjects accidentally presenting themselves in the progress of the main argument; the vigorous blows dealt out, as if in the wantonness of strength, at systems which interfered, however remotely, with his own; the happy illustrations of the matter in hand, derived from sources the most unpromising; the keen sarcastic wit, exercised, however, frequently at the expense of decorum, and sometimes bordering upon the profane; are all features of the "Divine Legation," declaring it to be the work of no ordinary artist.

It will be perceived then on the whole, that in much of Warburton's scheme we concur; in all we cannot. We agree with him in the necessity of the sanctions of a future state for the support of civil society under a *common* providence. We agree with him in thinking that the Israelitish *people* had not that doctrine in a degree sufficient to influence them as citizens; not, however, because such a doctrine is nowhere to be found in the Mosaic law, but because it is not so expressed as if it were intended to be operative on the people, who were, in fact, not ripe for its operation. And lastly, we draw a conclusion, like him, that an *extraordinary* providence was therefore needed to supply the place of that doctrine. Such an argument might at any rate engage the attention of a deist, as sober, rational, and upon his own principles; his conviction it would perhaps be less likely to work than that "short method" of Leslie's, which at once shows the miracles of Moses worthy of credit, and therefore his mission divine. Yet it might have its weight in corroboration. To the believer, who maintains from the *direct* evidence of scripture that there *was* an extraordinary providence under Moses, it is satisfactory to deduce that it is reasonable *there should have been*. We say, that there is direct evidence in scripture of this fact. Very many sins recorded in the levitical law are such as no human magistrate could discover, and yet are denounced as surely to be punished. On all occasions of doubt or difficulty, the Deity is represented as approachable, through the medium of prophet or priest. Blessings and curses are experienced by individuals, as they may deserve; so that it rains upon one man's field, whilst his neighbour's is suffered to perish by drought.* "*Every transgression and disobedience,*" we are expressly told by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "received a just recompense of reward."† And the disposition of the Jews in after times "to demand a sign from heaven," was but the natural

* Amos, iv. 7.

† Heb. ii. 2.

consequence of an extraordinary providence having governed their ancestors. While evidence thus direct is offered of the existence of such a providence under Moses, it is not a little satisfactory to find how well the fact harmonizes with the condition of the Israelites, as represented in the Pentateuch, and with the suppression of a future state as a sanction to the law. For discovering to us this harmony, if for nothing else, we stand deeply indebted to the Bishop of Gloucester, whose great work Mr. Faber has again brought before the public, which has for some time treated it with unworthy neglect. On the whole, therefore, Mr. Faber has deserved well of his readers. From his book we have, indeed, been somewhat led astray by the captivating pages of the "Divine Legation;" much of which he controverts, always with ingenuity, and often with complete success. Yet we are ever compelled to walk with him, like Agag, when suspicious of danger, *delicately*. With a spirit the very contrary to every thing deistical, he in one respect resembles the deist. While the one thinks he is only using the light of reason in forming his system of *natural* religion, the other thinks he is only using the light of the Old Testament in unfolding his system of *patriarchal and levitical* religion; the gospel is all the while a lantern to the feet, and a light to the path, of both. Conclusions at which Socrates could never arrive, Lord Bolingbroke finds obvious to the natural man; and conclusions which the patriarchs seem never to have approached, Mr. Faber thinks it impossible they could ever have missed. Still, however, we do not envy the feelings of that reader who can peruse one of his works without interest, without becoming a wiser and a better man. Always does he write like one in earnest, even where he is most fanciful; and has ever the honour and welfare of religion at heart, even where he seems to put them in greatest jeopardy. On he marches, nothing doubting, in all the confidence of strong faith; and we follow the "savior duce" as a most profound and intelligent mystagogue, only sorry, at parting from him, that we are compelled to make our escape by the *ivory gate*.

ART. XI.—*Death-Bed Scenes, and Pastoral Conversations*. By the late John Warton, D. D. Edited by his Sons. 1 vol. 8vo. London.

THIS book offers to our notice a specimen of didactic literature very desirable, and we may almost say unique. The form, indeed, is one with which we are sufficiently conversant, for

it pervades almost every department of learning, and has obtained in every age, and in almost every country. We have dialogues ancient and modern, of the living and of the dead; conversations in chemistry, history, and political economy; and in our own age especially, there is scarcely a single subject of human inquiry, however recondite or abstruse, which has not been brought level to the average intellect of our countrymen, through this familiar and accommodating channel. But amidst all this profusion of interlocutory discussion, while so many imaginations have been at work, and so much ingenuity has been displayed, in facilitating the acquisition of various knowledge, no one before has undertaken the humble but useful task of illustrating the most important of all sciences, that of *living and dying well*, by a collection of conversations like these—conversations which have actually taken place between a minister and his parishioners, chiefly under the affecting circumstances of sickness and of death. And yet there is no task which can possibly involve subjects so interesting; none, we think, on which so great a store of materials can be brought to bear; none by which such vivid impressions can be made, and such various and extensive good may be effected.

The persons chiefly concerned are placed in a situation of the deepest interest. They are standing on the confines of both worlds, and the next inevitable step brings them to their eternal portion of good or evil. What that portion may be is then the great concern, which must occupy all their thoughts, especially in their conversations with their ministers; and, however broken or artless may be the history of their past or present experience, it must be matter of pregnant instruction to such of the living as will attend to it, to know from what sources their hopes and fears may be derived at such an hour; while on the other hand, in the part sustained by the minister, the excitement under which he converses, combined with his clearer views, and more correct application of gospel truth, must give an unction and an elevation to his teaching, which under other circumstances could scarcely be expected. But these lessons, valuable and important as they are, have hitherto availed but little for the benefit of the generality of mankind. It is impossible to expect that men in health and strength should voluntarily seek for instruction amidst the gloom of sickness and of death; and least of all, that the youthful and the giddy, those who stand most in need of warning, should repair to such scenes in search of it. On this account therefore we should be grateful to the pious care of any one who will endeavour to bring home to our minds the salutary lessons of the dying, stripped of the gloom and terror which the sight of the scenes themselves would necessarily inspire.

But the advantage which the laity may hope to derive directly from such a work, is not to be compared with that which may indirectly be expected from it in the improved ministration of the clergy themselves. The visitation of the sick is acknowledged to be one of the most difficult as well as one of the most important functions of the christian ministry; requiring much sound and ready knowledge to provide, and considerable judgment to select, what is at once consistent with gospel truth, and suitable and applicable in every case: and though many excellent rules have been left by pious and good men, for the guidance of their successors through these trying scenes, yet so various and complicated are the cases which are presented to them, and so different the characters and associations of the minds in which they occur, that such rules have always been found defective. There is scarcely a young clergyman, however zealous and well disposed, who does not find himself embarrassed at the first for want of more particular directions; and some there are who never arrive at any success in this important function during their whole lives: not so much from want of taste or industry in their profession, but because having met with difficulties in the first instance not easily overcome, they have hastily distrusted their own powers and given up the matter in despair.

Now we have often thought that a collection of death-bed dialogues, drawn from the life, judiciously selected from a long and large experience of an industrious and able divine, and arranged under some of the most important heads of christian instruction, might be very serviceable in supplying this defect. It cannot indeed be expected to give a good foundation for the office. This must be sought only in a sound and careful reading of the scriptures, in an earnest desire for the spiritual good of their flocks, and some competent knowledge of the human mind; but it may teach them a readiness and firmness in the application of these qualities. By showing what arguments have been found awakening or convincing in certain cases, they may learn how to deal with others which resemble them. It would be a storehouse, too, from which might be extracted approved answers to many common objections, short solutions to common difficulties, and easy refutations of many painful errors, which sometimes inspire the mind with presumptuous hope, and sometimes scatter unnecessary darkness and terror around the bed of death.

Under these impressions we hail with great satisfaction the work which is now announced. The author, or compiler, is Dr. Warton; of what place we do not know, nor would it be right to communicate it if we did. It may satisfy, however, a proper curiosity to relate, that he was once the incumbent of a large

and populous parish in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, and that he has long since departed with those over whom he watched to give an account of his stewardship; that he was constantly resident and sedulously engaged in the duties of his charge, present at the scenes which he describes, and constituting an important part in them all; that he was in the habit of recording his conversations with his parishioners, which he left to be published by his son for the benefit of posterity; and that if these specimens of them should be well received, more will afterwards be published from the same store, which we are glad to hear is both various and abundant.

Such are the circumstances under which this work has been offered to the public. With respect to the manner in which it has been executed, we should have been better pleased, considering the novelty of the task, that our readers would have formed their own opinions from the extracts which will be produced from it; but as this volume is submitted to us as the precursor of others, (and we trust that the expectation will be realized,) we think it our duty to express thus early our opinion; because, if it should carry any weight, it may possibly have an influence upon the disposition of what remains.

We confess then, that although the editor has executed his task with great industry and ability, it does not come up entirely to the high notion we had formed of what was attainable in such an undertaking. We are by no means clear, however, at whose door the fault is to be laid; nor, indeed, whether the reasons we have to assign will be approved by the generality of our readers. The work professes to be a collection of dialogues actually held between a clergyman and his parishioners, which, considering the parties, could not, we allow, be given verbatim. Some alteration must take place to render them palatable; but of what kind and to what extent were matters for the taste and judgment of the editor. On these points we think that by doing too much he has essentially injured the effect; the substance may have been preserved, but the spirit has a good deal evaporated; and there is less throughout of nature and simplicity than might, we think, have been preserved without injury to other points. The speeches of the minister (for such they often are) will be found too long, too flowing, and too argumentative, considering the circumstances in which the parties are placed; and the answers and interruptions of his hearers too much in the style and language of their pastor.

Another circumstance which detracts exceedingly from the reality of the scenes, is a fact acknowledged in the preface by Dr. Warton, that, for the sake of greater conciseness and unity of subject, he has brought together into a single conversation,

with a single person, what may have actually occurred in more conversations and with more persons than one. This we think was an error. In such a work it is not long and laboured discussions of doctrinal points for the instruction of divines, that we expect, but words of truth, and light, and comfort gleaming upon the sick and dying, and forming impressive lessons for the living; and sure we are that what is gained in the point of unity, by such graftings and interchanges, is more than compensated by the loss of freshness, interest, and variety.

Finally, we cannot approve entirely of the judgment exercised in the selection of the materials. In the second chapter, we were startled at the outset at a long and well-sustained dialogue upon tithes; a subject which has no connection with death-bed scenes, and very little surely with pastoral conversations. If it be intended only to introduce us to the character of Mr. Sambrook, it is much too laboured and too cumbersome; if on the other hand it is to be considered as an independent portion of the work, it is surely misplaced, and one cannot suppress our wonder how it came there.

With all these defects, however, the labours of Dr. Warton have a strong title to the approbation of every member of the establishment, and particularly of its ministers, who cannot fail of deriving much benefit from them.

The intention of the work is excellent, and the lessons conveyed by it instructive, impressive, and, as far as is consistent with the subject, amusing. The opinions of the author are orthodox and sound; his stories well told; his arguments strongly put and ingeniously supported; and the dialogue is for the most part sustained with great earnestness and effect. Occasionally will be found considerable point, nice traits of character, and agreeable turns both of expression and of thought; and now and then there peers above the surface a talent for humour, which, though chastened and kept down by the seriousness of the subject, is not without considerable interest. Of the goodness and kindness of Dr. Warton's heart it is impossible to doubt. He was evidently a man of the strongest natural feeling, which his piety contributed to heighten rather than to diminish. Sometimes, indeed, it appears to have been so powerful as to interrupt and suspend his ministerial duties, at very critical moments of them; and notwithstanding the benevolent provision of our Maker, that our sympathies should lose something of their keenness and poignancy by use, yet whenever the spiritual good or evil of his parishioners was concerned, he never ceased from the evangelical rule of rejoicing with them that rejoice, and weeping with them that weep.

The first extracts we shall offer to our readers are from the

second chapter, under the head of "Atheism." Mr. Sambrook, the person concerned, is thus introduced to us:—

"As I was sitting at home one rainy day, and earnestly engaged in the preparation of a sermon for the following Sunday, expecting that the weather would have secured me from all chance of being disturbed by visitors, the name of Mr. Sambrook was announced. He was a considerable farmer, with whom I had long wished to have an opportunity of conversing, and which I had totally despaired of obtaining, unless it might please Providence to inflict some lingering calamity upon him. I was well aware that the object of his present visit was entirely secular; but I hoped to extract something spiritual out of it, and therefore put by my papers with great satisfaction, and desired that he might be brought into my study.

"A short, fat, rosy man, beyond the middle age, was introduced. His dress and manner were rough for a person having so much intercourse with the neighbouring town; but there was a liveliness and cheerfulness in his whole air and gestures, which induced me at once to think that I might say what I chose to him, consistently with my situation, without the danger of giving him offence. And certainly it seemed necessary that much should be said: at church I never had seen him; he was accused of acts of uncommon profligacy, and he was bringing up his family in an absolute neglect of all religion. Having thus estranged himself from my spiritual ministrations, he assumed that he was emancipated from the payment of tithes; and, in fact, I was compelled to file a bill against him in the Exchequer, which now brought him to the rectory; for he did not love law, although he seldom did what was just without it; and indeed he loved it the less, because it sometimes forced him to do justice.

"'I am come to you, sir,' he said, as I rose to meet him, 'about this Exchequer business.' I desired him to sit down, and I sat down myself near him. 'I did not think, sir,' he began again, 'that you would have been so harsh with me, as to exchequer me.' 'I am sorry,' I answered, 'that you have made it necessary. My lawyer informed me that there was no other way of settling the account. Did he not write to you upon the subject long ago?' He allowed it. 'How many times?' I inquired. He could not say how many times; but I knew that he had written often. 'Have you ever seen him?' I inquired again. 'Yes,' he said. 'When?' I asked. 'I think it is a year ago,' he replied. 'And did you not then fix a time for the settlement?' 'Why, to be sure I did,' was his answer. 'But you did not fulfil your promise, I suppose, by the event. Did he write to you again, when the day had passed, to remind you?' 'I cannot deny but he did,' said Mr. Sambrook, very unwillingly, and not at all pleased with this system of questioning and answering, which only compelled him to condemn himself out of his own mouth. However, I proceeded. 'You went to him, I presume, when matters were come to this extremity?' Roused at last, he exclaimed, 'No, I did not, sir. Indeed we are so *oppressed* with tithes in this parish, that there is no bearing it.' I was not aware," I replied coolly, 'of

any oppression. Pray tell me how much you have paid since I became rector.' 'I cannot justly say, at a moment's notice,' was his answer. 'Have you paid one hundred pounds?' I asked. 'Not so much as that,' he replied. 'Have you paid twenty pounds?' I asked again. 'I cannot tell,' he answered, 'without looking at my receipts.' 'Come now,' I said, 'be open and candid; have you ever paid me any thing?' He looked down, ashamed and speechless. I pressed him; 'You know, Mr. Sambrook, it is a very easy matter for me to ascertain the truth, by a reference to my tithe-agent. He assures me that he has called at your house so often, that he is quite weary of it; and that he has never been able to obtain any money from you, nor any account of the produce of the land which you occupy. Is this true? Have you ever paid a farthing? Speak honestly.' At last he answered, 'That upon turning the matter over in his mind, he could not recollect that he had ever paid any thing.' 'Well then,' I said, 'Mr. Sambrook, *you* at least seem to have no reason to complain of being oppressed by tithes.' 'Yes, sir,' he replied, 'but this business has always been hanging over my head, and disturbing me, and keeping me in hot water. One day your collector calls; the next day comes a lawyer's letter; and perhaps a few days after you write yourself.' 'A pretty strong proof,' I said, 'that we have done every thing to avoid law, and to put you to the least possible expense; but notwithstanding every warning, you denied me what I conceived to be my dues. You would not listen indeed to any amicable proposition, and therefore the evil day has at length overtaken you. I fear the filing of the bill will cost you ten pounds, without proceeding any further.' 'Oh, sir!' he exclaimed eagerly, 'I hope you have no intention of going any further. What do I owe you?' 'If we were to go any further,' I said, 'the court would call upon you to declare on oath the quantity of your land, and the mode of tillage; but you may give me a written statement, if you please, and I will be satisfied with your word of honour.' 'I have one in my pocket,' he replied; 'here it is.' I took it, and examined it; and soon discovered several errors, not to say wilful falsehoods. I pointed them out, and a discussion arose, which ended in various amendments of the statement; and then, upon calculating the debt, I found that it exceeded one hundred pounds. 'If I am required to pay such a sum as that,' he cried out, 'I had better go to jail.' 'And what good will that do to yourself or your family?' I inquired. 'It is ruin either way,' he said; 'I trust you will take a much smaller sum.' 'If I do,' I replied, 'it will be liable to this mischief: all who pay with difficulty at present, will hold back so much the longer, expecting to profit by it in the end; and all who pay honourably, will think perhaps that they have acted unwisely; unless they know, as I am almost sure that some do, the infinite satisfaction which springs up in the mind from the consciousness of just dealing. However, I will run this risk. What are you willing to pay?' Mr. Sambrook hemmed and hawed for some time, and at last proposed forty pounds. I closed with him instantly; upon which he began to think that if he had offered less, I would have

taken less; at least he enumerated a hundred difficulties in the way of the payment of so large a sum, as he called it; but I stood firm, and the final agreement was, that he should pay all the expenses incurred, and the forty pounds by instalments.

"This weighty matter then being settled, and with the advantage on my side of having made a large concession, I now said, 'Mr. Sambrook, if you would but come to church, you would not perhaps grudge me my tithes; you might be inclined to adopt the opinion, that the labourer is worthy of his hire.' 'No sir,' he answered at once, and eagerly, 'nothing could ever reconcile me to tithes. Excuse me, Dr. Warton; I mean no personal disrespect to yourself. I think all tithes unjust and vexatious; and all who take them little better than robbers.' This he pronounced vehemently. 'But they are established by the laws of the land; are they not?' I inquired. 'Ay; there's the rub,' he answered; 'but the law itself robs me in a hundred ways.' 'If,' said I, 'a man takes only what the law allows him, I do not see how he can be properly called a robber.' 'What!' he replied, 'if I plough, and manure, and sow, and reap, all at my own single expense, and another steps in, and, without having done any thing, takes away one-tenth part of what I have raised by the labour of my hands, is not that a robbery, I ask you?' 'And I ask you, in return,' I said, 'what you think of the landlord; is he a robber too?' He hesitated, and so I proceeded. 'The landlord neither labours, nor spends money upon the raising of the crops, and yet steps in and takes, I believe, a quarter of your produce. What say you to that? Is it a robbery or not?' He still hesitated; at length he said, 'To speak the truth, I have no partiality for rents any more than for tithes. But the landlord has something to say for himself; the land is his, and he lets it under the condition of receiving a rent, rather than cultivate it himself; the farmer enters of his own will into a bargain with the landlord, and therefore has no reason to complain of the rent, unless there be any unusual circumstances in the case.' 'Nothing can be more just,' I replied, 'than the account which you have given of the transaction; except perhaps what you said, 'that the land was his.' It is his certainly in one sense, but not altogether his, except under a condition. How does he become possessed of it?' 'He bought it, perhaps,' was his answer; 'or it came to him from his father.' 'True,' I said; 'but, whether he bought it, or it came to him from his father, he obtained it, and he holds it subject to tithes. Did not he or his ancestor, pay a smaller price for it than should have been paid, if it had been free from tithes?' He could not deny it. 'They did not therefore purchase, and consequently could not possess, the whole power over the land, but only the power of appropriating to themselves nine-tenths of the produce?' He was obliged to allow it. 'So that they could not convey to their tenants any right which they did not possess themselves?' Seeing the difficulties in which he was involved, he confessed it reluctantly. 'And in point of fact,' I said, 'and in your own case, when you took your land, did not you know perfectly all these circumstances?' He was uneasy, and unwilling to answer; so I went on. 'Did not you indeed

argue with your landlord, and try to get an abatement of your rent, by pleading that there would be rates and tithes to pay, and consequently that the land was only worth so much?' He was pinched to the quick; I forced him, however, to confess that he did not know but that he had done so. 'The question then comes to this,' I said, 'whether the rent and the tithe together amount to more than the rent would be, if there were no tithe. I do not mean in your case; because it seems you adjusted the proportions previously, and therefore must have been satisfied. But, speaking generally, and upon supposition that all tithes were restored to the landlords, could this be any benefit to the tenants? Would not the landlords charge something for the superior value of the lands?' 'I must confess,' he answered, 'they would be fools, if they did not; but I have no doubt the tenants would gain by it.' 'How?' I asked; 'the landlords would charge the full value of the tithes; would they not? Is there any reason to suppose that they care so little about their own interests, as to take less than the worth of the thing? But, on the other hand, who ever heard of the parson getting the full value of his tithes? What is your own case? You ought to pay me one-third of the rent, by all the common rules of calculation; whereas you do not pay me one-sixth of it. Or, if I reckoned by your expenses in the cultivation of the land, and other incidents, which are perfectly known to me, I am quite confident that you do not pay me more than the half of what you should pay.' He shook his head, and seemed to doubt; so I went through the calculations in detail, and proved that they were correct incontestably; and therefore the conclusion which I drew could not be avoided; namely, that it was better for the tenants to have to do with the parson, than with the landlord alone; because there was a great probability that the demands of the parson on his own share would be moderate, and whatever he consented to lose, the tenants would gain.

"'Yes,' said Mr. Sambrook, 'but I would not restore the tithes] to the landlords; I would give them to the nation for the benefit of the public.' 'Out of the frying-pan into the fire!' I replied. 'The immediate effect of such a measure must necessarily be to increase the payments of the tenants. For either the nation would sell the tithes to the highest bidder, or appoint commissioners to manage them; in both which cases the very utmost would be made of them; would it not?' This last position of Mr. Sambrook's was the most unfortunate of all; he had not a word to produce in its defence; but he was the more angry, because he was ashamed to discover, with how little show of reason he was able to maintain his principles, and with what ease they were overturned. He made no direct answer to my question, but said, after a moment's hesitation, 'Be this as it may, sir; the origin of tithes was in the dark superstitious ages; and, as I told you before, nothing could be more unjust and vexatious.' 'Why unjust, Mr. Sambrook?' I said. 'Has not every man a right to give his own, or any part of his own, to whom he will? Had not I a full power and right to give you sixty pounds, which I have just done? My wife and children may be the worse for what I give away from them; but that does

not make the thing to be a flagrant case of injustice; does it?' 'Nobody denies all this,' he replied; 'but what has this to do with tithes?' 'Why,' I said, 'you cannot surely be ignorant, that tithes, generally speaking, were grants from the owners of the land. For certain advantages in return, which appeared to them of great importance, they set apart for ever a tenth portion of every thing which their land produced. This might have been a bad bargain or not; but certainly not unjust. Perhaps in some cases their children might have fancied that they had cause to complain; but nobody else could reasonably object to it, who had no claim upon the property. Suppose I were to establish myself with all my family in America, and bring a large tract of land into cultivation, and at length build a town, and get together a multitude of people; and suppose I should think that we might all be the better for some public visible worship of God; should I not have a perfect right to devote any part of my property to such an object? Nobody would presume to dispute the matter with me but my own family; and it is true that they might be somewhat less rich. But what is *that to them*? The land is mine and not theirs; I bought it, and brought it to the state in which it now is; and, if to show my gratitude to the Divine Author of my prosperity, and for the spiritual benefit of the population, I give him back a part of his gift, they ought to rejoice in my determination, and probably would do so. Every idea of injustice then is extinguished at once. What have you to object to this?' 'This is plausible, I grant,' was his answer; 'but he must be a great fool, who should lay such a vexatious burden as tithes upon the holders of his land through all ages.' 'I presume,' I said, 'that you call it vexatious on the supposition that all tithes will be taken in kind; and that a great deal of plague and mischief will arise on that account. But you see that in practice things turn out otherwise; tithes are very rarely taken in kind; and the owner of them, especially if he be a parson, is contented with a moderate compensation in money. But, at all events, the tenants cannot justly complain; they go with their eyes open; and if there be any thing really vexatious attached to their tenure, they are sure to get an equivalent in the rent. It is ridiculous therefore to talk of injustice and vexation as applicable to *them*; and nobody else but the descendants of the original proprietors have a right to utter a complaint upon the subject; and I am confident also that, all things considered, they have none.'—p. 53-65.

After some further discussion, in which other objections of Mr. Sambrook are answered with the same perspicuity, the conversation ends; and the consequence is that this enemy of the church, and indeed of God, being won, partly by Dr. Warton's kindness and partly by his arguments, seems not indisposed for other meetings, which the latter anxiously seeks; and on the next occasion the conversation is thus renewed:—

"After the usual salutations, fortunately, he began himself with, apologizing for his want of punctuality to his engagements, and having stated some reason or other for it, not very satisfactory, I accepted it

nevertheless at once; and he then paid me the sum that was first due; being, as he affirmed, about to bring it to me. At the same time he expressed a hope, which was wonderful for such a person, that others paid me better than he did. 'They do, certainly,' I replied; 'but now that we are better acquainted, you will perhaps not yield to any of them. But what must we do for a receipt?' 'Oh! never mind;' he said, 'your word is as good as a stamp.' 'I hope it is,' I answered; 'but my memory may fail me.' 'I will trust to that too,' he replied. This amused me exceedingly; but I found universally, that all, who persisted in calling me rogue and robber behind my back, never hesitated for a moment to put the most entire confidence in me, when we had any money transactions together.

" 'Very well,' I said; 'I only wish that you would trust me in things of much greater importance. Mr. Sambrook, you are getting into years; infirmities will come, and sickness, and death. But it would be wise to reflect seriously upon your condition, before you are forced to do so, and when to do it will be more painful, and less easy. Indeed, when I look at your frame and figure, I cannot help fearing, that you may be carried out of this world by one of those sudden, instantaneous, unexpected attacks, which are now so common amongst us; and that it may not please Providence to give you any warnings by a gradual diminution of your health and vigour. You appear to me, sir, as far as I have the power of judging, and I speak it with unfeigned sorrow, you appear to be living without the worship and even the knowledge of a God; and is not this, besides the danger of it, to degrade yourself to a level with the animals below you, brute and irrational, who feed, and sleep, and perform all their other offices, without being conscious of a Creator and Preserver?'

" 'I watched him closely whilst I was speaking, but I could not ascertain the current of his thoughts. On the whole, I conjectured that shame alone prevented him from avowing himself at once an Atheist. When I paused, he said, 'That he considered a sudden death as much preferable to a lingering one, and hoped that his own might be sudden.' 'What?' I asked, 'whether prepared or unprepared?' 'I am so far prepared,' was his answer, 'as to be certain that I must die; and I do not find things go on so smoothly and pleasantly here, as to make me very desirous of a long life.' 'But what do you think of the next life?' I asked again: 'things may go on less smoothly and pleasantly there, unless we have made a due preparation here by virtue and piety. You have a soul, which will never die; and which is now in a state of trial; God, who is a God of justice, will judge it hereafter, when the trial is finished; and if he find it defiled with drunkenness, and sensuality, or any other vice, he will assign to it a terrible lot in eternity. Do you believe all this?'—p. 76-79.

This question leads to some arguments respecting the existence of a Deity and his operations, which seems to make a favourable impression upon Mr. Sambrook; and sometime afterwards, when he had attended the funeral of a sister, and had been struck with

the solemn service impressively performed by Dr. Warton, the prospects of a Christian beyond the grave were still further opened to him.

"In a few days after, I met Mr. Sambrook on a private foot-path, and he immediately mentioned the subject, and told me, that his late sister's husband, now a widower, had derived much comfort from the manner in which I had read the burial service. 'I believe, Mr. Sambrook,' I said, 'that I always read it in the same manner; but perhaps unconsciously on your account I might have given it somewhat of an additional awe and solemnity. Your poor sister died suddenly; I have told you that I thought it probable your own end might be the same. This was in my mind, whilst I stood by the side of the grave, and saw you looking into it; and possibly it might have led me imperceptibly to speak with a more serious and warning voice—God grant that it may have succeeded!'

"He was quite at a loss what to say to this. He was affected in some way or other, which I could not explain; and at all events he seemed to wish to escape from any further conversation. But I was unwilling to lose so promising an opportunity; and therefore I turned about, and offered to accompany him in the direction in which he was going. He could not refuse with any degree of civility; so we walked together; and that I might not appear to force the subject of religion upon him, in season or out of season, I waited to take advantage of any thing which he might happen to say.

"The funeral was still in his thoughts: and the first observation that he made was, that the description of the resurrection of the dead, which I had read to them in the lesson, was certainly very fine, but that he could not believe a word about the resurrection itself. 'Do you think it not possible,' I asked, 'or not probable?' 'Neither the one,' he answered, 'nor the other.' 'As to the possibility of the thing,' I said, 'your difficulty, I presume, arises from your knowing, that the body after death is dissolved into dust, and in many cases scattered abroad in different places; and you cannot conceive how the particles can be brought together again, so as to preserve the identity; or, in plainer words, so as to be known to be the same body.' 'That is it exactly,' said he. I was very much relieved by this answer; for I was alarmed lest I might be led into an interminable discussion about the soul, in regard to which I was sure that he had none but the most vulgar ideas; and probably he had no clear ideas at all about the soul as distinct from the body; and I did not see how we could ever arrive at any thing practical by that line of argument. I therefore at once proceeded to argue upon his own difficulty, and was very careful not to put any new one into his head.

"'You have mentioned St. Paul,' I said, 'already, as a most distinguished preacher of the gospel. It seems, therefore, that you know something of his character. It was he who wrote the epistle from which the lesson is taken. Do you remember how he explains, or illustrates, the resurrection?' 'Yes,' he replied; 'by the sowing of seed; but I could not comprehend it; in short, it seemed quite ridiculous.' We were walking at this moment through a field of

wheat. 'If I am not mistaken,' I said, 'this is one of your fields.' He nodded assent. 'And perhaps you sowed this wheat yourself?' He assented again. 'But it did not occur to you, it seems, that whilst you were sowing, you were in fact burying every single grain in its own little grave.' 'No, it did not,' he said; 'but it was certainly something very much like it.' 'Very like indeed,' I proceeded; 'and therefore so far St. Paul was in the right. And the grains which you scattered about in the furrows were dead; were they not?' 'Why, to be sure,' he answered, 'they might be called dead, as all the moisture which they had in them whilst they were growing seemed to be entirely dried up, and there was no appearance of life about them; they had become quite hard, and fit to be ground into flour.' 'Well,' I said; 'and what became of them when they were mixed with the soil and buried? Did they not begin to rot, as any human body might do?' He granted it. 'Still then St. Paul is correct; but now comes the surprising change. When you might have expected the grains of seed to have rotted entirely away, and to disappear altogether, up sprung from them innumerable small green blades, apparently of grass; did there not?' 'There did,' he answered. 'In fact,' I said, 'if you had examined those seeds whilst they were rotting in the ground, you would have found something in them most wonderful amongst all the wonderful things which surround us; you would have found in each the rudiment, or principle, or whatever it may be called, of a new plant; something, indeed, which had all the parts of a plant in miniature, and which only wanted the heat and moisture arising from the putrefaction of the rest of the seed to make it vegetate and grow; have you observed this, or not?' 'I have often observed it,' he replied. 'So then,' I said, 'the great apostle might have thought of some similar principle in the decaying body of a man, which hereafter might shoot into life, and produce the new man.' 'Yes,' said he, 'but we see nothing of this sort in the human body.' 'Nor do we,' I rejoined, 'in the dry grain; it appears afterwards according to the law which God himself has established. For, you may remember, in talking of the apple-tree, we were forced to impute every thing to the will and the wisdom of God; and so we must in this case. Pray what lodged that little embryo-plant in the body of the seed? What made it sprout upwards and downwards, upwards into the green blade, and downwards into the root? Who put the embryo-plant into the right position to do this? And did not a stem afterwards issue out of the blade, and then an ear from the top of the stem, and lastly, was not the ear filled with grains? Who planned all this, and ordained the means by which the plan was executed? You and I know nothing at all about it; no, nor the wisest philosopher. In many cases in which we are ignorant, a person more skilled in the knowledge of nature than we are may be perfectly informed; so that it would be vastly foolish for us to say that such or such a thing cannot be believed, or cannot be, merely because we do not understand the how or the why of the thing; for others may understand it very well, and we ourselves may come to understand it hereafter. In this case, however, of the growth of the corn, we are

all ignorant, both wise and simple; and we shall probably remain so. But what of that? The thing is as it is, and goes on nevertheless—Why? because God is the author of it, and keeps the necessary causes in uninterrupted operation.—Have you any thing to object to this?’

“ ‘I have not,’ he answered; ‘I see clearly that there must be a God, and I begin to admire his works.’ ‘Go on, and prosper,’ I said; ‘the more you know of them, the more you will admire them; and the more, I hope, you will love and serve the Doer! But now tell me, is there any thing more wonderful, or more hard for God to do, in the resurrection of a dead body from the grave, than in the production of the wheat from the seed?’ ‘There is a great difference,’ he replied, ‘in the two things, after all.’ ‘There may be a hundred differences,’ I rejoined; ‘but what of that? Does it follow, that of two things one is possible and the other impossible, because this other is not like the former in all respects, when God too is the worker?’ He could not say that. ‘Well then,’ I went on, ‘here is a thing, namely, the resurrection of the dead, of which we have yet no experience. St. Paul, indignant that any man should doubt it when God had said that he would do it, tells the doubters that they might form some idea of it from the sowing of seed, and the growing of the grain, which is equally inexplicable, but of which the fact is well known to us. Shall we quarrel with the apostle because the two things cannot be exactly alike in all circumstances? But what are the circumstances that are unlike?’ ‘The new plant,’ he answered, ‘springs up from the seed after a short period, before the whole seed itself is turned into vegetable mould.’ ‘Very well,’ I said; ‘but it did not suit the purposes of Providence, that there should be a resurrection of the dead soon after the burial of each corpse, but one simultaneous resurrection of all at the last day; on account of the general judgment of mankind then to take place, and thereafter the everlasting separation of the good and the bad into heaven and hell.’ He seemed to shudder at this thought; but he made no remark. I therefore proceeded—‘To bring about a general resurrection at the same moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the mighty sound of a trumpet, piercing to the remotest corners of the universe; undoubtedly there must be causes at work with which we are unacquainted, or God himself may do it immediately by an especial act of power, when the appointed time is come. Either way there ought to be no difficulty to us, unless we think that God is neither all-wise nor almighty. He whose contrivances are so subtle and so complicated in thousands of natural things, may readily be supposed capable of this; and he whose power was great enough to make man at the first, and is great enough to unmake him every day in the midst of health and strength, may readily be supposed capable of making him again after death—Is not this so?’

“ ‘These are wonderful things,’ he answered, ‘but I cannot contradict them. I wish, however, to know what will become of bodies which are scattered about in various distant places, and parts of which, perhaps, have passed into other substances.’ ‘Alas! alas! Mr. Sambrook,’ I said, ‘if you had but looked into your Bible now

and then, you would have had more exalted ideas of God's power, so as not to stumble at such petty difficulties. He that said, let there be light; and there was light; cannot he order all the particles of a man's body, scattered wherever they may, east, west, north, and south, on the tops of the highest mountains, and at the bottoms of the deepest oceans, to return in an instant of time to the rest of the mass, and to rebuild the former man? Certainly he can; he has only to will, and the thing is done. He cannot but know where every particle is, and no particle can be beyond the reach of his power. But perhaps nothing of this kind will be necessary; all, indeed, that is necessary is this; that after the resurrection we should be certain we are the same persons as before; and that is possible with a very great change of our bodies, as is proved in our passage from childhood to old age; every particle is changed again and again, and yet we are always conscious of our own identity. Let us have done then with cavils, Mr. Sambrook. It is God who has promised it, and he will not fail. This settles the question of probability at once. We should have known nothing about it but for God's revelation. We might have hoped a little about the soul, that it would survive the shock of death; but the resurrection of the body we should never have dreamed of. He has revealed it to us, and therefore it is not only possible and probable, but absolutely certain. God cannot lie. But we must always remember that there will be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust; and may he grant, for our Saviour, Jesus Christ's sake, that you and I may be amongst the just!

"I had walked as far as was convenient to me when I spoke these last words, and it did not seem likely, if I continued the conversation, that I could have concluded with any thing more forcible, I turned, therefore, suddenly, and took my leave."—p. 96-105.

It is painful to add that his final conversion was prevented by his premature death.

"About two days after this conversation, as I was walking through my parish to visit the sick, Mr. Grange, whom I met frequently on the road, accosted me unusually, and inquired if I had heard the news.—'What news?' I said, 'I have heard none.' 'About Mr. Sambrook, sir. He is dead!' replied Mr. Grange. 'Mr. Sambrook dead!' I exclaimed, with a mixture of surprise and terror. 'God forbid, sir! I should fear he was scarcely prepared to die; but God knows best when it is fit, in the exercise of his government of the world, to inflict the blow of death!' 'Be that as it may, sir,' said he, 'Mr. Sambrook is certainly dead. And now I see that it will give you still greater pain to hear the manner of his death. He used to be your enemy, sir; and there are too many who would be glad of the misfortunes of an enemy; which you, I perceive, are not.' I was, indeed, very much shocked, and betrayed my inward feelings by my outward manner. At the same time I was eager to know more; I desired, and yet feared to be told the rest. A thousand ideas darted through my head, like lightning; but that something tragical was to

he told I had no doubt whatever. 'He was thrown, sir,' said Mr. Grange, 'last night from his chaise-cart, and killed upon the spot.' 'What!' I said, 'without any preparation? Not a moment spared to ask God to pardon him?' 'I am told, sir,' he replied, 'that the unfortunate man scarcely breathed, when he was found, which was immediately after the accident.' 'Let us all take warning, Mr. Grange,' I said, and passed on hastily; for I was deeply affected, and wanted a short time for silent mediation on the judgments of the Almighty disposer of all events.

"In the course of my walk I was informed by various persons of all the particulars of Mr. Sambrook's death. It seems that he had been drinking at a pothouse; and, either from natural good-nature, or stimulated by liquor, had undertaken to convey some people, whom he met there, in his chaise-cart, to the neighbouring parish. Having done this, and having probably drank something more there, and again on his return at another pothouse, he was so far heated as to contend for the lead on a narrow road with a cart of the same description as his own. The wheels of the two carts came in contact with each other; he was thrown forward with violence in consequence of the sudden stop; he fell upon his head; his neck was dislocated; and his death was instantaneous."—p. 105-107.

The next chapter to which we shall direct the attention of our readers is entitled "Parental Anger," and will be found of a more pleasing kind: the story is simple and affectingly related, and what is somewhat unusual, closes happily; and, as it is comparatively short, we shall give it almost entire.

Mr. Broom, the subject of it, had been exceedingly exasperated by the conduct of his son, which seems to have been so atrocious as to injure his fortune and his credit, prey upon his spirits, and what is infinitely worse, exercise a baneful influence upon his religion. Under these unhappy circumstances the poor man sickened of a mortal disorder and sent for Dr. Warton, who thus relates their last interview:—

"As I approached the gate of a small garden in the front of his house, the windows being open for air, his moanings reached my ears. His pains had been long, and were dreadfully severe. I was deeply affected, and almost in despair, as to my own power of fulfilling my errand with the requisite courage and ability. I prayed silently for help from above.

"At the door I was met by two of his married daughters, who had seen me coming, and were ready to admit me. They were shedding tears profusely, which added to my distress; but at once they exclaimed, (for that was the thought nearest to their hearts,) 'Oh! sir, our father will die! The doctor has given him up, and our brother is not forgiven!' This was followed by deep sobbings and fresh tears.

"'Is your brother himself desirous of being forgiven?' I said.

‘Oh! yes, sir!’ they answered immediately; ‘he has been here, again and again; but his father refuses to see him. Indeed, sir, he has been a wicked son; but surely this is a proper time at last for forgiveness; and now our poor father is almost deprived of speech.’ ”

“I hastened with them up stairs into the sick man’s chamber. He was not in bed, but upright, in a large easy chair, supported by pillows. Without opening his eyes he was aware of my approach, and for an instant ceased to moan. Death sat evidently on his faded and shrunk countenance. I took a seat by his side, and having ascertained by a common question about his situation that he was still able to speak, although in so low and faint a tone that I could not understand him without putting my ear close to his mouth; I directed that all the persons in the room should retire; and I did it aloud, that he might know we were quite alone, and that there might be as little as possible to embarrass him. His daughters, however, and a female servant, who had lived with him for many years, remained at the door within hearing; which very fortunately I did not discover, until the whole was over; it would have disturbed me exceedingly.

“I then took the dying man’s hand into my own, both because I was in earnest, and because I wished him to think me so—He gave me no sign to encourage me—His hand lay lifeless in mine, whilst I gently pressed it. Without doubt he suspected my chief business with him, and was reluctant to enter upon it; but he did not repulse me altogether.

“I began; ‘I am sorry, my poor old friend, to see you in so much pain. You have suffered long and severely.’

“‘Very, very,’ was his almost inaudible reply. I continued, ‘But no pain and suffering come to any man by chance, or at random. The great God above directs every thing according to his own will, and his will is guided by infinite wisdom and infinite goodness. He is not like one of us, who trouble and torment each other, for some mean and unworthy gratification, or with some wicked purpose in view. He has told us himself that he derives no pleasure from the misery of his creatures. When he chastises us, therefore, it can only be for our own profit. Nor will he chastise us longer than he knows to be necessary.’

“‘I pray constantly that he would take me,’ said Mr. Broom, scarcely able to repress his groans. ‘We must all wait,’ I replied, ‘for his own good time; but we may pray to him with propriety to shorten our sufferings, if we only add to our prayer as our blessed Saviour did, ‘Thy will, O God, and not mine be done.’—He alone knows, my dear sir, whether your patience, your resignation, your fortitude, have yet been sufficiently exercised, to entitle you, through Jesus Christ, to a crown of glory in Heaven. Or there may be some important worldly business still remaining to be arranged, for which, in kindness, he withholds the last blow.’

“‘I have done all I can,’ was his answer.

“ ‘I fear not,’ I said, interrupting him—‘I fear, I fear, though all your worldly affairs may perhaps be settled, there is one great and most necessary thing yet undone; and I should grieve, and especially your own family, if you were to leave this world without doing it—I fear you have not forgiven your son.’

“ ‘He has injured me, his own father,’ he said, with somewhat of animation for a dying man, and which indicated the poignancy of his feelings upon this painful subject, ‘he has injured me, in such a way, as few sons have ever done to their fathers before.’

“ ‘Alas! alas!’ I instantly rejoined; ‘and have we not offended our Heavenly Father, and abused his goodness more than any son ever abused the goodness of his father on earth? And what excuse could *we* plead for ourselves, if he were to mete out the same measure to *us*, which we mete out to others? When we stand before him to be judged for our deeds, which you are soon to do, what if he should say, ‘Will *you* presume to ask *me* to forgive *you* your sins against me, sins too so great and so numerous, when you have left the world, without forgiving the comparatively few and trivial offences against yourselves?’ Who could stand in his sight, without confusion and dismay; without calling the mountains to fall upon him and cover him from the face of the Almighty; if the just Judge were thus to speak?’

“ ‘The old man was visibly moved, and fervently ejaculated, ‘God have mercy upon me!’

“ ‘I too was moved; but I caught up the auspicious words, and continued without a moment’s delay, but with a faltering voice, ‘May it be so—May God indeed have mercy upon you! But might He not say ‘Why? On what ground? Have you not been taught by your Redeemer, whom I sent from Heaven, to pray to me daily, that I would forgive *you* your trespasses, on the very condition that you forgive them who trespass against you? But you have not performed this condition, and stand therefore self-condemned. You have passed judgment upon yourself, out of your own mouth, every time that you uttered that prayer. Your own son, the very fruit of your own loins, was unforgiven by you to the last moment.’

“ ‘I forgive him! Oh! I forgive him!’ said the poor trembling man, quite overcome.

“ ‘God be praised!’ I exclaimed, pressing his hand eagerly, and with an emotion which added, no doubt, to the efficacy of my words, ‘God be praised for working this change in your heart!’ But soon recovering myself, and following the advantage that was gained, I proposed to send immediately for young Mr. Broom, that he might hear himself this joyful declaration of pardon from his father’s own lips.

“ ‘But he stopped me at once, and said, ‘Oh, no! I cannot see him! I have no wish to see him! I forgive him! Let that be enough!’

“ ‘Alas! alas! I replied, it cannot be enough, even to satisfy your own mind, to prepare you to meet your God with a perfect peace and

tranquillity of soul. Much less can it satisfy your friends, your family, your once prodigal, but now afflicted, penitent son, who waits hourly at your door with tears and entreaties, that he may be admitted to your sick bed ; that he may throw himself upon his knees before you ; that he may receive from your own mouth forgiveness and happiness.'

" 'I wish him all happiness, from my heart,' said Mr. Broom, catching my last word, and still dreadfully averse from any thought of seeing his son.

" 'But how will he be assured of this, my good sir, if you refuse him his just and natural desire, of seeing you ; of confessing his own unworthiness before you ; of asking pardon of you in his own person ; of hearing you bless him with your expiring breath ? Can he have any certainty of conviction in his own mind, that you have indeed forgiven him, and that you have sincerely prayed to God to bless and prosper him whilst you thus continue to cast him out of your presence ? Will he not go down himself with sorrow to the grave ; conscious, as he must be, that he has embittered your last days, and necessarily fearful that a father's curse will still cling to him, unless he both sees and hears you, before you depart for ever, in the delightful act of reconciliation and returning love ? Ah, my good old friend ! pray to God to help you to secure the astonishing peace and satisfaction of mind which such conduct will give you. Pray to God to enable you to obtain this the hardest of all victories, this victory over yourself !'

"He was touched, but he hesitated in silence. I too was silent. At length he said, 'Spare me this new pain, the sight of him will kill me at once.'—His words were mingled with groans.

"I was reduced for a moment to despair, and about to retire from the battle ; but rousing myself once more and finally, I renewed the charge in the following manner.

" 'I came here, Mr. Broom, to join my prayers with your own, that it would please God of his gracious goodness to release you from your sufferings ; but I see now too well the cause of those sufferings, and, I see also that the purpose of them is not fulfilled ; and therefore I cannot pray that they should yet be terminated. Sometimes the ways of Providence are dark and mysterious ; but here his own finger is strikingly manifest. He is severe, but he is most mercifully severe. Had it been possible to save your soul without this protracted bodily pain, no doubt, at the age of eighty-five years, you would have fallen spontaneously, as it were, like the mellow fruit from the tree ; or you would have been gathered to your ancestors, like the shock of wheat, that cometh in, in its season. But it could not be.—Had you died so, you would have gone to meet *Him*, who came to make peace between God and you, with hatred in your heart ; and you could not have stood before him. Behold then the infinite unspeakable mercy of Heaven ! God scourges ; for thus alone could he effectually heal. He inflicts pain, agonizing pain ; he prolongs it ; he increases it ; beyond what your advanced age might seem to be able to endure. The great act, for which he does so, he still puts into your own power.

Oh! justify his doings by performing it; and then may you depart in peace, and in his favour!

“ ‘ Ah!’ he cried, ‘ let it be as you will—Let my son be called.’ ”

“ What were the feelings of the old man at this instant I do not know: mine were overpowered, and floods of tears gushed forth from my eyes. I was wound up to the highest pitch by the length of the exertion, by the uncertainty of the result, by the magnitude of the interest at stake; and now that the whole was suddenly crowned with success, I could bear it no longer. I kissed his hand with ardour, started from my seat, and rushed to the door. There I found the daughters and the servant, with streaming eyes and clasped hands, thanking heaven. They had heard all, and they showered their blessings upon me.

“ Search was immediately made for young Mr. Broom; he was not to be found.

“ Ah! thought I, Providence will not always indulge our waywardness. This youth, who seeks a place for repentance with sighs and tears, cannot now find it; and this aged man, who, after the most painful struggle, has at last conquered himself, will not enjoy his victory.

“ However, it pleased God to decree otherwise. Young Mr. Broom arrived before it was too late. The scene was pathetic in the extreme. He threw himself at his dying father's feet, and scarcely rose from that humiliating posture till his father had breathed his last sigh. The trying interval was but short. The good providence of God seemed to verify the account which I had given of it, afflicting only to save, and withdrawing the rod when the heart was changed.

“ I retraced my steps homewards, buried in deep thought upon the interesting and awful circumstances which had just passed; and at times glowing with inward delight and with gratitude to God for the noble opportunity of doing good with which my sacred office had furnished me, and which I would not have exchanged at that moment for rank, or wealth, or power.”—p. 134-143.

The work is closed with a long chapter upon “ Proselytism,” in which are described, not without considerable humour, the effects produced by an unknown Calvinistic female visitor upon the minds of some respectable old women, who were the peaceful occupiers of the alms-houses, and very contented under the spiritual guidance of Dr. Warton; most of these simple creatures seem to have been exceedingly confounded by the new nomenclature, of which the unknown lady had not been sparing; and this gives occasion to Dr. Warton, in restoring calmness to their thoughts, to discuss, as intelligibly as he could, some of the most prominent of the Calvinistic opinions, which had then for the first time been propounded to them. The subject is thus opened:—

“ One day, as I was passing by the almshouses, I heard a great

hubbub among the old women ; and I observed several of them at their doors talking across the court-yard to each other. I went in to see what was the cause of this unusual ferment ; and having first come in contact with Mrs. Callender, I exclaimed, ‘ Hey-dey ! Mrs. Callender, what’s the matter now ? ’ ‘ Oh ! sir,’ she answered with much glee, ‘ we have had a visitor here ; a strange lady just come into the parish ; I don’t know her name, sir ; but I know where she lives.’ And then she described the house to me. ‘ Well,’ I said ; ‘ and what of this ? Has the lady been speaking with you, or giving you any thing ? ’ ‘ Yes, sir, both,’ she replied ; ‘ and for *my* part, my advice is, that we should take what she gives, and thank her too ; but not mind what she speaks. I am sure her speaking will do *me* no harm, and her gifts may do me good ; so I am very merry about it, sir, as you see ; but some of the rest are very angry, and have taken great offence at her.’

“ My curiosity was excited by this prelude of Mrs. Callender’s ; but I soon began to suspect, that the lady was looking out for proselytes amongst these poor old women ; and finding them rather obstinately attached to High-church principles, and difficult to be won by arguments, was trying the surer method of bribing them into her opinions. I said therefore, ‘ Do not be so sure, Mrs. Callender ; gifts have great power of changing people’s minds ; we are apt enough to think as *they* do, who seem to be kind to us ; and so to give up our better judgment. If she would be content to supply your little bodily wants, and give you some tea and sugar now and then, without talking to you, and trying to unsettle your minds, it would be all very well ; but I fear it is *this*, which she is aiming at ; and therefore you must be constantly on your guard, and take especial care that you are not corrupted by the gifts.’ ‘ You may depend upon *me*, sir,’ she replied rather more gravely ; ‘ for, besides other reasons, I cannot understand her ; she uses such words, as I never heard at church, or saw in my Bible or Prayer-book. They are Latin and Greek to *me*.’ ‘ And, pray, what *are* they ? ’ I inquired. ‘ Oh ! dear, sir,’ she answered ; ‘ if you want to know more about it, you must go to Mrs. Somers ; she had a great deal more talk with the lady than I had ; and she is quite full of it, and will be glad to tell you every thing.’ ‘ Very well,’ I said ; ‘ I will go then to Mrs. Somers,’ and away I went.

“ Mrs. Somers, it seems, being lame, and not able to stir from home, like Mrs. Callender, had seen the lady oftener than *her*, and indeed than any of the rest of the old women ; but still she was unable to give me any intelligible account of what the lady intended to say ; and, in short, I have no doubt that she misunderstood every thing ; if not, nothing could well have been more absurd. Absurd it was, at all events, to talk in such a manner as to be capable of being so misunderstood ; and if this strange lady had conversed much with the poor, so as to ascertain the very limited extent of their knowledge and understanding, she might have been aware, how liable these old women must be to be misled by words and phrases, which were quite new

to most of them, and which, in fact, had no very definite meaning. But words and phrases seem to make an essential part of the religion of some people; their religion would be nothing without them; and therefore, when religion is the subject of conversation, these words and phrases are ever in their mouths. I do not mean to say that this lady's religion was solely of that description; for her stay here was very short, and I never became acquainted with her; but it was evident that her language was the cant fanatic language of the conventicle, and not the sober scriptural language of the church of England. But to return to the story.

"Mrs. Somers, when I entered her cottage, was not recovered from the flurry of the last conference, which had just ended. Had I indeed been two minutes sooner, I should have encountered this female missionary upon the very field of battle. 'What is the matter,' I said, 'my good Mrs. Somers? Who has disturbed you in this manner?' 'Oh! sir,' she replied, 'I am quite out of breath; and I was never so angry before in my life. We have had here one of the strangest ladies, sir, that ever was seen in the world. Could you have thought it, sir? She says that this Bible of mine is good for nothing. Why, there isn't a more beautiful Bible in all the parish. I defy any body to show me another equal to it. I have had it these fifty years. You know my Bible, sir. You have looked at it, and praised it very often. Look at it again, sir; she can be no Christian, nor gentlewoman, I think, that finds fault with *my* Bible.'"

After some vain attempts on the part of Dr. Warton to discover the nature of the unknown lady's objection to *her* Bible, the conversation is thus continued:—

"'Do you know,' I inquired, 'whether she has ever been to our church?' 'No, *that* she hasn't,' was her reply; 'for I told her to go there, and then she would find out for herself what sort of instruction you give us, sir, when you preach to us.' 'And pray,' I inquired again, 'what did she say to this?' 'Oh, sir,' says she, 'I cannot think of such a thing as to sit under Dr. Warton. He does not preach the gospel; he is one of your moral preachers, and will never save your souls in that way.' So I said to her, 'Why, ma'am, you need not sit under him in such a church as ours. I warrant you the pew-opener will get you a sitting in the gallery; and then you may be on a level with him, or above him, if you like that better.' Upon this, sir, she was a little angry, and said, 'You mistake my meaning, good woman; to sit under a person is to hear him, and to be instructed by him.' 'Oh,' says I, 'I ask your pardon, ma'am; we never use such language here; but, if that be all, you cannot do better than sit under Dr. Warton, as you call it; and if the folks would not *hear* him only, but *do* what he tells them, as the Bible also bids them, then methinks they would not be far from the kingdom of God. For this too have I read in my Bible. Do *you* remember it, ma'am?'

"'Upon my word, Mrs. Somers,' said I, 'you talked very well to

this lady. And you might have put her in mind that it was Jesus Christ himself, our blessed Lord and Saviour, who mentioned something of that sort to the scribe in the gospel, when he came to question him about his doctrines; and how we are told also, that Jesus loved the youth, who had faithfully kept all the commandments; and how he wished him to do one good work more, namely, to sell his property for the benefit of the poor. Could she have better authority for the excellence of the moral duties than the authority of Jesus Christ himself? He loved the young man who performed those duties; he praised the scribe who reasoned well about them, and told him that he was not far from the kingdom of God; but, what is more, in his divine sermon on the mount, he preached every one of those very moral duties, and commanded men to observe them, and declared most awfully, that at the day of judgment, he would not accept those who cried out, 'Lord, Lord,' but those who did the will of his heavenly Father.'—p. 382-4.

All excepting one seem to have been easily restored to their tranquillity, and grateful to Dr. Warton for his explanations; but Mrs. Milton, whose character is drawn as very bigoted and unamiable, had long since imbibed the same principles as the strange lady, and proved a very refractory and impracticable disputant.

" 'I must now go to Mrs. Milton,' says Dr. Wharton. The door was close to that of Mrs. Holmes. I knocked, and was desired to come in. Mrs. Milton was infirm, and rose from her chair with some difficulty to do me honour. When I had helped to resear her, and had inquired after her health, I said, 'Mrs. Milton, you have seen this strange lady, of whom I have heard so much; have you not?'

" 'Yes, sir,' she answered, 'I have seen her twice, and I hope to see her again very often. She is a nice lady, sir, indeed; and, what is more, she is a pious woman, and a serious Christian, sir.' 'Piety towards God, and seriousness in our Christian profession, are much to be commended,' I said. 'Had you a great deal of talk with her?' 'Yes, sir,' she replied, 'a great deal.' 'Oh! very well,' I said; 'I am glad to hear it; because I think you will be able to give me an exact account of her opinions. Some of your neighbours here could not understand her; and so, I suppose, they have made wild work of her speeches to them. At least they have told me very extraordinary things.'

" 'Ah! poor illiterate creatures,' she exclaimed, with a scornful countenance; they know nothing, sir. And how should they? They have had no education; their God is their belly, sir; and they are in the gall of bitterness!' 'Oh! Mrs. Milton,' I said; 'I think much better of them than you seem to do: and I am sure, that some of them are far advanced in practical religion, which is the main point, for aged persons especially. But we will have done with this. I want to know how your acquaintance with the lady began.'

" 'I will tell you, sir,' she answered. 'It looked rather odd at

first. She knocked at my door, sir, as you did a few minutes ago ; and when I called out to her to come in, she opened the door, and just showed her face, and inquired if any body was living there that knew Christ. To be sure I was a little startled at such a question, and thought it very strange ; so I answered cautiously, I hope so, madam ; but after a while I bid her come in and take a chair.'

" ' So then,' I said, ' you entered immediately into conversation with her, I suppose.' ' Yes, sir,' she replied ; ' I was so bold as to ask her name, and where she lived ; upon which she told me where she lived, but she did not mention her name ; observing that we should find it out in time, as she was come to stay in the parish for some months, and intended to be often at the alms-houses, and would be very glad to be useful to us all, if she could.' ' Well,' I said, ' you thanked her, no doubt, for her kindness.' ' I did, sir,' she answered ; ' and then she went on to tell me that she had the spiritual welfare of her fallen, wretched fellow-creatures most at heart ; and that she felt a strong call within her to go amongst them, and see whether they were sitting in darkness, or whether the marvellous light of the gospel were shining around them ; and that with such a view she had come here first. And so, sir, I thought this was a very charitable work to the souls of men ; and I told her, that I hoped God would bless her endeavours.'

" ' But were you not,' I asked, ' somewhat too hasty, my good Mrs. Milton ?' ' How so, sir ?' she inquired eagerly. ' Why,' I said, ' you did not know yet what her sentiments might be, and what she meant by darkness and light ; and then the odd way in which she came to you, and her talking of a call, were very suspicious circumstances, and should have made you pause before you bid her God speed. Besides, you must be aware, that the spiritual affairs of this parish have been committed to *me* by the law of the land, and the institutions of our church : and therefore you should have asked her, whether she had my concurrence in what she was about to undertake. Another thing also you should have recollected, that St. Paul in his Epistles is very strong and decisive against the meddling of women in these matters. It seems that they began to meddle very early, even to such a degree as many silly women pretending a call do now ; that is, to speak in the church itself, in the presence of the congregation ; but St. Paul said, ' Let your women keep silence in the churches ;' and again, with more vehemence, ' It is a shame for women to speak in the church.' Women were to be learners only, as the Apostle thought, and not teachers ; and therefore he says in another place, ' Let the women learn in silence with all subjection ; but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man ; but to be in silence. And if they would learn any thing,' he says again, ' let them ask their husbands at home ;' it being their duty to be always under obedience. You see then the judgment of St. Paul upon this matter ; and you must remember, that he gave these admonitions before countries were parcelled out into parishes, and ministers appointed by the laying on of hands to take care of them ; but at a

time when a wide field was open, without limit or restriction, for the labours of the husbandmen ; and when the Spirit was bestowed in an extraordinary manner ; and when labourers were actually called by that Spirit to gather in the harvest ; that is, to convert the Heathens to Christianity. What would he have said now, then, if he had lived in this age, and had been told of a woman going about and entering into the private houses of christian families, and perplexing the understandings of the ignorant with difficult questions, and unsettling the faith of the most aged, in which they have been brought up, and lived for so many years, and setting them against their ministers ? Would he not have said, that it was overstepping all the bounds of decency, and the surest way to destroy all that order and peace, which he was so anxious to establish in every church ? ” —p. 449-454.

An intelligent Calvinist would certainly object to Dr. Warton, that he had not chosen in Mrs. Milton an able advocate to defend the doctrines, or a fair subject to represent the character and habits of his brethren ; and though we are no favourer of their tenets, and hold them in no inconsiderable dread, yet are we bound to confess that they would have some reason for such a remonstrance. As a summary statement, however, of popular solutions to such difficulties as usually occur upon these subjects, and of popular answers to such arguments as are best known and most frequently urged by persons of ordinary minds, the dialogue possesses considerable merit and ingenuity ; and if there exist in the middle or lower ranks of life, a large class of persons whose religious feelings and practice resemble those of Mrs. Milton, we are sure that all sensible Christians must be grateful to Dr. Warton for this exposition of them.

ART. XII.—*Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, and the late Dr. Oudney, with an Appendix, published by the Authority of the Rt. Hon. Earl Bathurst, by Major Dixon Denham and Captain Hugh Clapperton, R. N., the Survivors of the Expedition.* London, Murray, 1826, 4to.

NEARLY forty years have now elapsed since any thing more was known about Bornû, than what may be found in the book of Leo Africanus, who wrote in the fifteenth century : and the first

accounts received of that country, were the vague and superficial memorandums collected by Mr. Lucas from the Sherîf Mohammed, a native of Fezzân, who had travelled as a slave-factor through such parts of Sûdân as were then frequented by the Moors.* The materials collected at Caïro† by Seetzen, from persons less intelligent and less trustworthy, added little to our previous knowledge, and the whole served rather to strengthen the credit of Leo, and to stimulate the curiosity which he had already excited, than to give any definite or satisfactory notions of the powerful kingdoms said to exist in that part of Africa. Of these, however, Bornû was, from the time of Leo, well known as one of the most powerful; it was therefore a primary object of inquiry among all who took any interest in the extension of geographical or statistical knowledge; but its remote position almost in the heart of the continent, separated by vast deserts from any inhabited countries, and accessible only through Barbary, one of the least civilized Mohammedan states, seemed for ever to preclude the hope of its being visited by any European, till some one as gifted and as indefatigable as the lamented Burckhardt, should again enter upon the same career, and with a less adverse fortune, attain the object for which he struggled through so many tedious years without the possibility of effecting it. Warmly therefore may we congratulate our countrymen on the result of the expedition which gave rise to the present volume, by which the cloud hitherto concealing some of the finest regions of Africa from the eyes of Europeans, has been in a great degree dispelled, and new prospects are opened, which augur well for the improvement and civilisation of that benighted continent.

If the account of this journey, now laid before the public, be in truth neither so well drawn up nor so ably illustrated as might be desired, the reader's dissatisfaction will be removed when he learns that the authors (with the exception of Dr. Oudney, whose health prevented him from leaving more than one section and a few notes) "make no pretension," as Mr. Barrow informs us, (p. 360,) "to the systematic knowledge of natural history;" nor do they appear to have seen any book on the interior of Africa, except Captain Lyon's Travels, so that they had little or no preparatory knowledge which could direct their inquiries. Their entire ignorance of the Arabic language, must also have been a great bar to their progress in ascertaining the real condition of the nations whom they visited; considerable allowances must

* Proceedings of the African Association, i. 3.

† Von Zach's *Monathliche Correspondenz*, 20 sqq.

therefore be made for errors originating in these defects ; and it is probable that a more intimate acquaintance with the natives of Bornû and Nigritia, will place several of the facts and opinions here stated, in a very different light from that in which they appeared to these travellers.

Whether they were left entirely to their own discretion, or were guided by any instructions from the Colonial Office, under the direction of which they travelled, no account is here given ; we are merely informed that Major Denham, by whom the greater part of the book is written, and concerning whom, as is natural, we hear more than of any other member of the party, joined his colleagues at Tripoli, on the 18th of November, 1821, having been appointed to that service subsequently to their departure from England. He was accompanied by William Hillman, a shipwright, engaged, it should seem, at his suggestion, and recommended by the principal naval officers stationed at Malta. This person deserves more particularly to be mentioned, as he showed by his conduct, how well he merited the recommendations he had received, and proved a very valuable assistant to the Mission.

The Bâshâ of Tripoli has long maintained a close and amicable intercourse with Great Britain, and his confidence in the friendly views of our court, has been much strengthened by the liberal and judicious conduct of Mr. Warrington, his Britannic Majesty's consul under that regency. To that gentleman's hospitality and assistance, all our late travellers have been deeply indebted, and to him indeed is mainly owing the rapid progress made within a few years in African discovery. The benevolent manner in which his influence is exerted for the protection of the oppressed, is powerfully exemplified by two or three occurrences mentioned by Major Denham. The houses and persons of Europeans, especially of European consuls, established in the grand signior's dominions, are, as is well known, rendered inviolate by the capitulations with the Porte ; but that power has no longer any authority in Barbary ; it is highly satisfactory, therefore, to find the same regulations observed by the less civilized and more fanatical rulers of the Barbaresque states : whether the Algerine government shows a similar respect to our own or other European agents resident in its territory, or whether such privileges are secured by our treaties with those powers, are points which we have not had an opportunity of ascertaining.

For a description of the town and neighbourhood of Tripoli, Major Denham refers to Mrs. Tully's Letters, where that city and its motley population "are all so well painted to the life ;" and he very judiciously abridges his account of the journey to Murzûc as

already sufficiently known from Hornemann and Lyon's accounts. On the 5th of March, 1822, he set out to join his companions in the valley of Benî Walîd; (Benioleed;) and at Memûm, a little further on, they took leave of the consul and his son, who had accompanied the party from Tripoli, and bid adieu to the only flowery meadow they had the fortune to meet with between that place and Bornû. (p. xvi.) At Soknâ, halfway between Tripoli and Fezzân, they were received with the utmost goodwill; far more cordially than if they had been accompanied, as Mr. Ritchie and Captain Lyon were, by a rapacious sovereign like El Muknî. (Lyon's *Travels*, p. 74.) Their English dress, instead of proving an impediment, seems to have been of great advantage to them. The remainder of their journey to Murzûc was marked by no incident except one of those severe sand-storms so well represented in Captain Lyon's plate. (p. 70.) Major Denham repeats the well-known story of whole câfilahs' being overwhelmed by these storms; he modifies it by supposing the caravan harassed and wearied near to the edge of the desert traversed; but he brings forward no facts to substantiate such accounts, except that of *two men* and two camels with fifty sheep, who had perished the year before, nearly in the spot where his party then was, rather from thirst and fatigue than from the effect of the sand wind. Burckhardt, whose patient accuracy is well known, was convinced that the accounts of these catastrophes are as much exaggerated, as Bruce's magnificent description of the columns of sand which threatened to overwhelm him, is manifestly overcharged.

The party reached Murzûc on the 8th of April, 1822, and the respect for the English with which the conduct of poor Ritchie and Captain Lyon had impressed the natives of that place, was manifested by a singular incident. Dr. Oudney and his companions had waited at some wells outside of the town till their camels came up, in order to enter the place in form. "We might, however," says Major Denham, (p. xx,) "have saved ourselves the trouble: no one came out to meet us, except some naked boys, and a mixture of Tibboos, Tuaricks, and Fezzanese, who gazed at us with astonishment, and no very pleasant aspect." Not being well satisfied with such a reception they very properly sent in a châûsh to announce their arrival, and in about half an hour's time the governor of the town (Sheikh el bilâd) came out and requested them in the sultân's name to accompany him to the house prepared for them; adding, to their great surprise, "The English consul is there already." "The fact was," continues Major Denham, "a very ill-looking Jew servant of mine, mounted on a white mule, with a pair of small canteens under

him, had preceded the camels and entered the town by himself: he was received with great respect by all the inhabitants, conducted through the streets to the house which was destined to receive us, and, from the circumstance of the canteens being all covered with small brass shining nails, a very high idea of his consequence was formed. He very sensibly received all their attentions in silence, and drank the cool water and milk which was handed to him: and we always had the laugh against them afterwards for having shown so much civility to an Israelite, a race they heartily despise."

They were lodged within the walls of the castle in the house previously appropriated to Ritchie and Lyon: and the sultân, Mustafâ elahhmar, (for Muknî their false friend had been removed, it seems, before the appointed time,) received them very civilly, but gave no hopes of any further progress till the following spring. Such, indeed, it appeared, from the Bâshâ of Tripoli's letter, was that prince's intention. All this was very discouraging; and the excessive heat, the thermometer being at 97° of Fahrenheit, contributed materially to enhance the discomforts of their position. They resolved, however, not to remain idle; and on the 20th of May Major Denham set out, accompanied only by three servants, for Tripoli, determined to return to England and lay the case before Lord Bathurst, if he should not obtain any assurance from the bâshâ, of their being immediately forwarded on their journey southwards. During his absence, and exactly a month after his departure, his fellow-travellers made an excursion to *Ghraat*, (Ghât or Ghâât, perhaps a corruption of Ghânât,) which gave them an opportunity of examining almost every place worth seeing in the whole of this desolate country. The account of their expedition is extracted from a journal kept by Dr. Oudney, and is almost the only part of this bulky volume drawn up by him. A circumstance which we feel assured most readers will unite with us in lamenting, as he was qualified by an extensive acquaintance with natural history and other branches of knowledge, to observe with a more scrutinizing, discriminating eye, than any of his companions. It was his dying request (p. 339) that "his papers should be put into the hands of Mr. Barrow," relying doubtless on that gentleman's judgment in the selection of such parts as were fit for publication, and in his suppression of whatever was not meant for the public eye. "Some details, of no interest whatever," (p. 340,) have it seems been omitted; but so anxious was the editor of Dr. Oudney's journal to preserve the papers which have been printed, entire, that he has in one place left a note which is quite unintelligible; (p. xxx;) and in another a

foolish jest, (p. lv,) which its author could never have intended to publish.

This excursion carried them into the midst of the Tawâric, that singular race of men, so different in their habits and characters from the Arabs, and as yet so imperfectly known, since the information given by Hornemann, (p. 150-155,) and by Captain Lyon, (p. 109-116,) rather excites than gratifies the curiosity of the reader. This tribe is manifestly the muffled Berbers (*el berber el mulaththemûn*) of the Arabian geographers.* Leo, indeed, speaks as if he made a distinction between the Berbers, "*quinque illi populi subfusci coloris*," his Numidians, and the inhabitants of the Desert (*Sahrâ*) his Libyans; yet it will appear on a careful comparison of the passages in which they are named, that he considered them as all sprung from the same race. However that may be, it is manifest that the Targees, or Tuarick of our modern travellers, are the third of his Numidian nations, the Tergates or Targas of Leo, (p. 630,) whose name would, by an eastern Arab, be spelt *Târcâh*, the plural of which is *Tawâric*.† In the time of Leo, the *Târcâhs* inhabited that part of the Desert which is included between *Tuwât* on the north, *Aghades* on the south, *Haïr* on the west, and *Ighidi* on the east, nearly in the very tract of country now occupied by the *Tawâric*. Their language also, of which, as it is spoken at *Soknâ*, Captain Lyon has given a vocabulary, (p. 314,) proves them to be of Berber origin. Their predatory and active habits have rendered them an object of terror to all the surrounding tribes: and Dr. Oudney's party would never have explored *Ghât* had they listened to the remonstrances of the *Fezzanese*, who represented this excursion as replete with danger.

The travellers set out under the guidance of a *Târkî*, named *Hâjî Sa'id*; but they received more essential aid from another individual of that nation:—

"On the day after our arrival," says Major Denham, (p. xxii,) "remarking a very tall Tuarick, with a pair of expressive, large, benevolent-looking eyes, above the black mask with which they always cover the lower part of their faces, hovering about the door, I made signs to him to come near, and inquired after *Hateeta*, the chief Captain Lyon had spoken so highly of, (p. 293,) and for whom, at his request, I was the bearer of a sword. To my great surprise, striking his breast, he exclaimed, 'I am *Hateeta*! are you a countryman of *Said*? How is he? I have often longed to hear of him.' I found

* *Leo African.* 40. Anonym. in *calce Macrizi.* ap. *Hamaker.* Spec. Catalogi. pp. 207, 209.

† It is well known that the *Moghrebines* give the sound of *g*, in "good," to the Arabian letter *câf*.

that Hateeta had been but once in Murzuk since Captain Lyon's departure, (in February, 1820,) and was now only to remain a few days. On the following morning he came to the house, and the sword was presented to him. It would be difficult to describe his delight; he drew the sword and returned it repeatedly, and, pressing it to his heart, exclaimed, 'Allah, Allah!' took my hand, and pressing it, said, 'Katar heyrick yassur yassur,' [Khâter kheïrak! yâsir, yâsir! May thy soul be cheered! kind, kind!] (thank you very very much,) nearly all the Arabic he could speak. It was shortly reported all over the town that Hateeta had received a present from Said worth one hundred dollars."

By this worthy man Dr. Oudney and Captain Clapperton were accompanied to Ghât, his native place; and he assured them that his countrymen so far from being faithless, pride themselves on "having but one word, and performing what they promise." (p. xlv.) He added that he could, by his influence alone, conduct them in perfect safety to Timbuctû, and would answer for it with his head.

At the distance of between thirty and forty miles, the northern side of the sandy and calcareous plain of Murzûc is bounded by a range of hills, running nearly east and west. A romantic pass, in a direction north and south, leads to the Wâdî Gharbî, (the western valley,) the palm groves of which contrast finely with the lofty sand hills by which they are enclosed, and the narrow rugged passage between overhanging cliffs of aluminous slate, through which they are approached. Petrified trunks of trees, probably acacias, are scattered here and there, as if precipitated from the heights above. The vegetation of the Wâdî, notwithstanding its verdant groves, is but scanty, and as eight or nine years sometimes pass away without a drop of rain, the permanence of its smaller plants must be very precarious.* Several nearly parallel ranges of hills here cross the Desert, in a south-western and north-eastern direction, forming a part of the chain which encloses the Oasis of Sîwah and terminates in the bluff headlands between Râs Tâdiyyah (Cape Turn-about) near Barcah and the A'cabat el kebîr, or Great Precipice, two hundred miles west of Alexandria. Branches, inferior in height, occasionally cross the parallel ranges and divide the valleys between them into different portions, as is the case with that visited by the exploring party. The whole is called the Wâdî Shâtî,† and its eastern division, the Wâdî Sharkî, had been already seen by

* The "agoul," which "has a fine red papilionaceous flower," (p. xlv,) is (as appears from the Append. 238) the *Hedysarum Al-Hâjî*. A'âcûl, pronounced A'âgûl by the Moors, and called Dirakhti Hâj, or Pilgrim-tree, by the Persians, is the name by which that plant is still known in Egypt, (Delile's *Flore d'Egypte*), and by which *Rauwolf* (Itin. No. 94, p. 173) heard it called in Syria two hundred and fifty years ago.

† Erroneously spelt *Hiatts* in Trans. of African Society, p. 240, sqq. 8vo. ed. —

Captain Lyon. (p. 299.) The course of the last party led them westwards, and their observations have greatly improved our knowledge of the geography and geology of this part of Africa. Hills of sand fully four hundred feet high, occupy the interval between Wâdî Shâtî and Aûbârî, the westernmost town in the Wâdî Gharbî. These hills were loose masses of sand ready to be tossed about with every breeze, the ascending and descending of which proved very fatiguing both to the camels and their riders. These sands seem to be, on a small scale, an exact counterpart of those in the deserts on the north-eastern boundaries of Persia, which have been so well described by Mr. Pottinger, (Ballochistan, p. 132.)

A pass of gentle descent, covered with loose fragments of quartz rock, a yellowish felspar, and iron ore, brought the travellers in view of the town of Idrî in the Wâdî Shâtî. It is placed on a hill about three hundred feet high, nearly in the middle of the valley and studded over with basaltic columns, (p. liv,) having large plains of salt at a small distance, and corn-fields,* among palm groves, in the immediate neighbourhood. There is an abundance of springs near the surface, and the fields are well watered. The inhabitants gave the travellers a very friendly reception, but soon showed their begging propensities, (see Lyon, p. 293,) and many of the women exhibited that strange union of dirt, rags, and valuable ornaments which is so often found among half-savages. In feature and character of face they vary; some being like the Fezzanese, and others resembling the Bedowines. The women are short and stunted, with a dirty white complexion, and have much vivacity. Amulets are as much in request as medicines, and a buxom young widow applied for a receipt to get a second husband. Captain Clapperton, it seems, has a red beard, and this kind-hearted dame, supposing that his grey hairs had been dyed with Hhinnâ, (Lawsonia inermis,) to conceal their real colour, mistook him for an old man, to the great amusement of his companions. The former inhabitants of this place were complete troglodytes; their holes in the rocks are still shown, and the cluster of mud-huts piled one upon another, on the sides of the conical hill now inhabited by the natives of Idrî, is justly called the new town, though many of its houses are in ruins. From the summit there is an extensive view over the surrounding country.

* "Fields of gomah," according to Dr. Oudney—"gomah" is the Barbarous way of expressing the word *camhh* or *canahh*, wheat. Perhaps some of the unpublished journals mention what kind of grain it is. The different varieties of *sorghum* cultivated in Fezzân are called *casab*, or reed, by the Arabs. That word is the gussob of the book before us.

The northern line of hills, which are the highest, are said to come from Ghadâmis,* and are thus connected with the Aûrâs of Idrîsî; (the Eures, Eyres, or Eyré of modern writers;) but though the soil appears favourable, the whole of that tract is uninhabited.

On their return to Aubârî the travellers passed through two vallies containing lakes of some celebrity—the first called Wâdî Natrûn or Trônâ as the Moghrebines corrupt that word, and the other, Wâdî Mandarah; both famous for the natron, which their lakes produce. When the water is sufficiently shallow, the mineral crystallizes in cakes of various thickness, rough on the upper surface, but studded, on the side next the water, with “beautiful vertical crystals of muriate of soda.” (p. lvii.) “The surface of the water is covered in many places with large thin sheets of salt, giving the whole the appearance of a lake partially frozen over.” A black substance, something like mineral tar, may be seen oozing out of the banks. The produce and extent of these lakes are continually diminishing; from sixteen to twenty hundred weight are extracted annually, and as no means are used to guard against the encroachment of the soil, there is a probability that the whole will ere long be exhausted. The lakes are surrounded by stunted palms and superintended by Hâj A’lî, an old Fezzanese, the only resident in these dreary abodes, for such Captain Clapperton’s draft (Pl. v.) shows them to be, notwithstanding the pleasure which the sight of their verdure may give to a traveller just emerging from the sandy wastes by which they are surrounded. (See p. lviii.) Another article in great request among the Fezzanese, is also procured from these lakes. It is a reddish brown worm, probably the larva of some aquatic insect, almost invisible to the naked eye, and enclosed in a large quantity of gelatinous matter. These worms (dûd in Arabic) are taken in a long hand-net, and are about the size of a grain of rice. When pounded with salt in a mortar they form a black paste, which is made into balls of about double the size of the fist and dried in the sun. This paste, called duweidah, or wormlet, tastes like bad caviar, and has a very offensive smell. (Lyon, pp. 300, 301.)

Wide gravelly vallies full of talahs (*Acacia gummifera*) and enclosed by parallel ranges of sandstone and argillaceous hills, led the travellers in a south-westerly direction, to Boukra, or the Father of the Foot, a conical mound, which is hopt over by

* In lat. 30° 17' north, long. 9° 16' east, according to Major Laing’s observation, as given in the Public Papers; and therefore 23' south and 1° 15' east of the place previously assigned from conjecture, on imperfect data.

the whole câfilah, to see who is least tired. Here alum-slate replaces the other strata; the proper country of the Tawâric is now entered, and the line of hills runs nearly north and south rising in numerous peaks and cones, not with broad flat summits as before. These hills appear to have a course nearly parallel with the road from Fezzân to Bornû, till, in about lat. 18° north, they take a south-easterly direction. In Wadî Sardalis there is the ruin of an ancient Moorish building, the hiding-place of ghosts and treasures; and just beyond it there is a narrow pass between crags of black sandstone, that looks like basalt, and is streaked with aluminous schistus, splitting into minute white flakes like snow. This gorge leads into a large sandy plain with the hills of Tadrart on the east, and high sand-hills on the west; which, like the cliffs of sand near the Pactolus, close to Sardes, are broken into an endless variety of fantastic forms, and have the appearance of battlements, pinnacles, towers, spires, and minarets; ruins, in short, of every age and country, so that it is no wonder if the Tawâric are convinced that each is inhabited by its guardian demon, and that they call the loftiest and most remarkable, Casr junûn, i. e. the Devil's Castle. (p. lxiii.)

At Ghaat (probably Ghânât, see *Proceed. of Afric. Assoc.* p. 243) the party met two Ghadâmîsîs, who had seen them at Tripoli, and a third who had been at Leghorn. The good-nature and civility of the old sultân set them quite at ease. The gravity of the Tawârics is such that Hateeta had carefully lectured Captain Clapperton to be sure not to sing or giggle, and he played his part so well, that "no Tawâric," says Dr. Oudney, (p. lxy,) 'could have done better.' The women, some of whom are handsome, are as lively as the men are sedate, and what is most remarkable, they are indulged in a freedom and treated with a degree of respect quite unknown in other Mohammedan countries. The town is neat, clean, and superior to any thing of the kind in Fezzân; it probably contains about one thousand inhabitants. A large supply of good water renders this place a delightful abode in these waterless regions, and would be a still greater blessing, were the Tawârics an agricultural people; but they leave the cultivation of the soil entirely to strangers.

This excursion led the party through two of the most celebrated towns in Fezzân, (Phazania,) Tesâuwah and Jermah, its ancient capital Garama, (Ptolem. Geogr. p. 199.) Of the former, scarcely any thing is said, (pp. xliii, xliv,) except that most of its inhabitants are Tawâric: at the latter they found the remains of a Roman, and probably a sepulchral building, but no inscription, except some recent ones, which puzzled them a good deal, and

afterwards proved to be written in the Tawâric character. It is odd enough, that Dr. Oudney seems to have had no notion of Fezzân's having been known to the ancients. Both these towns are mentioned by Idrîsî, who wrote in the twelfth century ;* and he says that they are distant from each other only one day's journey or thereabouts ; a statement which is confirmed by the map annexed to this volume, where it appears that the interval measured in a straight line is about forty-five geographical miles.

The inscription, as before remarked, proved to be the work of the Tawâric ; and after several unsuccessful inquiries, Dr. Oudney met with some persons who could write this character. He has given nineteen of their letters, annexing their *names*, but without assigning their powers ; and these he thought "would be sufficient to enable the learned to trace the connection of this language with others now extinct !" The truth is, as we suspect, that these letters, which may be written "from right to left, vertically or horizontally," (p. lxvii,) and not alphabetic but magic characters, and very probably "that kind of writing which," as Idrîsî says, (*Annals of Or. Lit.* pp. 496, 497,) "is named after the prophet Daniel." All the Berbers, he adds, and especially the Azcâr, who pasture their flocks and herds about Mount Tantanah, twelve days' journey to the south-east of Tesâuwah, are skilled in the art of finding things that have been lost, by means of these characters ; and the fame of the Berber Talbehs (*savans*) from the west (El Maghrib) is recorded by Ibn Khaldûn who has ably exposed the folly of relying on their pretensions.† It is much to be regretted that no vocabulary of the Tawâric language has been collected, as that would have at once ascertained the origin and affinities of this singular people, whose sound sense, love of truth, and fidelity to their engagements, place them, in the scale of comparative worth, far above most other African nations. That they are Berbers can hardly be doubted, as Captain Lyon expressly says, (p. 111,) that their language is "the Breber (Berâberah, plural of Berber) or original African tongue ; his vocabulary (p. 314) also proves the correctness of his assertion, for most of its words are to be found, with scarcely any variation, in almost every Berber glossary yet published ; and the names of places near Ghât, such as Tigidafa, Tinebonda, Tadrant, have all the Berber article *te* or

* See *Annals of Oriental Literature*, (p. 496,) where there is a translation of the whole of Idrîsî's account of Sûdân, containing many particulars omitted in the *Epitome* translated into Latin, and published by Gabriel Sionita, under the title of "Geographia Nubiensis."

† *L'Egypte d'Abdallatif*, par De Sacy, p. 508, sqq.

thi,* a peculiarity found in many of the ancient as well as modern names of towns in Northern Africa.† It appears from the map, that they returned to Murzûc, across the Desert, by a much shorter route; but of that journey no account is given. Dr. Oudney's ill health probably prevented him from noting down his observations; and Captain Clapperton, as Major Denham informs us in his preface, (p. v,) made no remarks, "except such as were necessary for the construction of the chart."

While his companions were engaged in this excursion to Ghât, that gallant officer had returned to Tripoli in order to prevail upon the bâshâ to fulfil his promise of forwarding them immediately to Bornû, and had actually reached Marseilles on his way to England, in order to lay the case before Lord Bathurst, when he received a despatch which convinced him that no further delay would be occasioned, and he therefore immediately went back to Tripoli. He had formed an acquaintance at Murzûc with a rich merchant, named Abû Bekr, Abû Khallûm; this man had been the principal agent of Muknî, late Sultân of Fezzân, (Lyon's Trav. pp. 164. 263,) and was now the rival of his successor: he therefore studied to obtain the good-will of the English travellers, as he knew how useful the support of their consul at Tripoli might be. He consequently offered to accompany them into the interior, if the bâshâ's sanction could be obtained; and alarmed, perhaps, by Major Denham's prompt decision, in setting sail for England, that prince gave him the command of an escort, which was to conduct the party immediately to Bornû. On the 17th of September, 1822, Major Denham joined him at Melghâ, in the Tarhûnah mountains, about forty miles south-east of Tripoli; on the 2d of October they reached Soknâ, and on the 30th of the same month, he rejoined his party at Murzûc.

On the 29th of November, after nearly eight months' detention in Fezzân, the Mission at length set out for Bornû; all the members of it having suffered from the intermittents occasioned by the stagnant pools at Murzûc, and Dr. Oudney complaining of his chest and tormented by a cough. From Tejerri, the last place visited by Captain Lyon, their route was entirely new, and between that place and Lârî, on the Lake Châd, it deviated little

* See Venture's sketch of the Berber tongue in the Appendix to Langlès' Translation of Hornemann's Travels, p. 421.

† Tacatua, Tabraca or Thabraca, Theveste, Tamugadi, Tagaste, Taduti, Tagora, Tipasa, in Numidia; and Tubusupta, Tigisi, Tenissa, Tarrum, Tingis, the Tulensii, and Taladusii in Mauretania. Among the modern names we find Ta-filâl-t; Ta-rûdân'-t Tâwart, Tâzekaght, Tabekeit, Tebelbelt, Telemsin, Tensift, Temendfust, Temen-hint, &c.

from one direction, their course being nearly south-south-west. At Catrôn, Hâj-el-Rashîd, the Murâbut who offered to accompany Captain Lyon through all the Tibbû tribes, (Lyon's Trav. p. 229,) received the travellers very hospitably, and, being skilled in the occult sciences, as all Talbehs are, he accompanied Abû Khallûm to the skirts of the town, just before their departure, and having drawn a parallelogram on the sand with a staff, wrote within it certain texts from the Corân, repeated the Fâtihhah aloud, and invited each of the adventurers to ride singly across the sacred enclosure. They obeyed, and proceeded on their journey without uttering another word. The safe return of three out of the four, contributed doubtless not a little to confirm the faith of Catronians in the mystic powers of Hâj-el-Rashîd; and nothing can be a stronger evidence of the justice of Major Denham's commendations of his good sense and benevolence, than his having exercised his extraordinary powers in favour of kâfirs, who had not even the outward garb of Moslims.

The Moorish castle of Tejerri, of which there is a good plate, and its dôms, (Hyphæne Coriacea or Cuciopherum Thebaicum, the branching palm,) the first they had seen, were objects of some interest in so desolate a country, but would not have detained them for a single day, had Dr. Oudney, Hillman, and one of the servants been well enough to travel. A halt of three days was therefore requisite, and on the third day after leaving that place they again rested near Meshrû, the southern boundary of Fezzân, having travelled over a stony plain without the least appearance of vegetation, and frequently strewn with half-bleached skeletons of negroes who had perished in "the middle passage" across these burning wastes; some with the skin still visible on their bones. The Arabs laughed heartily when Major Denham expressed his horror at this appalling sight, exclaimed they were only blacks, *nam boo!** (Dan their fathers,) and began to knock them about with the butt end of their firelocks, saying, "This was a woman; this was a youngster;" with "such like unfeeling expressions." (pp. 9, 10.) On the 19th of December they entered the hills; which, as Dr. Oudney was told at Ghât, bend away to the east, and are a part of the range seen near Tibbestî in lat. 18° north. At El wa'r, (the difficult,) named from the ruggedness of its stony paths, they found a well of good water, and their camels, which had been eight days without tasting a drop, got a plentiful supply. This had the singular effect of making them drunk: a circumstance which Dr. Oudney appears to have justly ascribed

* This curious Arabic has probably suffered some mutilation, in passing through Major Denham's hands.

to the fermentation of the dates with which their stomachs were filled. Beyond Mafras, in lat. 21° north, the hills, which are not more than six hundred feet high, make a wide sweep to the west, and leave a large open plain to the east. At Ikbar, nearly in lat. 20° north, and long. 14° east, which they reached on the 2d of January 1823, they found abundance of grass and dôms laden with unripe fruit. It was the first oasis deserving of the name which they had seen since they left Tijerrî;* and "so reviving is the least appearance of cultivation, or rather a sprinkling of nature's beauty, after the parching wilds of a long dreary desert," says Major Denham, (p. 16,) "that I could have stayed here a week with pleasure." Two days more across a low ridge of barren hills, little better than the desert already passed, brought them to Kisbâ, (Al Casbah, the market?) the first town in the Oasis of Kawwâr!† There the dirty Tibbû Sultân of that country met them, promising to proceed with them to Bilmah. Kisbâ, is eight days' journey, (equal to one hundred and thirty miles) from Aghades, the Aûdaghest of Idrîsî, twenty-four (four hundred miles) from Kashnah, and with a Maherrî, twenty-seven (one thousand and fifty miles) from Bornû. Most of the "Tibbûs are really hideous; their teeth are of a deep yellow; their nose resembles nothing so much as a round lump of flesh stuck on the face; and their nostrils are so wide that their fingers go up as far as they will reach, in order to ensure the snuff an admission into the head:" and like some of their neighbours, they take in as much of that favourite refreshment by the mouth, as by the nose. (p. 18.) Dogs, as in Whydah and on the western coast, are thought a delightful meal by them, and they are always lying in wait for small caravans and single travellers. Their towns are generally at the foot of low precipices, to the perpendicular sides of which they attach ladders, that they may take refuge on the flat summit of these singular hills as soon as an enemy approaches. This is well illustrated by the plate of Anay or Irkhat, one of the first Tibbû towns seen by the Mission. They were now in the Batn-el-wâdî, and, besides salt lakes of some magnitude, and a less scanty vegetation, they met on the 8th of January a herd of oxen, a sight most agreeable and novel, at once reviving the recollection of countries which afford milk and butter and beef and mutton. This was near Dirkî, one of the Tibbû capitals. It is a mile in circumference in the middle of the valley; and having two saline lakes, one to the east, and the other to the west. In the centre of each of them there is a

* See Idrîsî in *Annals of Oriental Literature*, p. 501.

† Not *Kawwas*, as it is erroneously engraved for *Kawwar* in the map.

solid mass of natron, one of which is fourteen feet in height and one hundred in circuit. Many of the wells, however, furnish tolerably pure water. Though civilly received and professing friendship to the natives, Abû Khallûm made no scruple to send out a number of his Arabs from this place to seize upon the first Maherries (swift camels) they could find, in order to replace those which he had lost. Two and twenty were thus seized: what other mischief the Tibbûs sustained, Major Denham had no opportunity of knowing, but this was a pretty severe one, and it alone will be thought by some of his readers, not to be quite in accordance with the praises he so largely bestows on his guide. On the 12th of January, 1823, they reached Bilmah,* the Tibbû metropolis, in $18^{\circ} 43'$ north, and $13^{\circ} 40'$ east. They were met by the sultân with fifty of his men at arms, and one hundred women, the latter dancing and throwing themselves into strange attitudes, and screaming and singing in a most extraordinary manner; but not on their knees, with a sort of drum, as had been the case elsewhere. Their pretty features, pearly white teeth, three-cornered tresses streaming with oil on each side of their faces, coral nose-jewels, and amber necklaces, gave them, says Major Denham—what we certainly should never have suspected these black beauties would have possessed in his estimation—"a very seducing appearance." Some carried a fan of grass or hair, others a plume of ostrich feathers, a branch of a tree, or a bunch of keys, which they waved over their heads as they approached, just as the men brandished their spears. A wrapper of Sûdân manufacture fastened over the left shoulder and leaving the right arm bare, with a smaller one thrown over their head, formed the whole of their covering; notwithstanding which, "nothing could be further from indelicate than their appearance and deportment." (p. 25.) There are stagnant pools of bad water near the town, and several lakes about two miles to the north of it, producing great quantities of pure crystallized salt. The Tawâric annually carry off large quantities by main force; and thus, not only supply themselves, but almost the whole of Sûdân, to the great injury of the Tibbûs. It is singular that the alum of Kawwâr, which, according to Idrîsî, is unrivalled, (*Annals of Or. Lit.* p. 500,) seems never to have fallen under the notice of Dr. Oudney's party.

A fine spring of clear water, at the distance of about a mile

* Perhaps the Talmalah or Tamlamah of Idri'si. *Ann. of Or. Lit.* p. 500. If we read Bilmalah, the names would be nearly the same. Both the Oxford MSS. however, as may be inferred from the silence of our authority, have T instead of B; but in foreign names no great reliance can be placed on any Arabic MS.

from Bilmah, gives vigour and freshness to a patch of grass for a few hundred yards in circumference; but this is the last trace of vegetation at the extremity of a desert which it requires thirteen days to cross. On first entering it, Major Denham had the luck to catch one of the pretty little animals called *fenek*, first known to European naturalists by the plate and description given in Bruce's Travels. He calls it a kind of *fitchet*, a term quite obsolete in most parts of England, and such as will probably puzzle many of his readers; the more so as the writer of the very excellent paper on the *fenek*, in the Appendix, has forgotten to refer to the part of the text in which that animal is mentioned. The plate annexed to that paper differs so much from Bruce's, that it raises a suspicion in the minds of persons as ignorant of zoology as ourselves, that the two plates represent different species of the same genus; this supposition, however, does not appear to have been entertained by the learned author of the paper to which we refer.

Hills of fine loose sand with miserable wâdîs at long intervals, in one of which, nearly in latitude 18° north, they first observed the suag, (*Capparis sodada*, Appendix, p. 225.) were the leading features of the road as far as Aghedem, (in lat. 16° 30' north, and long. 14° east, nearly) when they halted on the 24th of January.

Soon after leaving that place and entering the desert of Tintuma, (probably the Dandam or Dindum of Idrîsî,*) two Tibbû couriers from Bornû to Murzûc made their appearance. They were mounted on Maherries, had been only nine days coming from Kûkâ, and expected to reach Murzûc in thirty. These couriers travel at the rate of six miles an hour: a bag of zumittah (parched corn) and strips of meat dried in the sun, (cadîd,†) are all their provisions, a brass basin and a wooden bowl all their utensils; and a bag under their camel's tail secures the dung, which serves them for fuel. In the evening of the 27th, a greater abundance of talahs (*Acacia gummiifera*) indicated the neighbourhood of a better country, and the ground travelled over had something of a heathy appearance. On the next day they were joined by Mina Tahr, Sheikh of the Gunda Tibbûs. His followers were smart active fellows, mounted on small horses of great swiftness, with saddles and stirrups wholly different from those of the Arabs, or indeed of any other people. The promise of an ox, sheep, milk and honey made amends to these

* Annals of Or. Lit. p. 326. The short vowels in Idrîsî are, of course, given entirely from conjecture; this name may therefore be Dindum, as well as Dandem.

† Mucaddadah. Idrîsî, p. 18, Geog. Nub. p. 14, l. ult. Annals, &c. 495, 141.

half famished travellers, for a slight deviation from their road, and two days of a tremendous sand-storm:—but this splendid promise ended in the sad reality of nothing more than some camel's milk full of dirt and sand, and a few lumps of very rancid fat. A lean sheep, however, purchased with difficulty for two dollars, was such a treat as put them into good humour again. Five thousand camels form the riches of the tribe, and by their milk fatten man and horse for six months in the year; during the remainder of it, they live upon such casab (sorghum) as their barren fields will produce. These Tibbûs are all of a middle size, well made, slim, with intelligent, copper-coloured faces, large eyes, flat noses, wide mouths, covered like those of the Tawâric, teeth stained red by tobacco, and high foreheads. On the next day the travellers got some really good sheep's milk brought in large "basket bottles," some holding two gallons or more, and their eyes were soon cheered by the sight of a green and flowery valley. The plunder of some inoffensive villagers who had fled with their flocks and herds on the approach of the Arabs, soon followed; but by Major Denham's intercession, two sheep and a fat bullock was all the booty retained. On the 2d of February, the hills gradually sunk into an extensive and fertile plain "not unlike a preserve in England;" their road onwards through the territory of the Traïta Tibbûs, who though less active are "more important looking fellows than the Gundas, led the câfilah into a country adorned with all the luxuriant vegetation of the Tropics. The Traïta encampments of huts, formed of mats, showed a regularity, neatness, and comfort, which the travellers had not yet witnessed, and were promising tokens of the superior civilisation of the country which they were approaching. At two in the afternoon of the same day, they reached Lârî, having discovered from the rising ground on which it stands, to their inexpressible delight, "the great lake Châd glowing with the golden rays of the sun in its strength," and apparently within a mile of the spot on which they stood. (p. 45.)

The town of Lârî is placed on an eminence and may probably contain two thousand inhabitants; its rush-built huts are cylindrical with conical roofs, and have much the appearance of well-thatched stacks of corn. They are enclosed by a fence made of the same materials, and must, from the description here given, bear the closest resemblance to the huts of the Fûlahs near the western coast, as well as to those of the Bêchwânas and other kâfir tribes, at the southern extremity of the continent. Like the latter they are kept clean and neatly fitted up with every thing indispensably requisite in such a climate. Six poles fixed in the ground, form the bed-posts for a couch of rush-mat,

covered with skins of the tiger-cat and wild bull. A large oblong shield, spears, bows, arrows, and wooden-bowls, the accoutrements and utensils of the master of the house, are hung around; and a partition of matting divides the male from the female apartment.

At Wûdî, near the banks of the lake, to which they travelled for about twenty-five miles through a luxuriant and richly wooded tract, they were detained till the pleasure of the Sheikh of Bornû, as to their further progress, should be known. The market of that place afforded them much amusement. Black damsels mounted on bullocks—through the bridge of whose nose a tough thong had been passed to serve both as bit and bridle—while a skin thrown over their backs was at once a saddle for the rider, and a means of conveying the wares she vended, were objects as ludicrous as novel: milk sour and sweet, kasab, (Sorghum,) câfulî,* (Maiz,) melôkhiyyah,† (Corchorus olitorius,) and fat goats, sheep, and a few wretched slaves were the articles brought for sale by the men. Idleness and stupidity appeared to characterise the natives of Wûdî, which being the capital of a large district (bilâd kabîr,) is considered as a place of importance. A shed, in an open space, corresponding with the bentang of the Mandingo villages described by Park, is the common lounging place of the men during the heat of the day, while the women spin cotton; for the weaker sex is here, as in all countries where the animal predominates over the intellectual part of man, the most active and industrious. The woods round the lake abound in elephants, and the open country is covered with a kind of grass which is the torment of the traveller night and day. It is the *Pennisetum dichotomum*, (App. p. 245,) the involucre of which is covered with minute prickles, which “fasten themselves like grappling irons.” It filled their trowsers, mats, and blankets with its hooked thorns, the points of which were too small to be extracted.

On the 11th of February, two of the sheikh's officers brought a present of gorô nuts, (beans of the *Sterculia acuminata*,) with an invitation to Abû Khallûm to advance. On the 13th they reached the Yeû, or Yaû, [Iyû?] a considerable stream, in some places more than fifty yards wide, “with a fine, hard, sandy bottom, and banks nearly perpendicular, and a strong current running three miles and a half in an hour to the eastward.” All the Arabs called it the Nile, and said it ran into the Lake Châd. On

* Câfulî, for câfûrî, i. e. sheathed; from its sheath, like the spathe (câfûr) of the palm; but câmfûlî is perhaps the more correct spelling.

† Not the *ochra*, as Major Denham supposed; that herb is called *bûmiyah* by the Arabs, and of it the pod, and not the leaves, is eaten. See Lyon's Travels, p. 274.

its south side there is a town bearing the same name, and all agreed in affirming that it came from Sûdân, (i. e. from the south.) On the 15th they reached a position near "a dead water," called Dowergû, where they were requested to halt; and on the 17th they made their entrance into Kûkâ, the residence of the sheikh. This was a moment of no small anxiety and doubt. Such contradictory reports respecting the power and condition of Bornû had been received, that the members of the Mission were wholly unable to conjecture whether they should meet with the formidable leader of a disciplined force, or a mere savage almost as naked as the slaves around him.

"These doubts, however, were quickly removed. I had ridden on," says Major Denham, "a short distance in front of Boo-Khaloom with his train of Arabs, all mounted and dressed out in their best apparel; and, from the thickness of the trees, soon lost sight of them, fancying that the road could not be mistaken. I rode still onwards, and, on approaching a spot less thickly planted, was not a little surprised to see in front of me, a body of several thousand cavalry drawn up in line, and extending, right and left, quite as far as I could see; and, checking my horse, I awaited the arrival of my party, under the shade of a wide-spreading acacia. The Bornou troops remained quite steady, without noise or confusion; and a few horsemen, who were moving about in front giving directions, were the only persons out of the ranks. On the Arabs appearing in sight, a shout or yell was given by the sheikh's people which rent the air; a blast was blown from their rude instruments of music equally loud, and they moved on to meet Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs. There was an appearance of tact and management in their movements which astonished me: three separate small bodies, from the centre and each flank, kept charging rapidly towards us, to within a few feet of our horses' heads, without checking the speed of their own, until the moment of their halt, while the whole body moved onwards. These parties were mounted on small but very perfect horses, who stopped and wheeled from their utmost speed with great precision and expertness, shaking their spears over their heads, exclaiming, 'Barca! barca! Alla hiakkum cha, alla cheraga!' 'Blessing! blessing! Sons of your country! Sons of your country!' and returning quickly to the front of the body in order to repeat the charge. While all this was going on, they closed in their right and left flanks, and surrounded the little body of Arab warriors so completely, as to give the compliment of welcoming them very much the appearance of a declaration of their contempt for their weakness. I am quite sure this was premeditated; we were all so closely pressed as to be nearly smothered, and in some danger from the crowding of the horses and clashing of the spears."

—p. 62.

Barca Gana, the sheikh's commander in chief, a negro of

noble aspect, soon appeared, and the procession moved slowly on. The sheikh's favourites, who were all negroes raised to that rank by some military exploit, were clad in coats of mail from the throat to the knees, and some of them had iron helmets and chin-pieces. Their horses' heads were also defended by plates of iron, brass, and silver, leaving just room enough for the eyes of the animal. On reaching the town, Abû Khallûm and themselves, with about a dozen of their followers, were alone permitted to enter. They proceeded through a wide street lined with infantry and cavalry to the sheikh's residence. There they received sundry salutations from his attendants, but were kept waiting in the sun till Abû Khallûm's patience was quite exhausted. To retreat however was impossible; so Major Denham advised him in a whisper to submit quietly. At length Barca Gana came and made a sign that the Arab chief should dismount; but he alone was admitted. After waiting another half hour, the gates were opened, and the four Englishmen were called for. At the skîfah (vestibule) they were stopped most unceremoniously by the black guards in waiting, and allowed, one by one only, to ascend a staircase, at the top of which they were again brought to a stand by crossed spears, and the open flat hand of a negro laid upon their breast. Abû Khallûm then came out and asked whether they would salute the sheikh as they did the bâshâ. On their answering in the affirmative, and refusing to adopt a more humiliating form of salutation, that chief went in again, and after a few minutes' conference with the sheikh, ushered them into his presence. They found him in a small dark room sitting on a carpet, plainly dressed in a blue shirt,* with a shawl turban on his head. Two negroes with fire-arms were on each side of him, and a brace of pistols lay on his carpet. Other fire-arms, invaluable treasures in Bornû, hung around the room. He appeared not to be above five or six and forty, and had an expressive and prepossessing countenance. On being told that the object of the travellers was merely "to see the country and give an account of its inhabitants, produce, and appearance to their sovereign, who was desirous of knowing every part of the globe," he answered that "they were welcome; that houses had been prepared for them, and that when they had recovered from the fatigue of their long journey, he should be happy to see them." Their habitations were cylindrical huts of mud, not far from the palace, within a square enclosure, forming a sort of khân, or kârvân-serâi, destined for the use of foreign merchants.

* Tôb, or thaûb, as the Arabs write and pronounce the word, is used in this sense in Barbary. See Lyon's Travels, p. 110. Denham, p. 69.

They were summoned on the following day to deliver their presents. A double-barrelled gun by Wilkinson, a pair of excellent pistols, two pieces of broadcloth, red and blue, with a set of china and two bundles of spices, were the articles which had been judiciously selected. The attendants who sat squatted down in the passages through which they had to pass, seized them by the legs when they advanced too rapidly; and their slippers "were whipped off by those active though sedentary gentlemen of the chamber," before they entered the apartment in which the sheikh was seated to receive them. They had a very gracious reception; the sheikh put pertinent questions on the mode of using the powder-flasks and fire-arms, again inquired about the object of their visit, and ascribed his fame's having reached the King of England to his victories over the Begarmies. The chief, most distinguished in those contests, then stepped forward and asked, "Did he ever hear of me?" "The immediate reply of" certainly! "did wonders for our cause," says Major Denham; forgetting how much the distinction of being alone heard of, would have been flattering to the sheikh himself, and how little could really be gained by this needless departure from truth, the approval of which, by the narrator, is not calculated to strengthen his reader's confidence in the fidelity of his narrative. With eatables, the party was superabundantly provided; but jealousy as to their ulterior objects, or apprehensions of their falling into the hands of his enemies, made the sheikh forbid their thinking of going beyond his territories for the present. At a second audience on the 27th of February, he made many inquiries about the European mode of laying siege to towns; expressed great delight on hearing of four-and-twenty and two-and-thirty pounders; and in the afternoon witnessed the discharge of two rockets in front of his residence, and in the presence of a vast crowd, whose shrieks "were heard for some seconds after the rockets had ascended." (p. 75.)

On the 2d of March, the travellers accompanied Abû Khallûm on a visit to the sultân at Birnî. That town is about eighteen miles from Kûkâ, and two from Angornû, the former residence of the sheikh, and the most populous town in Bornû. Birnî is a walled town, containing nine or ten thousand inhabitants, The sultân's palace is a mud-built edifice, like all those in the modern towns of that country; and at the gate of it they were met by some of his court, one of whom, a sort of chamberlain, was habited in eight or ten tôbs, (thaûbs,) i. e. shirts, of different colours, the outside one of fine white tufted silk of the manufacture of Sûdân. "In his hand he carried an immense staff like a drum-major's bâton, and on his head he bore a turban,

exceeding in size any thing before seen:" but it was a mere trifle compared with those exhibited at the audience on the next day. Their tent, far preferable to the huts offered for their use by the sultân, was enclosed by a linen screen which excluded the mob, but admitted air and light; a vast profusion of viands, with some live fowls lest they should not relish the Bernôwî cookery, was sent for their evening meal by the sultân and his harem, and sunrise the next morning was fixed for the audience. Soon after daylight they were ushered into the royal presence. In a sort of cage, made of cane or wood, on a bench apparently covered with silk, sat this mighty monarch. His court formed a semicircle on the ground, in front of this singular throne; each courtier having dismounted from his horse, prostrated himself, and then squatted down in his place, with his back turned towards the sultân, for such is the universal custom in that country. In "barbaric pomp" no court exceeds that of Bornû, nor can any thing be more grotesque than the external appearance of its dignitaries. "Large bellies and large heads are indispensable" qualifications for all who bear honour there; recourse is had to artificial aid where nature has not been sufficiently bountiful, and an ample wadding supplies what an indefatigable cramming sometimes fails to give,—a protuberance of belly which overhangs the pommel of the saddle, and makes the rider as ludicrous as he is unwieldy. The turbans of the highest *ton* are those which make the head appear 'completely on one side:' the mouth is covered as among the Tawâric, but not the nose, and strings of amulets cased in red leather complete the decorations both of man and horse. The sultân, as is becoming a sovereign, wears more of folds of muslin round his head and covers his lips more completely, than any of his subjects. The travellers were not allowed to approach nearer than a pistol-shot to the latticed throne, and therefore had only a very imperfect view of the monarch; as they carried no presents they were probably scarcely noticed. Abû Khalâm's were received by the chief eunuch, "the ugliest black that can be imagined," to whom he delivered his presents, wrapped up in a shawl, but they were not opened nor examined. A herald standing near the sultân, loudly proclaimed his pedigree and praise, and a trumpeter hard by, "ever and anon blew a blast loud and unmusical" on the frum-frum, a straight trumpet or horn of inordinate dimensions. With the delivery of the presents the audience terminated, and the strangers immediately set out on their return.

On the 13th of March, after two interviews with the sheikh, who was delighted with his musical box and some more rockets,

one of which was discharged at a low elevation, to the consternation of Kûkaïtes, Major Denham obtained permission to visit the Châd. He reached it, after travelling about fifteen miles through a country less incumbered with wood than that on its northern banks. There were evident marks of inundation near the shores, but beyond them an uninterrupted expanse of water to the east and south-east, as far as the eye could reach. Its marshy borders were covered with fine grass, which afforded pasture to thousands of cattle, part of the spoils of Begarmî; and some excellent fish,* resembling a mullet, caught by the negro boys attached to the party, by being driven into shallow water, were soon grilled, by being impaled head downwards, on a stick stuck in the ground just above the fire. The tamarids and locust trees (i. e. the Kharrûb or *Ceratonia*) were in full fruit; and there were plenty of elephants, buffaloes, and antelopes, the latter a beautiful but not very swift species; but the most numerous, as well as most observable tribes were gnats, "equal in size to a large fly," buzzing about in myriads, and utterly destroying all hope of rest to man and beast. (p. 87.) On the 15th, Major Denham returned to Kûkâ, having had two rencontres with elephants which are amusingly told, and having frightened the children in some places half out of their senses, by the sight of his pale-coloured skin.

Dr. Oudney in the mean time had been suffering from ague in addition to his pulmonary complaint, and all the party had at times been indisposed. Hillman, the carpenter, had been so reduced by illness on their quitting Fezzân, in December, as to occasion serious doubts of his being able to go through the journey, and Mr. Clapperton had occasionally been attacked by an intermittent; but rest and better fare had nearly restored all except the first, whose health was gradually giving way to his habitual complaint, and the effects of a burning climate, where the mercury in the thermometer stood at above 100° in the shade. Major Denham, the stoutest of the party, had likewise suffered from some slight attacks of illness, but was now recovered; and being anxious not to remain inactive, he, almost against the will of the sheïkh, joined a ghazziyeh, or slaving expedition, against the kâfirs, commanded by his friend Abû Khallûm. They proceeded in a direction nearly due south of Angornû, through a rich alluvial country, thickly covered with

* The Bernâwî name of this fish, bânî, recalls to our recollection the 'binnî of the Nile. (*Cyprinus Binny*, Sonnini, *Voyage en Egypte*, ii. 401. Tab. xxvii, fig. 3,) which resembles our barbel, but is not the binny of Bruce.

wood, and passed several very populous towns, if the numbers of their inhabitants were not exaggerated by Major Denham's informers. Near Delow, the first town in Mandarah, they were met by the sultân of that country, one of the sheikh's allies. Their party was now increased to three thousand, many of them armed with muskets, so that they had little reason to fear the naked savages whom they were going to assail. At Mora, the royal residence of Mandarah, they rode over a man and killed him, in their gallop up to the palace; an ordinary occurrence it seems in these Sudanic salutes. The prince was seated under a dark blue tent of Sûdân, on a mud bench covered with a handsome carpet and silk cushions. Mohammed [Abû] Bekr, for that is his name, proved to be "an intelligent little man of about fifty, with a beard dyed of a most beautiful sky-blue."* His astonishment on learning that Major Denham was not a Moslim was extreme: of Christians he had heard scarcely any thing; at all events they were kâfirs; and the major was never again invited to his court. Mora is placed at the foot of a semicircular ridge of very picturesque mountains, facing the north, in a position which has protected it from the attacks of the Fellâtahs. The principal towns of this petty state are eight in number, all placed in the valley, and all inhabited by Moslims, who carry on a merciless warfare against the Kerdies, or pagans, in the overhanging mountains. The highest peaks in the immediate neighbourhood do not exceed two thousand five hundred feet, but the chain, as was positively affirmed by the natives, extends for more than two months' journey, nearly south; its boundary in that direction being unknown to the people of Mandarah. Iron seems to be the only metal found in this tract, which is plentifully supplied with water, and intersected by woody, fertile vallies.

On the 26th of April, after many delays, the army at length marched, and passing through a beautiful valley to the south-east of Mora, ascended the hills to the south, and halted, about sunset, in a most picturesque spot, surrounded by a superb amphitheatre of mountains, (p. 126,) "in rugged magnificence and gigantic grandeur, though not to be compared with the Higher Alps, the Apennines, the Jura, or even the Sierra Morena in magnitude, yet by none of these were they surpassed in picturesque interest." The pass of Horza, the perpendicular sides of which exceed two thousand feet, led them into an extensive and thickly-planted valley, "the first spot" which Major Denham

* It is to be lamented that no inquiry was made as to the substance which can give to black hair a sky-blue colour.

had seen in Africa where nature seemed at all "to have revelled in giving life to the vegetable kingdom." (p. 128.) Innumerable epidendrums perfumed the air from their splendid blossoms, and "broken masses of granite, ten or twelve feet in height, were lying in several places, nearly obscured by underwood, or trees springing out of their crevices. On the morning of the 28th of April, a most interesting scene presented itself. The Sultân of Mandarah, near the flank of the army, on a beautiful cream-coloured horse, marked with large red stains,* with his six favourite eunuchs and thirty sons, gaily dressed and superbly mounted, for Mandarah breeds some of the finest horses in Africa; the Bornûese, in coats of mail, half concealed by red burnûes or scarfs; Abû Khallûm with his Arabs, almost all mounted and equipped with fire-arms; a singular assemblage, which altogether formed a host as varied and grotesque as it must have been terrific to the almost naked Kerdies, whom they expected to drive before them. They soon divided into two columns, and entered a thick wood, on the other side of which they were to meet the enemy. On emerging from this forest, no enemy appeared; but Dirkulla and another Fellâtah village were entered and burnt, and the old, helpless people and infants, the only inhabitants found there, massacred or thrown into the flames. A third town, however, called Masfeia,† checked their progress: placed between two hills, backed by others, and having a swamp protected by a deep ravine in front, it could be easily covered by a strong palisade. This mode of defence was not overlooked by the Fellâtahs; the guns and perseverance of the Arabs, however, carried this outwork, after half an hour's contest. Abû Khallûm rushed on towards the town, driving the enemy up the hills, but they continually turned and assailed him with their arrows, while the women rolled down huge stones from the heights, by which many Arabs were killed. The Bornûese commander, with about one hundred men, then advanced to support his allies, having been previously mere spectators; but the main body of his and the Sultân of Mandarah's troops remained on the other side of the ravine. This encouraged the Fellâtahs; they poured such showers of arrows among the Arabs

* Probably made with Hinnâ, (*Lawsonia inermis*), as is usual among the Turks, who thus adorn their dogs as well as their horses.

† So Major Denham spells the name. It should probably be Masfayyah. His orthography sets all conjecture as to the pronunciation of his foreign terms at defiance. In one word the Italian, in another the English system is followed: *ch* is sounded either as in *church*, *pinch*, or *character*, without a hint as to the sound meant; and, like an American voyager in the South Sea, he substitutes *er* for the final *a* in *idea*, writing *saherbi* and *denier* for *sahabî* and *dunyâ*! pp. 109. 125;

as fairly made them give way: their cavalry pushed forwards, and though checked by the bands of Barca Gana, and Abû Khallûm made dreadful havoc. The former had three horses struck under him, two of which died immediately; and the Arab chief received his death-wound by another of those poisoned arrows. The rest of the Bornûese troops, with the Sultân of Mandarah at their head, took flight, without having been exposed to a single bowshot, the moment they saw the Fellâtahs rally. In the pursuit, Major Denham's horse fell, and the enemy was upon him almost before he recovered himself. He had happily kept hold of the bridle, and, seizing one of his pistols, fired upon his adversary, wounded him, and was thus enabled again to mount his horse. The animal, wounded and exhausted, soon fell a second time. Death seemed now inevitable. Major Denham was surrounded and stripped to the skin; but while his foes were disputing about the spoils, he crept under the nearest horse's belly, and ran off as fast as his legs could carry him in the direction in which he was likely to meet with friends.

"My pursuers," he says, "gained on me, for the prickly underwood not only obstructed my passage, but tore my flesh miserably; and the delight with which I saw a mountain stream gliding along at the bottom of a deep ravine cannot be imagined. My strength had almost left me, and I seized the young branches issuing from the stump of a large tree which overhung the ravine, for the purpose of letting myself down into the water, as the sides were precipitous, when under my hand, as the branch yielded to the weight of my body, a large liffa,* the worst kind of serpent this country produces, rose from its coil, as if in the very act of striking. I was horror struck, and deprived for a moment of all recollection; the branch slipped from my hand, and I tumbled headlong into the water beneath; this shock, however, revived me, and with three strokes of my arms I reached the opposite banks, which, with difficulty, I crawled up; and then, for the first time, felt myself safe from my pursuers."—p. 135.

He soon descried some horsemen through the trees, and with indescribable joy recognised the chiefs from whom he had been separated by the loss of his horse. They were themselves pursued, and his shouts would not have been heard in the midst of the din, had not Maraymy, a favourite negro of the sheikh, who twice saved his life, observed him, helped him to mount on the crupper of his own horse, and then galloped off. As soon as the pursuit had cooled a little, Abû Khallûm rode up and desired one of his Arabs to throw a burnûs over Major Denham's naked body, but very soon afterwards that ill-fated man fell from his horse,

* El-'afâ, i. e. a viper.

in a swoon, as was at first supposed, but in reality, never to rise again. The poison infused into the wound in his foot had by this time taken effect. The fugitives, when almost exhausted, reached a shallow muddy stream. Major Denham, who had now tried in vain to speak, slipped down into the water, and kneeling among the horses, "seemed to imbibe new life by the copious draughts of muddy beverage which he swallowed." (p. 138.) Of what followed he had no recollection, but was told that he staggered across the stream to a tree, at the foot of which he fell down, and sunk into a deep sleep. Barca Gana, irritated by his losses, was disposed to leave him there to his fate;* but Maraymy again stepped forward to his assistance, and, rousing him from his slumbers, helped him to mount. As they had many miles to ride before they could reach Mandarah, Major Denham's sufferings during that interval can be more easily imagined than described. Many were the instances of negro kind-heartedness which he had now occasion to experience, and they were the more remarkable, as here the genuine negro character had been tainted by Mohammedan uncharitableness.

On the 30th of April Barca Gana left Mora, with his own troops and the humbled relics of Abû Khallûm's band, now silent and submissive, as they were before turbulent and refractory: on the 6th of May they again reached the province of Kûkâ, having travelled at the rate of thirty miles a day, a rapid march for troops in such a forlorn condition. "I suffered much both in mind and body," says Major Denham, (p. 141,) "but complained not; indeed all complaint would have been ill-timed, where few were enduring less than myself." On the 7th he reentered the capital; and the starvation to which he had been condemned, proved advantageous, for it greatly accelerated the healing of his wounds. Thus ended this disastrous expedition, and however the having borne a part in it may do credit to Major Denham's resolution and love of enterprise, his imprudence and want of caution certainly deserve censure. By persevering against the advice and inclinations of the sheikh he risked incurring the displeasure of him on whose good-will the whole success of the party depended: while his having joined a ghazziyeh, or slaving excursion, could not but appear, in the eyes of the natives, inconsistent with his professed abhorrence of such warfare; but by marching against the Fellâtahs he exposed not

* Raas il nibbe Salaam Yassarât il le mated el Yeom ash min gieb lean e mut Nesserani wahad. "Then leave him behind. By the head of the Prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day. What is there extraordinary in the Christian's death?" This, which is one of the most favourable specimens of Major Denham's Arabic, will, we suspect, puzzle more learned Arabians than ourselves.

only himself, but his companions to the vengeance of Bello, whose territories they were particularly commissioned to visit. The information obtained under such circumstances, could at best be but scanty and inaccurate: the height and appearance of the Mandarah hills, and the fertility of the vallies between them, are nearly all that Major Denham could himself ascertain. From the Cáyid Mûsâ ibu Yûsuf, who pretended to be a son of Hornemann, he heard that the mountains extend beyond Adamôwa, a large elevated valley, twenty days' journey from Mandarah to the south-west. On the road a large river is crossed, running from west to east, passing to the south of Bagarmî and Dâr-fûr, and finally joining the Nile. This is the river called Kwâlâ or Kwârâ at Niffî and Râkâ, and D'Ago in Bagarmî. This stream is marked in the map, as if as well ascertained as the course of that mentioned to Captain Clapperton by Bello and various persons in Sûdân; and it will be eagerly received by those who are determined to make the Nile and the Niger one: but, to say nothing of accidental mistakes, or a desire to give such answers as meet the inquirer's views—fertile causes of error in evidence thus collected—we may observe that D'Ago is probably nothing more than a fragment of *Kamadogo*, the Bornûse term for river; and that Mûsâ ibu Yûsuf did not pretend to have gone beyond Dâr-fûr, or to have seen the junction of the streams, while all Mr. Browne's inquiries in that country pointed to a very different result. Neither he, nor Burckhardt, nor Seetzen, moreover, who were all well qualified to examine their informers, ever received any credible report of such a junction.

About the middle of May, in which month the Ramadân or Lent of the Mohammedans fell that year, the sheikh set off on an expedition against the Mungas, a tribe at some distance to the west of Kûkâ, and then in actual rebellion. Dr. Oudney and Major Denham accompanied him outside the gates, and he appointed one of his favourites to guide them to Old Birnî, the former capital whence they were to proceed to Kabshari on the Yeû, or Gambarû, and there to await his arrival. On the 22d they set out: and travelling over a flat country thinly strewed with acacias, came on the 24th to the Yeû, then very low and narrow. Its banks are steep and covered with a luxuriant vegetation abounding in game, especially guinea-fowl. On the 26th they encamped about two miles from Birnî, (i. e. the city,) the former capital of the country. It covered a space of five or six square miles, and is said to have had 200,000 inhabitants; its walls, of hard red brickwork, were three or four feet thick and seventeen or eighteen high; and from the top of them the

Gambarû is visible running to the east, at three or four miles distance. On its banks was placed the town of Gambarû, a favourite abode of the sultân, which gave its name to the river in that part of its course, where it is a fine stream nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth, with sweet and palatable water very different from that of the wells and pools in the neighbouring country. The buildings of Gambarû were all of brick, in a princely style compared with the mud huts now found in Bornû; the surrounding meadows are said to have been all well cultivated, while boats constantly moving on the river, kept up a communication between this and the other towns on its banks.

On returning from this expedition to that place, they found that they had narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The Mungas, encouraged by the sheikh's delay, had advanced, taken Kabsharî, and approached close to them. It was necessary to retreat; and as the public path was insecure, they resolved to make their way through the thickets on the river's side, and after various difficulties from impenetrable brambles, and the apprehension of blakwas, or pitfalls, made to catch—not elephants, but Tawârics,—they at length reached the sheikh's camp. There they not only found a kind reception, but had the inexpressible pleasure of hearing of the arrival of a packet from England. The sheikh having unexpectedly decamped, they set out to return alone to Kûkâ, but were quickly summoned to accompany the army, and, retracing their steps, reached a small lake they had before seen, and were on the next day at Kabsharî. On the 10th of June Muâllim Fanâmî, the rebel chief, made his submission, and, instead of having his throat cut, was clad in eight handsome tôbs, having his head made as big as six, with Egyptian turbans. The following day, which was the 'îd el seghîr or Mohammedan Passover, was kept with great rejoicings; and on the 18th the return of the army towards Kûkâ commenced, so that on the 26th the travellers again took possession of their old habitations.

From the beginning of July to the 10th of October the rain continued with little or no abatement; and this change of season was highly injurious to the health of the natives as well as the strangers; but particularly to the latter. Hillman and Mr. Clapperton had suffered from tedious and alarming attacks of fever, Dr. Oudney was daily growing worse; all the servants excepting one were ill, and Major Denham was the only individual of the party who was able to give assistance to the rest. In the latter end of September the weather became more moderate, the sick were convalescent, and their prospects began to brighten. On the 14th of December Dr. Oudney and Mr.

Clapperton set off with a câfilah for Kanô, carrying strong letters of recommendation to the chiefs of that place and of Kattagum, from the Sheikh el Kânimî. As far back as the 28th of September Dr. Oudney had told the sheikh that he could not possibly live, but was better when travelling, (p. 201,) and therefore wished to undertake a journey to Sûdân. Though his health was somewhat improved when the cool and dry weather had set in, he was still extremely debilitated, and therefore unable to bear any sudden change of temperature. On the 28th December, the thermometer was as low as 45° at sunrise, and the cold at night so sensible, that he found a fire in his tent necessary. In the evening he said he felt that it was all over with him. He once hoped to conduct the Mission to a successful termination, but that hope had vanished, and he desired that his papers might be intrusted to Mr. Barrow. On the 10th of January, 1824, they left Katagum, and he was then obliged to have his bed laid on a frame of wood placed on the back of a camel, being too weak to ride. On the 11th he appeared quite exhausted, and on the 12th after drinking a dish of coffee, and being led out of his tent, a deadly paleness came over his face, and he had scarcely been replaced on his seat, when he expired without a struggle. "Thus," says Captain Clapperton, (p. 33,) "died, at the age of thirty-two years, Walter Oudney, M. D., a man of unassuming deportment, pleasing manners, steadfast perseverance, and undaunted enterprise, while his mind was fraught at once with knowledge, virtue, and religion."

The road lay for a considerable time over a level country with a thick red clayey soil, fertile but thinly wooded, except near the river, which was now a wide expanse of water covering much of what was far from it, when some of the party visited Old Birnî. On the 20th it was crossed without difficulty on rafts. On the 26th and 27th the cold was considerable, and on the morning of the latter day the water in shallow vessels was crusted with thin flakes of ice, a singular phenomenon in lat. 13° north. This was in the territory of Bedeguna on the Little Bedi, a border country, of which the inhabitants, as kâfirs, (infidels,) are hated by their Moslim neighbours, but dreaded on account of their resoluteness in maintaining their independence. They are like all Kerdies much persecuted, and remarkable for their love of dog's flesh, a taste which is well known to be prevalent both in Whydah and on the western coast of Africa. On the 1st of January, 1824, the travellers again crossed the Yeû,* and quitted the dangerous territory of the Bedes; advancing

* Or Yaû.

over a country still level, here fertile and woody, but nearer to the river a complete swamp. The channel of the stream was here one hundred and fifty yards broad, but almost dry. About half a mile from it is the town of Katagum,* in $12^{\circ} 17' 11''$ north, and 11° east, the capital of a district bearing the same name. It is the strongest city which the travellers had seen since they left Tripoli; defended by three dry ditches and two parallel walls of red clay, about twenty feet high and ten broad at the base, gradually decreasing upwards. The enclosed area is a square; and there are four gates facing the four cardinal points. Besides *cûzies*, or cylindrical huts, there are clay houses of two stories, flat roofed, with square or semicircular windows. The population amounts to seven or eight thousand. To the south, and at no great distance, is the land of Yacubah, (Jacob?) a hilly tract whence the Yeû and several other rivers arise. Its inhabitants, called Yemyems, are cannibals according to the Mohammedans,† whose accounts of their unbelieving neighbours, however, deserve little credit. The neighbouring country to the east is called Adamôwâ. This is the tract said by the North Africans to be inhabited by Christians; and as these names, at least, have so Jewish or Christian an aspect, it seems odd that no further inquiries respecting them should have been made from slaves brought from thence or from the neighbouring countries; but where so many objects of inquiry crowd upon the observer, it would be more strange if none had escaped his notice.

From Murmur, the town near which Dr. Oudney died, Mr. Clapperton proceeded through a rich and level country, sometimes covered with wood, as far as Katungwa, the first town in Haûsâ, to the south-west of which he saw a range of low rocky hills, the only ones which had occurred since he quitted Kashifra in 16° north, and 14° east. On the 20th of January he entered Kanô, having passed through populous and well cultivated districts ever since he crossed the Yâu. The Fellâtahs, who are industrious, and far superior to the Bornûese, possess, together with other arts little known in Africa, that of making butter "such as ours, both clear and excellent." (p. 38.) Kanô, the great emporium of Haûsâ, has suffered much from the wars which have desolated that country. It stands in $12^{\circ} 0' 19''$ north, and $9^{\circ} 20'$ east, and may contain forty thousand inhabitants, one half slaves. A large morass almost divides it into two parts, and renders it extremely unhealthy. It has an irregularly oval shape,

* The Kottocomb of the map annexed to Hornemann's Travels, where it is placed in $18^{\circ} 30'$ north, and $22^{\circ} 35'$ east, so imperfect were the data upon which the able constructor of that map had to work.

† See Hornemann's Travels, p. 172.

and a circumference of about fifteen miles ; is surrounded by a clay wall thirty feet high, running between two ditches and traversed by fifteen gates of wood covered with sheet iron. Not more than a quarter of this area is covered with houses, the rest is laid out in fields and gardens. The houses are built of clay, square, and in the Moorish fashion, much superior to those of the Bornûse. The sùk,* or market, is well supplied, and held on a narrow isthmus which divides the morass into two parts. The prices of all articles are fixed by the sheikh-es-sùk, or superintendent of the market, and the seller always allows a discount of two per cent on the stated price "as a blessing" to the purchaser. Whydah,† or cowries, are here current as at Katagum, to the east of which they are not used, narrow strips of cloth, called gubga, being there substituted for them. (p. 27.) The bâzâr is arranged and furnished almost in the same way, and as abundantly as any in the grand signior's dominions. Even European manufactures are not unknown, and "an English green cotton umbrella" was purchased by Captain Clapperton for three Spanish dollars. These luxuries are by no means uncommon, and travel across the desert by the route of Ghadâmis. Captain Clapperton found several merchants from that place settled in this town, some of whom pressed him to take goods to any amount in exchange for a bill on the British consul at Tripoli, such is their confidence in the integrity of the British character.

Throughout the whole of this journey the greatest hospitality and accommodation were every where offered, though the mission came from Bornû, which had lately connived at an attack on the Fellâtahs. The governor of Kanô, to whom Captain Clapperton had been presented on the 24th, received him very civilly, and said that he should send him in fifteen days to his master Bello, who, he knew, would be very glad to see him. Accordingly on the 22d of February he was informed that the sultân had sent an express with orders to have him conducted to his capital, and supplied with every thing necessary : and on the following day he set out for that city. The country was here not quite so level as before; the soil a stiff red clay intersected by quartzose ridges; in some places thickly wooded; in others well cultivated and full of

* For soug as Captain Clapperton writes the word according to the African pronunciation; Major Denham uses the strange term *fsug*, not having, as it seems, discovered that *fsoug* consists of two words instead of one; viz. *fî s-sùk*, "in the market."

† Weda', (a deposit,) the Arabic term for *kaûrî*, (*Cypræa Monata*, Linn.) is evidently here meant by whydah, a word ill-chosen, as it connects the use of that currency with the country so named by us; things which have probably no relation to each other. Weda' is spelt *hueddah* according to the Spanish orthography in *Proceed. of Afric. Association*, i. pp. 251-275.

villages. Near Kamûn, at a small distance from Sakatû, it becomes hilly, but is more level in the immediate neighbourhood of that town. Captain Clapperton, on his arrival there, was lodged in the house of the Gadado, or prime minister, who uniformly treated him with the greatest kindness. On the next day, March 17th, he had an interview with Bello, the second sultân of the Fellâtahs. His first questions were theological, and showed a very unexpected knowledge of the different christian sects. He then sent for the books found in Major Denham's baggage, and justly inveighed against the conduct of Abû Khallûm; saying that he was sure the Bâshâ of Tripoli never meant to strike with one hand while he offered a present with the other. "But what was your friend doing there?" added he abruptly. A very natural and rather embarrassing question to his guest, and alone sufficient to show the extreme imprudence of Major Denham in joining Abû Khallûm's ghezziyah. Mr. Clapperton said it was merely to see the country, and the sultân gave up the captured books in the most handsome manner. Among them was the journal from which the narrative now published must have been extracted; but Major Denham has nowhere expressed his gratitude for the liberality with which it was restored, or for the care with which it was conveyed back to him. The sultân appeared to be about forty-four years of age, has a noble aspect, and showed a judicious curiosity about every thing worthy of attention. He has a fine forehead, large black eyes, a Grecian nose, small mouth, and curly black beard. In the evening the presents from the King of England were laid before him; he examined them one by one, but nothing attracted his notice so much as the nautical compass and the telescope. "Every thing is wonderful," he exclaimed, "but you are the greatest curiosity of all!" Adding, "What can I give that is most acceptable to the King of England?" Clapperton answered that the most acceptable service he could render would be to cooperate with his majesty in putting a stop to the slave trade on the coast. "What," said Bello, "have you no slaves in England? What do you do then for servants?" "We hire them for a stated period," returned Clapperton; "even the soldiers are fed, clothed, and paid by the king." "Allah Akbar!" cried Bello, "you are a beautiful people!" He then promised that Clapperton should see every thing in his dominions, as well as Yawwerî and Niffî, (on the Joliba or Niger;) expressed his great regret at Dr. Oudney's death, and said he particularly wished for an English physician who might instruct his people in medicine. (p. 84.)

On the 19th of March "I was sent for," says Captain Clapperton, "and desired to bring with me the looking-glass of the

sun,"* the name they gave to my sextant. I first exhibited a planisphere of the heavenly bodies. The sultân knew all the signs of the zodiac, some of the constellations, and many of the stars, by their Arabic names. The 'looking-glass of the sun,' was then brought forwards and occasioned much surprise." Every part was scanned and inquired into: and Captain Clapperton was by accident placed in a very awkward dilemma. Having lost the key of the case of his artificial horizon, he asked for a knife to force open the lid; the one handed to him was too small, and he inadvertently asked for a dagger. The sultân instantly seized his sword, and, half drawing it, placed it before himself, trembling all the time like an aspen leaf. Clapperton prudently took no notice of this, but, on receiving the dagger, calmly opened the case and returned the weapon to its owner. "It was I," as he justly says, "who had in reality most cause of fear." He forgot that the sultân was probably more than half convinced that he possessed supernatural powers, and would not therefore be in any hurry to put those powers to the test, by a rash act.

He here learned that the Kwârâ, or Niger, enters the sea at Fundah, a little below the town of Rakah in the kingdom of Yôribah. The latter is opposite to Niffî on the eastern side of the river, where there is a great emporium for European goods brought from the coast. Pewter dishes bearing the London stamp, and an English hand-basin, were in use in the sultân's household. All the different accounts agree as to the course and termination of that celebrated river, so long a desideratum in African geography; but the place of its discharge into the sea is still undetermined. Captain Clapperton was prevented, most probably by the intrigues of the Moörish traders, from obtaining the great object of his wishes in reaching Niffî; and the difference of the names used by the Fellâtahs from those known to us, presents another, at present, insurmountable difficulty. There is, however, a very great probability that Reichard's theory† will prove to be true, and that the Niger terminates in a vast Delta falling into the bight of Benin. Scarcely any thing there is known beyond the swampy islands near the coast, and it is very possible that Fundah is above the point visited by European ships. It must, however, be acknowledged that the

* Mirât-esh-shems, it may be supposed, was the expression thus rendered; but the solar mirror, not an altogether unsuitable name for a sextant, would not have sounded half so pleasantly to our ears as Captain Clapperton's phrase.

† See Von Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*, and *Allgem. Geograph. Ephemerid.* 1803. xii. B. S. 157.

natives are prepossessed with the notion of the Kwârâ's uniting with the Egyptian Nile; an opinion we may almost venture to call as preposterous as that of our ancestors, who made the Nile, the Niger, and the Zaïre all issue from the Mountains of the Moon, placed by Ptolemy in 16° south latitude.

At another interview, the sultân expressed a wish that the King of England would send a physician and consul to reside at Sakatû, and added that he would give him a place on the coast to build a town; but wished a road to be cut to Rakah, if vessels should not be able to go up the river. "God," he said, "had given him all the land of the infidels." He then spoke of Mungo Park, and said that had he come in the rainy season he would have passed the rocks, in the dry season only one place was passable. He himself had possessed a double-barrelled gun taken in the wreck of Park's boat, and his cousin Abd-er-rahman, then absent, had a small printed book found in it. Others were in the hands of the Sultân of Yawwerî; and these he promised to send for. On the 27th Captain Clapperton again saw him and strongly urged all that he had before said, adding that the King of England would promote all his wishes if he would cooperate in the abolition of the slave-trade, advising at the same time the establishment of a seaport, where he could have ships, and his subjects might learn the art of navigation; for they could then perform the pilgrimage to Mekkah by a quicker and safer route than at present. The sultân subsequently proposed that the guns and rockets which he wished to have, should be sent by the way of Tripoli and Bornû; this afforded Captain Clapperton an opportunity of observing how unlikely it was that the bâshâ or the sheikh should allow such articles to pass through their dominions; and added, that it was only by the coast of Guinea that any intercourse with England could be maintained. On this the Sultân said that if he would stay till after the rains, he should be sent to the governor of Zegzeg, in order to be conducted to the coast. The sultân then inquired about our newspapers, spoke of the war between the Turks and Greeks, of our attack on Algiers, and of our power in India. "You are a strange people," said he, "the strongest of all christian nations: you have subjugated all India." Yes, said Clapperton, we have given protection to its princes, especially the Mohammedans, several of whom have placed themselves under our authority, knowing that we should respect their religion and govern them justly.

On the 10th of April, the subject of commercial and political intercourse with England was renewed. The sultân on this occasion said, "Let me know the exact time, and my messenger

shall be down at any part of the coast to forward letters to me, on the receipt of which I will send an escort to conduct it to Sûdân;" and he added, that he was able to put an effectual stop to the slave-trade. On the evening of the 3d of May, the day on which he took his final leave,—

"I followed him from the mosque," says Captain Clapperton, "to the door of his residence, where an old female slave took me by the hand, and led me through a number of dark passages, in which, at the bidding of my conductress, I had often to stoop, or at times to tread with great caution, as we approached flights of steps, while a faint glimmering light twinkled from a distant room. I could not imagine where the old woman was conducting me, who, on her part, was highly diverted at my importunate inquiries. After much turning and winding, I was at last brought into the presence of Bello, who was sitting alone, and immediately delivered into my hands a letter for the King of England, with assurances of his friendly sentiments towards the English nation. He again expressed, with much earnestness of manner, his anxiety to enter into permanent relations of trade and friendship with England; and reminded me to apprize him by letter at what time the English mission would be upon the coast. After repeating the fatha,* and praying for my safe arrival in England, and speedy return to Sakatû, he affectionately bid me farewell."—p.111.

In his way back to Kûkâ, Captain Clapperton varied his course a little, in order to visit Zirmmî, the capital of Zanfarah,† and Kashnah, the city so much celebrated. The former is now a small town, noted as an asylum for thieves and vagabonds; the latter in 12° 59' north, and 8° 40' east, covers but a very small part of the area enclosed within its walls; the rest is occupied by fields and thickets. It has fallen into decay since the Fellâtah conquest, and its trade has been, in a great measure, transferred to Kanô. Its manufactures are chiefly of leather, and its fruits, figs, melons, pomegranates, and limes. It is much frequented by Tawâric and merchants from Tâwat and Ghadâmîs, who hire the camels of the former, the great carriers across the Sahrâ. The town is built on one of the many long ridges running from south-west to north-east, and generally covered with a sort of underwood called Keshnah, whence the name of the city appears to be derived. We have heard that word, however, pronounced Kach'hnâh by natives of Gôbir. On the 22d of May Captain Clapperton again entered Kanô, where he had the

* The fâtiḥah, or *opening chapter* of the Corân, used by Mussulmans as the Lord's prayer is by us.

† If this be the place mentioned by Idrîsî, the quantity of its penultimate vowel has been changed since his time: he always spells it Zanfarah.

happiness of receiving a letter from Major Denham; and after having remained there twelve days, he proceeded on his journey, and on the 8th of July reached Kûkâ, in tolerable health, considering the frequent attacks of ague by which he had been assailed during almost the whole of his journey and residence in Haûsâ.

Major Denham had in that interval been engaged in two important excursions, from one of which he did not return till the 17th of July. The first carried him along the southern and eastern shores of the Lake Châd, and to Loggun on the Shârî, a large river from the south, which discharges its waters by several mouths into the southern side of the lake. In the latter he followed the northern shore as far as it was possible; the north-eastern side yet remaining unexplored, on account of the unsettled state of Kânem, the territory adjoining; and of the ferocious habits of the Budumâhs,* a tribe occupying the many islands which are scattered over that part of its surface. Loggun is a very populous country, inhabited by an industrious and more civilized race than is usually found in Africa, (p. 237,) having a metallic currency, and two sultâns, father and son, mutually detesting each other. Major Denham was in this journey accompanied by Mr. Toole, a promising young man, who had traversed the Sahrâ from Fezzân almost alone. An irruption of the Begarmîs obliged them to hasten back towards Kûkâ, exposed them to very severe sufferings, and exhausted the strength of Mr. Toole, who sunk under these overstrained exertions without proper aid or support, on the 26th February, 1824, at Angâlâ, in 12° 15' north, and 15° 5' east, near the southernmost extremity of the lake. On the 2d of March Major Denham returned to Kûkâ, and left it again, after a short interval, in order to make his last excursion, which occupied him till the time of the final return of the Mission to England. These journies, though made under disadvantageous circumstances, are replete with interest; and much do we regret that the length to which this abstract has already extended, compels us to dismiss them with this brief notice. On the 16th of August the survivors took their final leave of Kûkâ, reached Bilmah on the 11th of October, and Segedem on the 26th. In crossing El'wa'r, (the difficult,) one of the worst parts of the Desert, many camels dropped; but on the 14th of November they again saw El Catrôn, which now appeared a paradise. They remained at Marzûc from the 21st of November to the 13th of December, and on the 26th of January, 1825, they returned to Tripoli.

* See Hornemann's Travels, p. 166, Janglès' French translation, which has several valuable additions.

The literary merit of the different portions of this book, may be estimated by the extracts given above. A traveller, especially one who is not a professed writer, is entitled to every indulgence; it is needless therefore to notice more particularly the inequalities and other trifling errors which sometimes diminish the pleasure derived from Major Denham's narrative. His having forgot to thank his friends for their assistance, is a more serious defect; and this book is perhaps an unique instance of a work materially improved by very valuable additions in the Appendix, without a syllable in the form of acknowledgment from the author in his preface. The only person noticed by Major Denham, as deserving his gratitude, is Sir Robert Kerr Porter, whose skill may be easily traced in many of the beautiful engravings with which the book is adorned. But some of the plates contribute little to its real value, while they considerably enhance its price, and where the original sketch has been amended by an able artist, there must be always some apprehension with respect to the accuracy of the likeness. It is also to be regretted, that some at least of the documents in the Appendix, translated by Mr. Abraham Salamé, were not printed in the original language; as a specimen of the Arabic used in that remote region, they would have been highly interesting to the orientalist. Vocabularies of the Bornùese, and some other languages, are subjoined: and it is unlucky that the compilers did not observe that the extreme irregularity of our orthography renders such collections of little use, unless spelt according to some invariable system by which the reader may be certain how to pronounce the word before him. Seetzen's and Burckhardt's Bornùese vocabularies would have been of service, but they perhaps had not been put into the travellers' hands. Their specimen of the language spoken at Tombuktû is probably the first ever published, with the exception of about thirty words collected in a very different quarter.* It is much to be regretted that nothing was done with respect to the dialects of the Tawâric, Tibbûs, and different negro tribes; the language of any people, if carefully examined, is an infallible guide to its connections and affinities among the neighbouring states, and a well-digested vocabulary, containing phrases as well as words, may furnish materials for higher speculations than those of the etymologist.

* *Annals of Oriental Literature*, p. 548.

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